THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ANCIENT GERMANS;

Including that of the

CIMBRI, SUEVI, ALEMANNI, FRANKS,
SAXONS, GOTHS, VANDALS,

And other 25 Ancient Northern Nations,

Who overthrew the ROMAN EMPIRE, and eſtabliſh'd that of GERMANY, and moſt of the Kingdoms of EUROPE.

Written Originally in HIGH GERMAN;

And illuſtrated with Notes and Quotations, from ancient Authors, Accounts of Monuments, Inſcriptions, Medals, Coins, and other Antiquities,

By Doctor JOHN JACOB MASCOU,

Aulick Counſellor to the King of *Poland*, Aſſeſſor of the Court of Juſtice, and Senator of the City of *Leipzick*, in *Saxony*.

Now Tranſlated into ENGLISH,

By THOMAS LEDIARD, Eſq;

Late Secretary to his MAJESTY's Envoy Extraordinary in *Lower Germany*.

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VOL. I.

To the Foundation of the MONARCHY of the FRANKS.

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TO THE

NOBLE and Right HONOURABLE,

Sir Robert Walpole,

First Lord Commiſſioner of the TREASURY;

Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the EXCHEQUER; One of HIS MAJESTY'S moſt Honourable PRIVY COUNCIL, and KNIGHT-COMPANION of the MOST NOBLE ORDER of the GARTER.

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,

I FLATTER myſelf with the aſſured Hopes, that the Contents of the following Sheets will alone be ſufficient to recommend them to Your PROTECTION. *The Hiſtory of our* GREAT ANCESTORS, (the *Ancient Germans*) is, SIR, a Subject not hitherto, I believe, profeſſedly attempted in the *Engliſh* Tongue: And

as

as our own *Laws*, and Ancient *Laudable Cuſtoms*, nay even our *Excellent Conſtitution* itſelf, are, in a great Meaſure, form'd on the Model of theirs, to whom can this *Epitome* of their *Original* be, with ſo great Propriety, addreſs'd, as to the NOBLE PERSON, who, by His *High Stations*, is ſo greatly concern'd for their Preſervation, and has them ſo much and ſo conſtantly at Heart.

BUT, SIR, the View I have chiefly had in this Tranſlation furniſhes me with a farther Plea for Your favourable Acceptance of it; as it is intended, by Way of Introduction, to be the Fore-runner of a much larger Work; for which I have collected Materials, from the principal Archives and Libraries, in *Germany*, in above Twenty Years Travels in thoſe Parts; I mean *A Chronological Hiſtory of the* EMPERORS, KINGS, *and* PRINCES *of the* MOST ILLUSTRIOUS HOUSE *of* BRUNSWICK, *in all its Branches*; from the Time of *Charlemaign*, (the Period at which the *Hiſtory of the Ancient Germans* ends) to the preſent Time; chiefly upon the Plan of the ſame Hiſtory begun by the famous Mr. *Leibnitz*, and continued by the learned Meſſ. *Hahn*, *Eccardy*, and *Gruber*, in *Hannover*, by Order of the late King, and now depoſited in the Library there, but never publiſhed.

YOUR immovable Attachment, SIR, to this ILLUSTRIOUS HOUSE, even in the worſt and moſt perilous of

Times,

Times, when impending Ruin almoſt immediately threatned us, will, I am convinced, render an Attempt of this Kind, in the *Engliſh* Tongue, acceptable to You; and the following Sheets being introductory thereunto, may thence, I humbly preſume, confidently lay Claim to Your PATRONAGE.

I SHALL not dare, SIR, to break in any farther upon Your precious Time, (always devoted to the Honour of Your SOVEREIGN, and the *Good* of Your COUNTRY,) to offer but at a Sketch of Your *Aimable Character*: It is too tranſcendant for my weak Capacity to attempt, with any Proſpect of Succeſs; and will undoubtedly hereafter be the *Glorious Task* of ſome more Maſterly *Genius*, when groveling Envy and foul Detraction will no longer dare to rear their Heads, and the Impotent Rage of Party and Faction will have given Way to the irreſiſtable Force of All-prevailing Truth. *Then will the* BEAUTIFUL IMAGE *be diſplayed in its True and Native Light; and it will then be recorded, to the Immortal Honour of* GREAT-BRITAIN, *that* SHE, *in this Age, produced ſo* GREAT, *ſo* FINISH'D *a* STATESMAN; *a* MINISTER *ſo* DESERVING *of the* CONFIDENCE *and* ROYAL FAVOUR *of two of the* WISEST *and* MOST DISCERNING MONARCHS, *that ever graced the* ENGLISH THRONE; *and a Subject, who by his* SALUTARY COUNCILS, *and* PRUDENT ADMINISTRATION, *of the ſeveral* HIGH

OFFICES

DEDICATION.

OFFICES *he was deſervedly veſted with, in two Reigns, and during ſo long a Series of Years, as has not many Parallels in our Hiſtory, was juſtly ſtil'd the* DARLING OF THE NATION.

I beg Leave, with all poſſible Submiſſion, to ſubſcribe myſelf,

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,

Your moſt Devoted,

and moſt Obedient

Humble Servant,

Smith's Square, Weſtminſter,
May 29. 1738.

Thomas Lediard.

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THE

Author's Preface,

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME.

IN the first ten Books, I collected the most Ancient Histories of the *German* Nations, to the Beginning of the Monarchy of the *Franks*. This Volume contains a Continuation of near three hundred Years, to the Extinction of the Race of the *Merovingian* Kings, amidst the extraordinary Revolutions of many Kingdoms and People. I have indeed prefix'd the Contents to each Book; however, it may be of Use, to recapitulate the principal Circumstances; that we may take a View of them at once. *Clovis*, as Founder of the Monarchy of the *Franks*, opens the

Scene, with bloody Campaigns, and ſucceſsful Treaties, and ſecures to himſelf the Fruits of both, by his Converſion. His Sons extend them, among other Means, by a Conqueſt of the *Burgundians* and *Thuringians*. No leſs worthy our Notice, is the Kingdom founded, almoſt about the ſame Time, in *Italy*, by *Theoderic*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, who, as long as he lived, was a Match, as well for the Emperor, as the Kings of the *Franks*. We left the *Vandals*, at the Concluſion of the firſt Volume, in *Africa*. We here continue their Hiſtory, under the Succeſſors of *Geiſeric*, 'till *Juſtinian* viſits them with a War, and *Beliſarius* leads *Gelimer*, their laſt King, in Triumph at *Conſtantinople*. This Victory encourages the Emperor to attack the *Oſtro-Goths*, in *Italy*. *Beliſarius* is, at firſt, ſo ſucceſsful in this War, that King *Vitiges* ſurrenders at *Ravenna*: But the *Goths* revive their Courage, and *Totilas*, in the latter Campaigns, almoſt robs *Beliſarius* of the Honour he had gain'd in the former. *Narſes*, at length, reduces *Italy* again to their Allegiance to the Emperor, and puts a total End to the Kingdom of the *Oſtro-Goths*.

THIS *Gothick* War, which laſted nineteen Years, brings, at the ſame Time, ſeveral other Nations into Motion. The Kings of the *Franks*, and particularly *Theodebert*, King of *Auſtraſia*, try, in vain, their Fortune, on the other Side of the *Alps*; as do likewiſe the two Dukes of the *Alemanni*, *Bucelinus* and *Leutharis*. In *Illyricum*, the foreign Nations cut out ſo much Work for *Juſtinian*, as almoſt obliges him to abandon the *Italian* War. He admits the *Longobards*

bards into *Pannonia*, as it were to defend it; notwithſtanding which the *Gepidæ* and *Heruli* ravage, almoſt without Controul; and yet more the *Sclavi*, who, in Proceſs of Time, almoſt peopled theſe Countries with their Colonies.

AFTER *Juſtinian*'s Death, the Conſtitution of the *Roman* Empire, in the *Weſt*, which he had, in ſome Meaſure, reſtor'd, again declines. The *Longobards* enter *Italy*, in the Year 568, under the Conduct of their King *Alboin*, after they had, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Abari*, overthrown the Kingdom of the *Gepidæ*. The *Franks*, under the Succeſſors of *Clotarius*, I, are involved in a Civil War, which is inflam'd by the Hatred between the two Queens, *Brunehild* and *Fredegund*, 'till, in the Year 613, the Kingdom is again united, in the Perſon of *Clotarius*, II. The Dominion of the *Wiſi-Goths*, in *Spain*, gains a very different Aſpect, after their King, *Leovigild*, had vanquiſh'd the *Suevi*. His Son, *Reccaredus*, embraces the *Catholick* Faith, and thereby cements a ſtricter Union between the Minds of the *Goths* and the Natives of the Country. The Converſion of the *Anglo-Saxons* furniſhes us with an Opportunity to take Notice of the State of the *Saxon* Kingdoms, and, at the ſame Time, of their Religion, in *Britain*. What the *Franks* then contributed to their Converſion, the *Anglo-Saxons* afterwards richly requited, by a like Endeavour with the *German* Nations in *Germania*.

THE ſeventh Century produces new Enemies to the *Roman* Empire, in the *Saracens*. While the Emperor has his Hands full with them in *Aſia*, the *Longobards* find the leſs Difficulty in extending their Kingdom in *Italy*; eſpecially after King *Grimoald* had embraced the *Catholick* Faith, and the Nation began to conform to certain Laws, which, at Length, were likewiſe approved by the *Italians*. The *Franks* recover themſelves under *Clotarius*, II, and his Succeſſors, from their former Civil Broils. *Dagobert* makes War with thoſe Nations of the *Sclavi*, who border on his Kingdom in *Germania*: But, at Length, the Youth and Weakneſs of the ſucceeding Kings pave the Way for the Power of the *Majores Domus*. *Pipin* of *Herſtall* raiſes this Power to its higheſt Pitch, and leaves it to his Family almoſt hereditary. In the Midſt of the Wars, which were the Conſequences of this, Hiſtory meets with an agreable Turn in the Introduction of the *Chriſtian* Religion, into ſeveral *German* Countries. In particular, St. *Willibrod* propagates it among the *Friſians*; St. *Gallus* among the *Swabians*, and St. *Emmeranus* and *Rupertus*, among the *Bavarians*. The Manner in which theſe Converſions are effected gives us no leſs Opportunity to new Enquiries, than the Conſequences of them.

AT the Beginning of the eighth Century, the *Viſi-Goths* ſuffer a ſignal Overthrow, from the *Saracens*, in *Spain*. In the Hiſtory of the *Franks*, the *Majores Domus* have now a greater Share than the Kings; tho' the Actions of *Charles Martell* are ſo glorious, that the Nation is no Sufferer by it. We find him in the Field, ſometimes againſt the Dukes of *Aquitain*,

Aquitain, and ſometimes, on the other Side, againſt the *Friſii*. At other Times, we ſee him turn his Arms to the Heart of *Germania*, againſt the Dukes of *Swabia* and *Bavaria*, or againſt the *Saxon* Nations, who, by that Means, become, by Degrees, better known in Hiſtory. To his Victories over the *Saracens*, the *Weſtern* Part of *Chriſtendom* owes it Safety, and the Kingdom of the *Franks*, in particular, is indebted for *Septimania*, the only Province which the *Wiſi-Goths* had retain'd in *Gaul*. His Sons, for a Time, ſupport the Kingdom with equal Valour, and likewiſe follow his Example in promoting the religious Endeavours of St. *Boniface*. *Pipin*, at Length, obliges King *Childeric* to retire into a Cloiſter, and himſelf mounts the Throne. With this Revolution, I conclude, for the preſent, my Hiſtory; this being the Foundation of a new Period in the Hiſtory of the *Germans*: For, about the very ſame Time, Matters begin to ripen, in *Italy* alſo, for that great Revolution, which, at Length, comes to a full Maturity under *Charlemaign*.

As for the Method which I have obſerv'd, in this Volume, I may refer to what I have ſaid, on the ſame Occaſion, with Regard to the firſt. The Hiſtory of the *Franks* is now, as it were, the Foundation, on which the Hiſtory of the other *German* Nations riſes. That Hiſtory itſelf, without this Help, would be obſcure and imperfect: But this Connexion gives it a certain Grandeur and Diverſity, which could hardly be expected of theſe Times. As my Deſign is chiefly aim'd at *Germania*, I go no farther, in that Part of the Hiſtory.

ſtory of the *Franks*, which particularly regards *Gaul*, than a Connexion requires. I have thereby the greater Latitude for my Remarks on thoſe Circumſtances, which more eſpecially reſpect *Germania*, and its Inhabitants, or likewiſe ſome of their Neighbours, whoſe Hiſtory requires an Illuſtration from that of the *Germans*. The Revolutions of the Empire continue yet to have a great Influence over the Affairs of the *German* Nations. I muſt likewiſe, ſometimes, take Notice of the Controverſies of the Church, when they are the Motives to Political Diſputes, or, at leaſt, ſerve as a Pretence for them. This was but too often the Caſe, as the Examples, from the Differences about *Arianiſm*, to the Quarrel which aroſe, concerning the Adoration of Images, more than ſufficiently ſhew. The Accounts we have of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the *Germans* are, by Degrees, more to be depended on, after we can take them from their own Laws, and from the Teſtimonies of ſuch Writers as were cotemporary with them. The latter have indeed recorded little more of them than their Wars: But it is even worthy our Labour, to view them likewiſe in this Light; and to obſerve how, under the various Succeſs of their Arms, they encreaſe in Power, as it were, even by their Overthrows *. However, beſides this, *Tacitus* and other ancient Writers, in their Times, extol their Integrity as much as their Valour; two Qualities which together make a good National Character. That with theſe, they were not in want of good Maxims, is evident from their very Actions, and principally

* Per damna, per cædes, ab ipſo
Ducit opes, animumque, ferro.

from

from the Duration of the Monarchy of the *Franks*, which, next to the *Roman*, was the moſt powerful in the *Weſt*.

WITH Regard to the Stile of Hiſtory, we diſcover in general, a great Difference in Taſte, between the ancient and more modern Times. The Ancients look'd upon Hiſtory, almoſt as a Work of Eloquence, as *Cicero*, in particular, expreſſes himſelf, on this Occaſion *: The *Moderns* require a greater Certainty. Miracles, which were of Service to an ancient Hiſtorian, and an Elegance in the intermix'd Diſcourſes, do not ſo much affect them, as they are deſirous to know every Circumſtance, with great Accuracy, and to meaſure almoſt every Degree of Truth and Probability. This is, in itſelf, a happy Difference; but, in Times, ſo obſcure as are here treated of, it makes the Narrative ſo much the more difficult. The ſcatter'd Circumſtances muſt, in Order to bring them into ſome certain Form, be connected with infinite Pains. We muſt often be contented, if we can but come at the Order of Time, on which the Certainty of the Hiſtory reſts. It is, therefore, the more neceſſary, to be exact, in quoting the Paſſages from whence we take this Aſſiſtance, or even to ſubjoin them.

AMONG theſe obſcure Circumſtances, there are many which require a more narrow Enquiry into, than the Courſe of Hiſtory will allow of. Many Nations are not ſufficiently known; many Cuſtoms differ too widely from our own; and many Occurrences are not related by Hiſtorians in the ſame Manner. For the Illuſtration of ſuch Matters, I have ra-

* I. de leg. 1.

ther

ther choſen to add ſome ſeparate *Annotations*, at the End of this Work, in which ſeveral minute Circumſtances are related and enquired into, that would not have been ſo proper, in the Body of the Hiſtory, and yet give ſome Light to it.

ACCORDING to the *Plan*, which I at firſt laid down, for illuſtrating the Hiſtory of the *Germans*, there, therefore, yet remains a third Period, containing the Hiſtory of the Emperors and Kings of the *Carolingian* Race, till the Time it became extinct in *Germany*, in the Perſon of *Lewis*, the Son of *Arnulph*. In this Period, the Hiſtory of *Charlemaign* deſerves our principal Notice; and, in particular, his reducing the Kingdom of the *Longobards*, and the *Roman* Empire, under the Dominion of the *Franks*. From the enſuing Partitions, made by ſeveral Kings, ariſe different States; and, at Length, the Hiſtory branches out in like Manner, as the Monarchy of the *Franks* itſelf does. Then it is, that *Germania* becomes a ſeparate Empire, which under *Otto*, the *Great*, again obtains the Imperial Dignity, and the Crown of *Italy*, and thence is call'd the *Roman German Empire*. But, as this Volume has already ſwell'd beyond the Bulk of the former, the HISTORY *of the* GERMANS, *under the* CAROLINGIAN RACE, will be the Subject of a ſeparate Volume.

THE

THE

Tranſlator's Preface.

AS I gave the Reader, in my Preface to to the firſt Volume of this Tranſlation, a pretty particular Account of what he was to expect in the Second; and the the Author, in the preceeding Preface, has briefly re-capitulated the Subſtance of it, there is little left for me to add; unleſs what his Modeſty compelled him to paſs over in Silence: I mean, that he has treated his Subject with ſo much Brevity, and, at the ſame Time, Perſpicuity; has brought the Subſtance of ſo many, and withal ſo important Matters, within ſo narrow a Compaſs, and has

 diſpoſed

diſpoſed them in ſo orderly a Method, and with ſo great Judgment, as muſt even infinitely ſurpaſs our Expectations.

WHEN I publiſhed the firſt Volume, I had not then received the large *Annotations*, which the Author has added to the Second, as it were by Way of Appendix to, or rather Illuſtration of, both; and conſequently could give no Account of them there. The Author, in his Preface to this Volume, has given a very juſt Reaſon for his introducing the Materials, of which they conſiſt, in the Manner he has done; and, as to the Value of them, and the curious Remarks he has interſperſed with them, they ſpeak more than enough for themſelves, and do not want any *Encomium*, from ſo inſufficient a Pen as mine.

As to what the Author ſays, with Regard to a Continuation of this Work, I refer to what I have obſerved in my Preface to the firſt Volume: The Publication of it ſeems very precarious, in Point of Time: Neither he nor I can foreſee what may intervene with Regard to either or both of us: Theſe two Volumes, (carried down to the Period, which our Author has judiciouſly choſen, to put a Stop to his Work, for this Time at leaſt,) make a COMPLEAT HISTORY *of the* ANCIENT GERMANS, *and thoſe* NORTHERN NATIONS, *who are, by him, comprehended under that Denomination, from the* CIMBRIAN WAR *to the Extinction of the* MEROVINGIAN

GIAN LINE *of the* KINGS OF THE FRANKS: I therefore hold the Subſcribers, who have favoured me with their Encouragement hitherto (for which I take this Opportunity of returning my hearty Acknowledgments) under no farther Obligation. However, as I agree with our Author, that the *Life and Actions of that Great Prince*, CHARLEMAIGN, for which I have been many Years collecting Materials, in *Germany*, is the moſt memorable Part of the Hiſtory immediately ſubſequent to this Period, I may probably attempt that, the next enſuing Seaſon, either by itſelf, or as a Part of a larger Work, of which the Publick will ſoon be more particularly apprized.

N. B. After the following Sheets were printed off, I found the Author had thought fit to make a few Alterations in a Couple of Pages of the XI. Book, of which I think it my Duty to inform the Reader. Theſe Alterations are contain'd in Page 58 and 59 of the Tranſlation, which are to be read as follows:

Page 58. at the Concluſion of § XXXVIII. add; *But this Tradition has no Manner of Grounds, as is evident from* Agnellus, *an ancient Writer of* Ravenna. See the XIV. *Annotation.*

Ib. § XXXIX. *n.* 1. *ad fin.* del. *As for the Name of* Oſtrogoth, *it is a Queſtion whether that was rightly written by* Jornandes.

Ib. *n.* 2. after the Words, *profuit iſta conjunctio*, del. Jornandes *ſeems not to have been well inform'd of the Names of* Clovis's *Sons.*

Ib. *n.* 3. Read: *Some more modern* Spaniſh *Writers ſay he had likewiſe a* Spaniſh *Wife: But with as little Foundation, as when they relate his Journy to* Spain.

P. 59. After the Words: *for the Diverſions of the Amphitheater*, read: *The Emperor*, Juſtin, *who was his Partner in the* Conſulat, *that Year, had adopted him for his Son*; as Theoderic *himſelf had, in like Manner, been honour'd by* Zeno.

Ib. after the Words: *had been murder'd by his Father:* del. *I have met with a Medal of* Theoderic, *where, in Honour to him, his two Grandſons are repreſented, in Imitation of a Medal of* Auguſtus, *on which we find* Cajus *and* Lucius, *his Daughter's Children.*

Ib. *n.* 7. read: *See the Words of* Athalaric *below*, § XLIV. n. 4.

Ib. *n.* 8. before § XLIV. *n.* 1. put: *See the Teſtimony of* Jornandes; and add: Athalaric *himſelf writes.*

A N



AN

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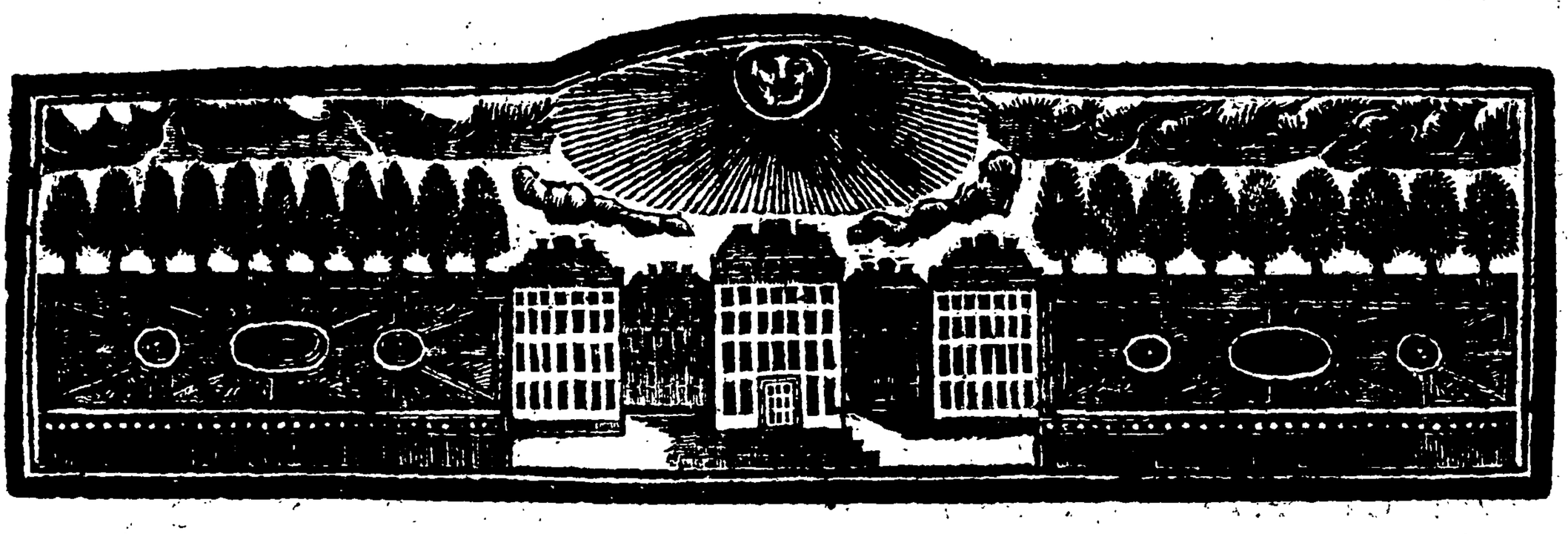
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Steph. ZAMOSCII Analecta nonnullarum in Dacia Antiquitatum: cum Wolfg. Lazii Comm. de Republ. Rom. *Frankf.* 1598. f.
Bartol. ZUCCHI Iſtoria della Regina Theodelinda. *Mediol.* 1613.
Ej. Iſtoria della corona di ferro & Catalogo dei Ré, & Imperatori che detta corona hanno uſato. *ib.* 1613.



THE

Author's Preface,

TO THE

FIRST VOLUME.

THE general Good Reception, which any Work, tending to illuſtrate the Hiſtory and Antiquities of *Germany*, at preſent meets with, has encouraged me to attempt the *Ancient Hiſtory* of that Nation, to the Extinction of the *Carlovingian* Line, in *Germany*; at which Period, the Hiſtory of the *German* Empire properly begins: But upon bringing the Materials, I formerly collected for this Deſign, into Order, I found this Work ſo encreas'd upon my Hands, that I was oblig'd to finiſh this Volume at the Beginning of

Clovis's Reign. It was at this Time the *Weſtern Empire* ceas'd, and left the Provinces under the Dominion of the *Germans*. The Reign of that Prince, as Founder of the Monarchy of the *Franks*, begins a new Period, in which all *Germany* was united under one Scepter.

My Deſign is, to lay a Foundation, as well for a general *Hiſtory* of *Germany*, as for thoſe, in particular, of the Countries and Nations appertaining thereto; and to reduce, into ſome Order, whatever is to be found diſpers'd in *Ancient Hiſtory* of the Origin of the *German* People, their Habitations, Migrations, Inroads on the *Roman* Provinces, Civil Wars; and, at the ſame Time, of their Form of Government, Genius, Religion, Manners, Arms, *&c.* That, on the one Hand, thoſe Things, of which a Certainty is to be got, may be ſet in a true Light, and where, on the other Side, this Certainty is wanting, we may be ſupply'd with Matter and Room for probable Conjectures.

The particular Reaſons *Germany* has, to be thoroughly acquainted with the Origin of its Conſtitution, frequently leads the Curious back into the moſt obſcure Times: And for thoſe who will be truly inform'd of the Foundation of their National Laws and Cuſtoms, they muſt be no leſs converſant in *German* Antiquity, than thoſe who apply themſelves to the Study of the *Roman* Laws, ought to be in that of Ancient *Rome* (*). There are many Countries, to this Day, belonging to the *German* Empire, which were formerly ſub-

(*) *What is here, and in other Parts of this Preface, ſaid of the* Germans, *is equally applicable to the* Engliſh, *and every other Nation of* Europe, *that has its Origin from any of the* Northern *People, which in this Hiſtory are, in general, call'd* Germans.

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ject to the *Romans*; and many others, that were inhabited by *Germans*, are fallen to the Share of Foreign Nations. Many *Roman* Inſtitutions, as well Eccleſiaſtical, as Civil, have been adopted and propagated; all which, if not related in a due Connexion, is difficult to be underſtood. If ever a Period was full of Events, ſtrange and unconceivable to thoſe, who only conſider the Outſide of Things, it was this. As moſt Nations in *Europe* find an Account of their moſt ancient State, in the *Roman* Hiſtory; ſo, on the other Hand, it is the *German* Hiſtory, they muſt apply to, for the Occurrences of the IV, V, and following Centuries, and, in many Points, even for the Origins of their preſent Conſtitutions.

MORALISTS meet likewiſe, in thoſe, as well as in more modern Times, with ſufficient Matter for their Contemplation. The Decorations of the Theatre are indeed greatly different, and the Actors have a quite different Aſpect as well as Behaviour: But their inward Motives proceed from the ſame Human Deſires and Paſſions, and produce Effects, equally the ſame, in the Revolutions of Kingdoms and People. In particular, it cannot but be agreable to *Germans*, to conſider, that their Anceſtors could ſet Bounds to the immenſe Power of the *Romans*, and at Length wholly ſubdue it; and that at a Time, when perhaps even their Deſcendants look upon them to have been *Barbarians*. The more formidable their Enemies were, the greater was the Difficulty to attain to a Superiority over them; and if we previouſly know, that the *Germans* were at laſt Conquerors, we may with Patience peruſe the many Accounts given by *Roman* Writers of their Victories over them. This Conſideration may, at the ſame Time, excite that Nation ſo to cultivate their own Genius,

that, if they do borrow ſome Things from other People, the Foundation may nevertheleſs be always their own.

THE Plan, I have followed, in the Execution of my Deſign, appears ſufficiently from the Diviſion of the Work itſelf; but it may not be improper here to ſhew ſome of the moſt material Circumſtances I had in View. Nations are to be conſider'd, either with Regard to their general Extraction; or to their particular Intereſts, and the Limits of their Publick Weal. According to the Examples ſet us by *Pliny* and *Tacitus*, we here regard the *Germans* in the former Senſe, as being, in the Times I treat of, not yet united under one Head, or in one State. We here comprehend all thoſe Nations, whoſe Language, Stature, Religion and Manners ſhew them to have been of *German* Extraction. We ſhall accompany thoſe, who remov'd out of *Germany*, on their ſeveral Tranſmigrations, to the new Kingdoms, which they founded in diſtant Regions, as their Hiſtory often ſerves to illuſtrate that of thoſe People, who remain'd in *Germany*, and form'd the preſent *German Empire*. We cannot, for Inſtance, rightly underſtand the State and Circumſtances of the *Monarchy of the Franks, and the Actions of their Kings*, unleſs, at the ſame Time, we are acquainted with thoſe of the *Burgundians*, the *Oſtro* and *Viſi-Goths*. I have not ventur'd to go farther backwards, than the ancient Hiſtorians have gone before me, nor do I treat of the *Germans*, 'till I find them inhabiting *Germany*, and purpoſely paſs by the uncertain Conjectures of their Arrival in that Country. The *Cimbri* and *Teutones* take the firſt Place in this Hiſtory; to which follow the Migrations of the ſeveral *German* Nations into *Gaul*; the Wars waged, on that Account,

Account, with *Julius Cæsar*, by *Arioviſtus* and the *Tenſteri* and *Uſipetes*; the Motions of the *Suevi*, who obliged *Cæsar* twice to paſs the *Rhine*, into *Germany*; and what farther Share the *Germans* had in the *Gallick* War. The *Rhine* and *Danube* then become the common Theatre of Action; however, the advancing of the *Roman* Armies to the *Ems*, *Weſer* and *Elb*; the Wars of the *Cheruſci* with the *Marcomani*; the Civil Wars of the former under *Arminius* and *Italus*, and of the latter under *Maraboduus* and *Godwald*, open a Way to the inward Regions, of *Germany*, to the *Elb*. In the *Marcoman* War, wag'd by *M. Antonius*, we have a View of almoſt all the *German* and *Sarmatian* Nations, who inhabited to the *North* of the *Danube*, between the *Viſtula* and the *Nieper*. The *Goths* lead us to the *Don*, ſometimes to the Heart of *Scythia*, and again ſometimes into *Aſia*; the Wealth of the latter having prompted them to cover the *Black-Sea*, and the *Mæotick Lake*, with their Barks. The *Franks*, in the mean Time, form a Nation on the Right of the *Rhine*; the *Alemanni* cut out Work enough for *Conſtantius*, *Valentinian*, and his Succeſſors; and, as they are led by the ſeveral Alliances made with them, ſerve ſometimes as Auxiliaries, to ſupport, and ſometimes as Enemies, to invade the *Imperial Throne*. The *Saxons* cruiſe the *Northern Seas*, and diſplay that Valour on the *Gallick* and *Britiſh* Coaſts, which afterwards opens their Way to the Dominion of *Britain*. Towards the Concluſion of the fourth Century, the *Goths* give the firſt Shock to the *Roman* Empire. Under *Honorius*, thoſe Fences, which had 'till then cover'd the Frontiers, are entirely broken down: And thereupon enſues that ſo Famous and Grand Tranſmigration of a Swarm of Nations. The *Wiſi-Goths* march into *Italy*, and *Alaric*

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ſacks the City of *Rome*. The *Rhine* can no longer keep the neighbouring *Germans* from *Gaul*. The *Vandals* and *Suevi* erect new Kingdoms in *Spain*; and the former at Length remove into *Africa*. *Attila* afterwards makes, indeed, a Diverſion for a Time; but no ſooner did the *Germans* recover their Freedom, after his Death, than the *Oſtro-Goths* extended themſelves yet farther. After this, the Hiſtories of the *Franks*, *Alemanni* and *Burgundians*; of the *Oſtro* and *Wiſi-Goths*; of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, and of the *Suevi* in *Spain*, are continued; the Origin of the *Bavarians* and *Thuringians* are ſhewn; and all the ſingle Hiſtories of the *German* Nations are carried to that Height, from whence they fall into the general Hiſtory of the *Franks*.

THE noble Author * of the Life of *Frederic* the Firſt, has, in Regard to Stile, indeed ſhewn, how much may, in the Sequel, be expected from one, who applies himſelf to *German* Hiſtory: But for my Part, the Obſcurity, and, I may venture to ſay, the Horror, that overſpreads this Beginning thereof, will, I hope, plead in my Favour. My chief Endeavours have been, to preſerve, as well as poſſibly I could, Certainty, Order and Perſpicuity. In Matters ſo remote, no greater Vouchers can be required, than what we can produce from ancient Hiſtorians, who, ſo long as their Teſtimony is not liable to the Suſpicion of Partiality or Negligence, are receiv'd by the Learned, without Exception. The Certainty here required is chiefly with Regard to the princi-

* *Our Author here means* Monſ. von Buhnau, *Privy Counſellor to the late King of* Poland, *an eminent Hiſtorian, who has written on the ſame Subject; tho', in the general Opinion of the Learned, not ſo ſucceſsfully as* Monſ. Maſcou.

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pal Occurrences. The Expeditions of the ſeveral Nations, their Battles, the Foundation and Subverſion of the ſeveral Kingdoms herein mention'd, are Points which are beyond all Doubt, tho' perhaps ſome of the more ſecret Circumſtances may lie concealed, or are variouſly related by different Writers. It is, in general, difficult to dive into the private Receſſes of Affairs: We are often contented, if we know what has been ſaid of them, at the Times when they happen'd; and no Hiſtorians are more liable to Suſpicion, than thoſe, who very confidently relate the *Arcana* of the Cabinets of Princes. I have, beſides this, labour'd under the ſingular Difficulty, of being obliged to collect my Intelligences of the *German* Nations chiefly from the Writings of their Enemies; and of finding frequently, in the *Roman* Hiſtory, ſuch Chaſms, that almoſt all Coherence ceaſes. To come, however, as near as poſſible to the Truth, I have conſulted all the Authors, who were either cotemporary with, or lived neareſt to, the Times of which I treat; and have likewiſe produc'd ſuch *Roman* Coins, Inſcriptions, and other Monuments, as could any Ways contribute to confirm or illuſtrate my Facts. Poets and Panegyriſts I have frequently quoted, but never laid a greater Streſs upon their Teſtimonies than is conſonant with the Rules of Hiſtory. I make no References to modern Authors; unleſs where they have treated certain Points very circumſtantially, and have themſelves made a proper Uſe of the Ancients. An Hiſtorian may, indeed, be ſaid to diſcharge his Duty, if he faithfully points out the Writers he follows: But I have choſen to add moſt of the Paſſages I refer to, however diſguis'd or mutilated ſome of them may be: By this Means the Reader has the Vouchers,

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taken from thoſe very Tranſlations and Editions of the Books, which I have made Uſe of, together with the Facts, in one View: And ſometimes, where my Relations may appear too conciſe, this may ſerve as a Plea for me, when it appears, that the Ancients themſelves have left us no farther Materials. Now ſince, as I obſerved before, the Vouchers for the principal Occurrences are chiefly requir'd, it may ſometimes happen, that they are taken from two or more Authors, who vary in their Accounts of the Circumſtances: But this Difference, if material, is likewiſe remark'd, and their Relations compar'd; or I have ſhewn to which the Preference is to be given: And this frequently appears of itſelf from the Context.

IT may at firſt View ſeem, as if ſuch Occurrences of Antiquity ſhould only be related in the Manner of Annals: But I have, in moſt Caſes, at leaſt, found ſo many Intelligences, that I have not been confin'd barely to relate a Series of Battles; I have been able, likewiſe, to lay before the Reader, the Conſtitutions of Nations, their Alliances, Laws, and other concurrent Circumſtances: But I have nevertheleſs kept up a due Connexion in Chronology. With Regard to the *Conſuls*, the Years of each Emperor's Reign, and the Computation of the *Æræ Hiſpanicæ*, *Alexandrinæ*, &c. I have follow'd the Path into which ſo many learned Men, and *F. Antonius Pagi*, in particular, lead us; and only ſhew when I have found it requiſite to deviate from them. The Occurrences of the *German* Nations are ſo entangled with each other, that from thence alone ariſe ſufficient Inducements to connect Matters ſo very different in themſelves: But as, in general, they had chiefly to do with the *Romans*, I have

I have been inevitably oblig'd to interſperſe Accounts of the *Roman* Affairs; reſerving always, however, the firſt Place for the *Germans*. It is juſt the ſame with the Hiſtories of the *Jazygi*, *Roxolani* and other *Sarmatian* Nations, and, in particular, of the *Hunns*, which are, on many Occaſions, interwoven with that of the *Germans*: And when often the moſt important Occurrences have been related by the Ancients but in a few Words, I have given them no farther Light, than I could draw from the Connexion, and Compariſon of all the Circumſtances I could poſſibly meet with. I have been the more cautious, not to give the Publick a Romance inſtead of a Hiſtory, as, thro' Inadvertency, it might, very eaſily, without ſuch Care, have been the Caſe. This Liberty has been taken not only by many Modern Writers, but we find likewiſe in the ancient Hiſtories of the *Saxons* and *Franks*, many fabulous Relations. In thoſe ignorant Times, this Manner of Writing was look'd upon as an Art to fix the Reader's Attention, by raiſing his Admiration; and whatever Fictions an Author related, Readers were not wanting, who, as they had yet leſs the Capacity to reflect, readily gave Credit to them. When the Connexion has not been apparent in itſelf, I have choſen rather to let thoſe Chaſms appear, than to invent Circumſtances, wherein it might, as it were, be loſt. Many Things muſt be here view'd in the ſame Light, as in Painting, where diſtant Objects are repreſented. On the other Hand, ſingle Occurrences, and perhaps trivial Circumſtances, which an Hiſtorian, who has a greater Plenty of Materials before him, would probably omit, as not deſerving his Notice, are here inſerted. We know, by Experience, that, in Matters of Antiquity, a ſingle Circumſtance, which, when plac'd by

itſelf, ſeems inconſiderable, contains a Key to the moſt important Matters. In the ſecond Book, I have remark'd, whatever could be collected, of the natural Diſpoſitions, in Body and Mind, of the Religion, Manners, Warfare and Polity of the *Germans*, in general; and as often as any Thing of this Kind has occur'd to me in the Hiſtory of particular Nations, it has been obſerv'd in proper Time and Place. By this Means, not only the natural Affinity between theſe Nations is more and more clear'd up; but we ſee, how the Affairs, in which they were embroil'd, improv'd their Knowledge in Arms and Polity; how their Manners and Cuſtoms were chang'd, and finally how Religion and Learning advanc'd among them.

WHETHER I have preſerv'd the Perſpicuity, I aim'd at, thoſe Readers will be the beſt Judges, who poſſeſs at leaſt ſome Part of that Knowledge, which an ancient Author thinks requiſite in an Hiſtorian *. I only beg Leave here to obſerve one of thoſe Difficulties, which will occur, in Spite of all an Author can do to prevent it. We are led, as it were into another World; many Things ſeem ſo foreign to us, that we can hardly expreſs them in our Mother-Tongue. We are often amidſt the Tumults of War, and hardly know ourſelves, where we are. In the Provinces, indeed, which formerly appertain'd to the *Roman* Empire, we proceed with ſome Certainty. In *Germania Magna*, the

* Petronius in Satyrico: *Ecce belli civilis ingens opus quiſquis attigerit, niſi plenus literis ſub onere labetur.*

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Confines of thoſe Nations, who dwelt betwixt the *Rhine*, the *Danube* and the *Elb*, are, at leaſt in general, known; ſometimes a River, a Lake, or a Mountain, which are irremovable Boundaries, deſcribe them more accurately: But it is the more difficult to ſet any Confines to the Territories of the *Vandals*, *Heruli*, *Rugi* and other *Gothick* and *Vandalick* Nations, becauſe their Habitations, which were beſides only a Kind of Camps, were ſo often changed. The Names of the Nations themſelves are very much corrupted among the Ancients: But I have ſpared no Pains, to purſue every Track, capable of leading my Readers into the right Way; ſometimes, when I could ſafely veuture it, I have added the modern Names of Countries and Cities, to thoſe of the Ancients, or us'd the former alone.

ORNAMENTS, and other Graces of Stile, are hardly to be expected, where all the Circumſtances do not ly in ſuch Manner, before the Author's Eyes, that he can ſelect thoſe, which are moſt eaſily connected; where all the Perſons are not ſo clearly known, and he cannot delineate the principal Characters, ſo as to affect the Reader, and make him, as it were, a Sharer in their Fate. Pictures are not ſo eaſy to be drawn, as ſome imagine, who boldly venture to paint the Perſons of thoſe, for whoſe Reſemblance, Hiſtory hardly ſupplies them with a Feature, as readily, as if they ſat for them. I have nevertheleſs, ſometimes, where I have had any Light from the Ancients, and the Hiſtory is ſufficiently

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diffuſive and circumſtantial, ventur'd to place my principal Perſonages in a ſomewhat clearer Light: Such, among others, are my Characters of *Arminius*, *Maraboduus*, *Athaulph*, *Genſeric*, *Attila*, and *Theoderic* II. We muſt, at the ſame Time, not forget, that in Hiſtory, as in all other Sciences, there are certain Things, in which a mere Relation, if natural, has as good an Effect *, as Art and Ornament in others.

* *Ornari res ipſa vetat, contenta doceri.*

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Tranſlator's Preface.

IN how great Obſcurity the *Hiſtory* of the *Ancient German* and other *Northern* Nations has been hitherto involv'd, is but too well known to thoſe who have been converſant in Antiquity. We find indeed ſome Fragments of it ſcatter'd, at Random, in other Hiſtories; but theſe are only like ſo many Particles of a Chaos, which want a skilful Hand to unite and digeſt them into Form.

FOR this we are oblig'd to the ingenious and learned Dr. MASCOU, a Gentleman of a fine Genius, who, by an indefatigable Application, has, in the Prime of his Years, attain'd to ſo much Knowledge and Experience, as few can boaſt of: In the Midſt of his other laborious Occupations, he has found Time to collect as much of this Hiſtory, as can be related with any Grounds of Truth, diveſted of all Obſcurity and Fable, and held in a Connexion with that of the *Romans*.

THE Author has given ſo circumſtantial an Idea of the Deſign and Execution of this firſt Volume of his Work, in the foregoing Preface, that I ſhall not need to add any Thing to it: And to form an Idea of the Pains he has taken in the Writing of it, we need only caſt an Eye on the Index of Authors he has conſulted, and his Notes, conſiſting chiefly of Quotations from the Ancients, an Account of Ancient Inſcriptions, Medals, Coins, *&c.* at the Bottom of almoſt every Page. He has written it in *German*, for the Benefit of his Countrymen; and, as the *Ancient German Hiſtory* has ſo great a Connexion with that of our Anceſtors, the *Anglo-Saxons*, who in Fact were likewiſe *Germans*; and beſides, we have hitherto had nothing like it in the *Engliſh* Tongue; I hope it will be both acceptable and advantageous to my Countrymen, that I have render'd it into our Mother-Tongue, with all the Care and Exactneſs I was capable of. I have neither ſlaviſhly kept to the Original, nor (I hope) ever deviated ſo far from it, as to loſe the Senſe of my Author. I have purpoſely avoided a florid and pompous Stile, and aim'd at nothing more than a ſimple Perſpicuity, which, I conceive, is moſt agreable, in the Relation of Hiſtorical Facts.

AND for the greater Eaſe, as well as Information of the Reader, and Illuſtration of this *Hiſtory*, I have added to the Index of the moſt Remarkable Occurences, which the Author has given us, in the Original, another entire New Index, explaining all the *proper Names* of Perſons, Places and Things, contained in this Work, collected from the beſt Dictionaries in ſeveral Languages; as likewiſe accurate Maps of *Ancient Germany*, *Illyricum* and *Italy*.

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THE ſecond Volume of the Original was not publiſh'd 'till this *Eaſter-Fair* at *Leipzic*, which was one Reaſon why I delay'd publiſhing my Tranſlation ſo long, that the two Volumes might appear within ſix Months one of the other. I have now entirely tranſlated this ſecond Volume (the Sheets of which I had, by the Favour of the Author, as they came from the Preſs) a good Part of it is already printed, and the Reſt doing with ſuch Expedition, that it will certainly be publiſh'd at or before the Time propos'd. As the Author has given us a particular Account of his Deſign, and the Execution of it, in his Preface to this ſecond Volume, which I ſhall, likewiſe, prefix to the ſecond Volume of my Tranſlation, I think it ſuperfluous to add more here, than will be neceſſary to give the Reader a general Idea of it.

THE Author has here continued his Hiſtory to the Extinction of the *Merovingian* Line; a Period from whence another very remarkable Epoch begins. He has divided this Volume into ſix Books, the Number of which follow thoſe of the former Volume.

THE Eleventh Book reaches to the Year 534; and, among other Things, gives an Account of the Foundation of the Empire of the *Oſtro-Goths*, in *Italy*, and their Conſtitution; the glorious Reign of King *Theodoric*; the Eſtabliſhment of the Monarchy of the *Franks* in *Gaul*; the Converſion of *Clovis* to the *Chriſtian* Faith, and the important Conſequences thereof; the Hiſtory of the *Burgundians*, and their Laws; the Controverſies between the *Orthodox* and *Arian* Biſhops; the Union of all the Nations of the *Franks* under *Clovis*; the Migration of the *Longobards*; the Hiſtory of the *Thuringians*, to the

Conqueſt of that People by *Theodoric*; the Hiſtory of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, and of their War with *Juſtinian*, to their total Extirpation; the State of the *Roman Empire* under *Juſtinian*; and of the *Chriſtian* Church, in *Gaul*, *Germany*, *Belgica*, *Noricum*, *Rætia*, &c, with the Political Deſigns of the *Orthodox-Chriſtians* and *Arians* againſt each other.

IN the Twelfth, continued to 550, the moſt remarkable is the War which *Juſtinian*, after having ſubdued the *Vandals*, waged with the *Oſtro-Goths*, in *Italy*, and their various Fate in different Encounters; and the Expedition of the *Franks* againſt the *Wiſi-Goths*, in *Spain*, with all which is interſperſed the Hiſtories of ſeveral other *German* Nations; and particularly the Deſcent of the *Bavarians*, their Succeſs in *Noricum*, and how they became ſubject to the *Franks*.

THE Thirteenth Book goes to the Year 561, and contains, among other things, *Juſtinian*'s War in *Illyricum*, with the Devaſtations which enſued; the Hiſtories of the *Gepidæ*, *Heruli*, and *Longobards*, (or *Lombards*;) the Irruptions of the *Huns* and *Sclavi*, from whom, among others, the *Ruſſian* Empire, and the Kingdom of *Poland*, took their Riſe; the Hiſtory of the *Sclaveni* and *Antæ*, with an Account of their Origin, Perſons, Language, Religion and Manners; and of their Irruptions into the Provinces of *Illyricum*; The various Fate and Concluſion of the *Gothick* War; and the Reſtoration of *Italy* to the Emperor's Subjection. The ſucceſsful Expeditions of the *Franks*, againſt the *Saxons*: The Author's Remarks upon the Downfal of ſo many Kingdoms, and particularly of that of the *Oſtro-Goths*; the Continuation of the Hiſtory of

the

the *Franks*, &c. *Juſtinian*'s new Regulations; the State of the *Chriſtian* Religion in theſe Times, in the ſeveral Parts of *Germany*, &c.

IN the Fourteenth, continued to the Year 613, we have, among other Things, the Decay of the *Roman* Empire, after the Death of *Juſtinian*; the Deſtruction of the Empire of the *Gepidæ*, in *Dacia*; the Invaſion of *Italy* by the *Longobards*; the bloody War between *Chilperic* and *Sigebert*, Kings of the *Franks*, and their Succeſſors, 'till *Clotarius*, II, brought that People again under one Head, in the Year 613; the Hiſtories of ſeveral other *German* Nations continued; the fatal Conſequences of the Hatred between the two Queens, *Brunehild* and *Fredegund*; the unhappy Fate of *Meroveus*; the Differences between *Guntram* and *Childebert*; the Encreaſe of the Empire of the *Wiſi-Goths* in *Spain*; the State of the *Saxon* Kingdoms in *Britain*, and of Chriſtianity in *Britain* and *Scotland*, &c. The Converſion of the *Anglo-Saxons*, their Language, Laws, &c. and the Fate and ignominious Death of Queen *Brunehild*.

THE Fifteenth, continued to the Year 715, contains the Hiſtory of the *Franks*, under the Succeſſors of *Clotaire* II. The Kingdom of the *Franks* reſtored to a peaceful State; the Improvement of the Laws of ſeveral Nations, particularly of the *Bavarians* and *Alemanni*; the Hiſtory of the ancient Inhabitants of *Carniola*, *Carinthia*, &c. their Wars with the *Franks*; a caſual Account of the Riſe and wonderful Progreſs of the *Saracens*, and the Followers of *Mahomet*; the Power of the *Maires de Palais* in *France*, and particularly of *Pipin* the Elder; Tranſactions under *Clovis* III, *Childebert* III, and *Dagobert* III. Origin of the City of *Liege*; the Propagation

pagation of the *Chriſtian* Religion in ſeveral of the *German* Provinces; the Irruption of the *Saracens* into *Spain*; the Reeſtabliſhment of the Empire of the *Wiſi-Goths*, &c. Obſervations concerning the Conſtitution of the *Wiſi-Gothick* Empire, and on the Language, Writings and Laws of that Nation.

THE Sixteenth Book contains, among other Matters, the Wars of *Charles Martel*, the Son of *Pipin*, with the Dukes of *Aquitain*, the *Swabians*, *Bavarians*, *Saxons*, *Frieſlanders* and *Saracens*, together with their ſeveral Hiſtories; the Continuation of the Hiſtory of the Empire; the State of *Italy*; the Continuation of the Controverſies concerning Religion; the Death of *Charles Martel*. *Carolomannus* and *Pipin* divide the Adminiſtration of the Government, and exclude their Brother *Grifo*; their Wars with the *Bavarians*, *Saxons*, *Swabians*, &c. Remains of *Paganiſm* among the new Converts to *Chriſtianity*; the Continuation of the Hiſtory of the Empire; *Carolomannus* reſigns, and retires into a Convent; the Acquiſition of the Crown of *France*, by *Pipin* the Younger; the Hiſtory of the *Longobards* in *Italy*; and the Revolution which enſued, when *Charlemain*, after he had ſubdued them, aſſumed the *Imperial* Dignity. To conclude this Volume, the Author gives a Deſcription of the State of the Government, Manners, Laws, Arms, Turnaments, Muſick, and whatever elſe can contribute towards a more perfect Knowledge of the Nation of the *Franks*.

THE Author adviſes me, that, with this Volume, he very properly ends his Hiſtory of the *Ancient Germans*; and that what he ſhall hereafter publiſh, tho' it may not, improperly, be look'd

look'd upon as a Continuation of this Work, will appear under a different Title. He informs me, in particular, that he has the Manuſcript of a Work ready, which will carry on this Hiſtory, from the Beginning of the Reign of *Charlemaign*, to that of *Charles* V; which, no Doubt, from ſo laborious and judicious an Author, muſt be highly acceptable to the Publick. As I have Reaſon to hope the ſame Favour, from my Worthy Friend, in this new Work, as I have had in the ſecond Volume that I am now publiſhing, the Tranſlation of it will be printed very near as ſoon as the Original, and the Subſcribers to theſe two Volumes, ſhall have the ſame Advantage in the Continuance: But as the many important Avocations this learned Gentleman has on his Hands; and the Accuracy with which he, in the Publication of all his Works, ſuperviſes the Preſs, obliged him to keep the Publick ten whole Years in impatient Expectation of the *Second Volume* of the *Hiſtory of the Ancient Germans*, after he had publiſhed the *Firſt*, (which however is of ſo great Importance, and ſo very intereſting, that it makes ample Amends for the Delay,) it will be difficult to ſay when we may expect the Satisfaction of this new Work; tho', as the Manuſcript is already finiſh'd, we may hope it will not be very long. In the mean Time, each of theſe Two Volumes ends at ſo remarkable a Period, as to make a compleat Work by itſelf: And the two Volumes together are a perfect *Hiſtory of all the Northern Nations, who are comprehended, by our Author, under the general Denomination of the Ancient Germans*, who overthrew the mighty Power of the *Romans*, and were the common Anceſtors of almoſt all the Nations of *Europe*: This, I ſay, is an entire finiſh'd Hiſtory of all theſe Nations; tho' even no Continuation of it ſhould ever be publiſhed.

ABRIDGE-

ABRIDGEMENTS of Hiſtory, if done with Judgment, have always been highly eſteemed, and are of general Uſe; but this is properly an Abridgment, or an Abſtract, of a great Number, or indeed of all the Hiſtories which are extant of thoſe Times. What Satisfaction muſt it not then be to the Reader, and what Obligation has he not to the indefatigable Author, who has taken ſo much Pains to lay before him, in a ſmall Compaſs, and in a juſt and exact Order, a Hiſtory ſo entangled with that of other Nations, as has hitherto deterr'd every Body from attemping it!

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THE

Septentrio

GERMANIA ANTIQVA

SCANDIA sive SCANDINAVIA

Cimbrorum Reliquiæ

CHERSONESVS CIMBRICA

Teutoni

Teutoni

SINVS CODANVS

MARE SVEVICVM

Sinus Venedicus

Electrides Insulæ

Clilipenus Sinus

Aestii

SARMATIAE PARS

VRRENSIS

Venedi

Venedici Montes

Sciri

Lemovii qui et Heruli

Gothones

Carini

Rugii

Rugium

Sidini

Viritum

Burgudiones

Lango bardi

Suardones

Eudoses

Varini

Marionis altera

Treva

Angli

Marionis

Fosi qui et Saxones

Bahusus fl.

Alius ostium

Alius ostium

Visurgis ostium

Chauci sive Cauchi majores

Chauci sive Cauchi minores

Amisia fl.

Amisia Pago

Flevum Castellum

Fletia Insula

Flevus

Vebrus fl.

Frisii majores

Frisii

Marsaci

Vahalis

Ulaba fl.

Bructeri

Chamavi

Tecelia

Marsi

Tricto brugum

Luppia

Luppia fl.

Isiso fl.

Castellum

Mosa Flu.

Rhenus fl.

Menapii

Toxandri

GALLIAE BELGICAE

Ubii

Ulipii seu Ulipetes

Iuh

Tencteri

Segus fl.

Ones

CATTI

Colonia Agrippina

Salius fl.

Mosa Fl

Salius Fl.

Ardenna

Mosella fl.

Marina fl.

Augusta Trevirorum

Nava fl.

Consuentia

Mattiaci

Mattium

Taunus Mons

Fontes Mattiaci

Monimentum Trajani

Magontiacum

Nicer

Vangiones

Treueri

Nemetes

Neomagus

Sedusii

Mediomatrici

Decem Pagi Argentoratum

Marcomannorum antiqua sedes

Harudes

Fons Danubii

Augusta Vindelicorum

Vsarus fl.

Deumate Mons

Brisiacus Mons

Rhenus fl.

Vnoba Mons

Augusta Rauracorum

VINDELICIA

PARS

Campodunum

Aenus fl.

Iuvavia

NORICI PARS

Murus fl.

Vindebona

Getius Mons

PANNONIAE PARS

ad pontum

Danubius Fl.

Cuius fl.

Carnuntum

Gramma fl.

Carpates Montes

Alpes Baſternicæ

Tibiſcus Fl.

Hieraſus Fl. h. Pruth.

Iazyges

Vilantuarium

Tyras Fl. hodie Nieſter

Carrodunum alterum

Carrodunum

Lugii seu Logiones

TRANS VISTVLANI

Burii

Marlingi

Marcomannorum

Boi

OHEMVM nova sedes

Narisci

Quadi

Hercynia Silva

Hercynii Montes

Sudeti Montes

Luna Silva

Eburum

Elurodunum

Marisia fl.

Gothini

Vistula fl.

Vistula flu. vermanus Germaniæ

Sarmatiae pars

Germani

Semnones

Suevi

Alius fl.

Salinæ

Visurgis

Tropaeum Drusi

Strepa alius Suevus

Mehibocus Mons

Chamavi

Chasuari

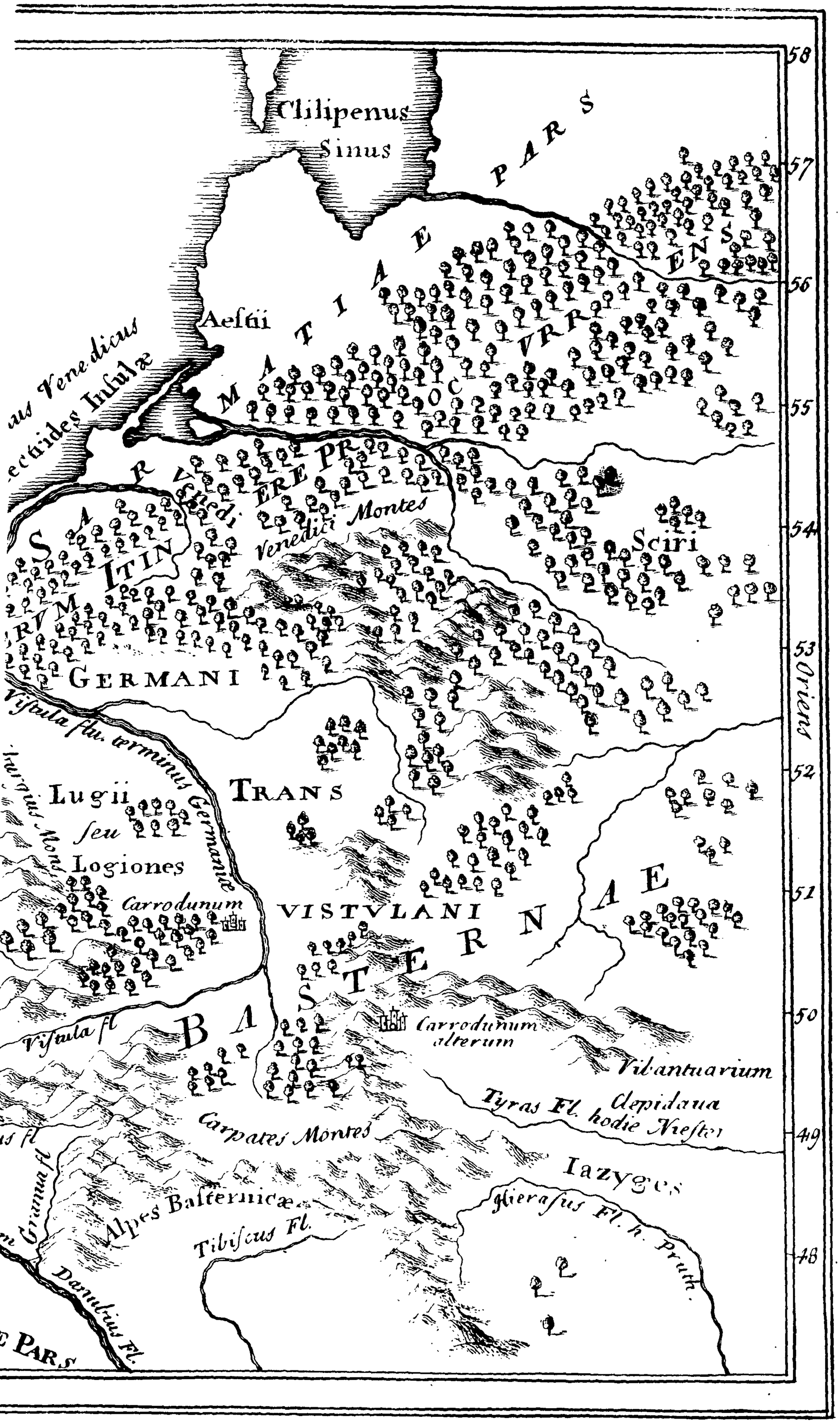
Tubantes

Frisii

Occidens

Meridies

58 57 56 55 54 53 52 51 50 49 48


Clilipenus
Sinus
PARS
Aestii
Venedicus
Insulæ
MARI
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Sciri
SARMATIN
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Lugii
seu
Logiones
Carrodunum
VISTVLANI
STERNAE
Carrodunum alterum
Vistula fl.
Vistula Mons
Vistula fluvius Germaniæ
Vibantuarium
Tyras Fl. hodie Nester
Carpates Montes
Iazyges
Hierasus Fl. h. Pruth.
Alpes Basternicæ.
Tibiscus Fl.
Gran fl
Danubius Fl.
PARS
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53 Orient
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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ANCIENT GERMANS.

BOOK I.

The HISTORY of the GERMANS, to the Concluſion of the CIMBRIAN War.

SECT. I. *THE Uncertainty of the Accounts we have of the Ancient* Germans. *The Author's Deſign in this Work.* II. *The Countries which the Ancients comprized under the Name of* Germany. III. *The* Gauls *ſend Colonies into* Germany: IV. *And, at the ſame Time, into* Italy. *Whether the* Germans *had any Share in theſe Excurſions? Examination of a Paſſage in the* Faſti Capitolini. V. *Of the* German *Colonies which ſettled in* Gaul *and* Britain. VI. *The Original of the Name of* Germans. VII. *The* Cimbri *and* Teutones *forſake their native Country. Whether the* Cimbri *and* Cimmerii *were one and the ſame People?* Note, (1.) *Whether they marched the ſame Way as the* Teutones *did?* Papirius Carbo, *and* M. Julius Silanus *are vanquiſhed by the* Cimbri. VIII. *The* Tigurini *march to join the* Cimbri, *and, in their Way, overthrow* L. Caſſius. M. Aurelius Scaurus *is beaten, at the ſame Time, by the* Cimbri. IX. *Of the* Ambrones. C. Manlius *and* Q. Cervilius Cepio *are unfortunate in their Encounters with the* Cimbri, *and their Allies.* X. *The* Cimbri *invade* Spain: *And make a League with the* Teutones *to attack* Italy, *on both Sides at once. The Original of the* Atuatici. XI. C. Marius *ſent againſt the* Germans

into Gaul. Luctatius Catulus *is commanded to defend the* Norick Alps. XII. *The* Ambrones *and the* Teutones *are beaten by* Marius, *near* Aix. *Of* Teutobochus, *King of the* Teutones. *Whether the Triumphal Arch at* Orange *was erected in Memory of this Victory?* Note, (5.) *The Fable of* Teutobochus's *Tomb.* Note, (7.) XIII. Luctatius Catulus, *who was Conſul with* Marius, *driven by the* Cimbri *beyond the* Atheſis *or* Adige. *Of the Brazen Bull of the* Cimbri. XIV. Marius *joins* Catulus *in* Italy. *The* Cimbri *overthrown by* Marius. *Their Order of Battle, and the Arms they bore.* Note, (1.) *Their Philoſophy on the Article of Death.* Ib. *The Accounts which* Plutarch *had of this Battle.* XV. *A* German *Intrenchment of Carriages, defended by their Wives and Children, but forced by the* Romans. *Of the Sorcereſſes which the* Cimbri *had always in their Armies.* Note, (1.) XVI. *The* Tigurini *retreat.* XVII. *The Triumph of* Marius *and* Luctatius Catulus. *The Trophies of* Marius. *An Inſcription erected in Honour to him.* XVIII. *Of the* Cimbri *who remained in their own Country.*

The Uncertainty of the Accounts we have of the ancient *Germans.*

§. I. IT would be as difficult to decide, by what Route, and under whoſe Conduct, the *Germans* firſt came into that Country, which owes its Name to them, as to determine, with any Certainty, from which of the Sons of *Noah* they were lineally deſcended. (1.) What *Tacitus* (2.) has written of them, from their own Relations, is obſcure and fabulous. It evidently ſhews what unexperienced Hiſtorians they were, and how imperfect the Accounts muſt be which the *Romans* had from them. The incoherent Fables and Chimeras which *Jo. Annius* of *Viterbo* would impoſe upon the World, and father on *Beroſus*, have, indeed, in former Times, ſeduced ſome of our Countrymen (the *Germans*;) but they are now ſo exploded, that it is almoſt unneceſſary to caution our Readers againſt them. In the moſt ancient *Greek* Hiſtorians, the *German* Nations lie concealed, partly under the Name of *Scythians*, (3.) and partly under that of *Celtæ*: But, among both, there are, at the ſame Time, ſo many other, different People,

§. I. (1.) THE *Reader may, however, ſee, what* M. Leibnitz *ſays, in his* Meditationes de Originibus Gentium, e Linguis Gentium deductæ.

(2) TACITUS *de M G. c.* 2. Celebrant Carminibus antiquis (quod unum apud illos memoriæ & annalium genus eſt) Tuiſtonem, Deum terra editum & filium Mannum, originem gentis, conditoreſque. Manno tres filios aſſignant, e quorum nominibus proximi Oceano Ingævones, medii Hermiones, cæteri Iſtævones vocentur. Quidam autem licentia vetuſtatis, plures Deo ortos, pluresque gentis appellationes, Marſos, Gambrivios, Suevos, Vandalios adfirmant; eaque vera & antiqua Nomina.

(3) PLINIUS *H. N. L.* IV. *c.* 25. Scytharum nomen uſquequaque tranſit in Sarmatas atque Germanos. Nec aliis priſca illa duravit appellatio, quam qui extremi gentium harum, ignoti prope cæteris mortalibus degunt.

compre-

comprehended, that we dare not preſume to apply thoſe Things to the *Germans*, which we read of the *Scythians* and *Celtæ*, if we have not ſome concurring Circumſtances, to enforce the Teſtimony. Beſides, the *Greeks* themſelves had but a confuſed and uncertain Knowledge of the *German* Affairs, till the *Romans*, by their Wars, laid open the moſt diſtant Parts of *Germany*, to the Curioſity of ſuch as applied themſelves to the Study of Hiſtory and Geography. (4.) In Hiſtory, as in other Sciences, the beſt Method is, therefore, to begin with thoſe Things which are moſt clear and evident, for upon ſuch muſt thoſe Conjectures be grounded, which are to ſupply the Want of Certainty in other Caſes.

The Author's Deſign in this Work.

WE ſhall, upon this Account, begin our *Hiſtory* of the *Ancient Germans*, with ſuch Things as we find related in the moſt approved *Latin* and *Greek* Writers. But, as the *Germans* were not then all formed into one ſingle Community, we muſt be contented with the ſeparate Hiſtories of particular Nations, 'till we come to a Period of Time, when the *Franks* brought and united all the other *Germans*, who remained in *Germany*, together with a great Number of the *Roman* Provinces, under their Dominion. And, as the Defection of the Empire of the *Franks* gave Riſe to the *German Empire*, an Illuſtration of the Original of which is the whole Scope of this Work, our Deſign is, not only to trace the Hiſtories of thoſe Nations who inhabited *Germania Magna*, and to follow thoſe who erected new Kingdoms in their ſeveral Tranſmigrations; but likewiſe, as Opportunity ſhall offer, to ſhew the State of thoſe Countries which were, indeed, before, under the Dominion of the *Romans*, but were afterwards conquered by the *Germans*, who have ever ſince poſſeſſed them.

The Countries which the Ancients comprized under the Name of *Germany*.

§. II. THE Change of Confines being one of the moſt neceſſary and material Points to be adjuſted in Hiſtory, it may not be amiſs, previouſly to mark out, at leaſt in general, thoſe Countries which the *Germans* inhabited, at the Time when the *Romans* firſt began to be thoroughly acquainted with them. Towards the *Weſt*, the *Rhine* originally ſeparated the ancient *Gauls* from the *Germans*; (theſe two being accounted by the *Roman* Hiſtorians diſtinct Nations;) 'till ſome Colonies out of *Gaul* marched into the *Hercynian Foreſt*, and, on the other Side, ſeveral *German* People took Poſſeſſion of one Part of *Gaul*. The *Romans* afterwards conquering *Gaul*, carried more *Germans* over the *Rhine*; ſo that the left Banks of this River, from the Country of the

(4) PLINIUS *L.* IV. *c.* 28. Nam Germani multis poſtea (*ſcilicet*, *poſt tempora M. Agrippæ*) annis nec tota percognita eſt.

Helvetians, to the *North Sea*, was inhabited by *German* Nations. Towards the *East*, the Confines are not so exactly known. Some are of Opinion, that they reached to the Extent of the *Hercynian Forest*, and even to the *Mæotick* Lake. This has induced some Historians to reckon the *Daci* (1.) among the *German* Nations, and others to apply to the *Germans*, what has been related of the *Amazons* (2) and *Scythians*, who dwelt on the Banks of the *Tanais*. On the *North* Side, the *Romans* reckoned all that Tract of Land, which now contains *Holstein*, *Sleswick*, and *Jutland*, and some have accounted even *Scandinavia*, by them supposed to be an Island, as a Part of *Germany*. (3) The Language, Religion, natural Dispositions, Stature and Customs of these Nations, which were afterwards separated from the People who retained the Name of *Germans*, and formed new Empires of their own, do likewise sufficiently shew their Consanguinity. And, notwithstanding every Change, which the Difference of Time, Religion, and Education could bring to pass, they always preserved not a few Marks of their original Descent. Finally, towards the *South*, after the *Romans* had brought *Rhætia*, *Noricum* and *Pannonia* under their Yoke; the *Danube* separated them from the *Germans*. The Inhabitants of this vast Tract of Land were divided, among themselves, into several different Nations, which indeed may, each of them, have had something peculiar, and differing from the rest; but were, however, all in general reckoned under certain Tribes. (4) In what Parts each Nation had its particular Residence, and how they changed their Habitations, has been a Subject of Enquiry among many of the Learn-

§. II. (1.) Tacitus *distinguishes the* Germans *from the* Daci, *in his brief Description of the* German *Confines*, *de M. G. c.* 1. Germania omnis a Galliis, Rhætiisque, & Pannoniis Rheno, & Danubio fluminibus, a Sarmatis, Dacisque, mutuo metu aut montibus separatur. Cætera Oceanus ambit, latos sinus, & insularum immensa spatia complectens, nuper cognitis quibusdam gentibus, ac regibus, quos bellum aperuit.

(2.) *V.* GUNDLINGIANA, *P.* III. *n.* 3.

(3.) Plinius, *L.* IV. *c.* 27. Incipit deinde clarior aperiri fama ab gente Ingævonum, quæ est prima inde Germaniæ. Sevo mons ibi immensus, nec Riphæis jugis minor, immanem ad Cimbrorum usque promontorium efficit sinum, qui Codanus vocatur, refertus Insulis: quarum clariffima Scandinavia est, incompertæ magnitudinis, portionem tantum ejus, quod sit notum, Hillevionum gente quingentis incolente pagis, quæ alterum orbem terrarum eam appellat. Nec est minor opinione Eningia. Quidam hæc habitari ad Vistulam usque fluvium, a Sarmatis, Venedis, Sciris, Hirris tradunt.

(4.) Plinius *ib. c.* 28. Germanorum genera quinque: Vindili, quorum pars Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, Guttones. Alterum genus Ingævones, quorum pars Cimbri, Teutoni, ac Chaucorum gentes. Proximi autem Rheno Istævones, quorum pars Sicambri. Mediterranei Hermiones, quorum pars Suevi, Hermunduri, Chatti, Cherusci. Quinta pars Peuconi, Basternæ, supra dictis contermini Dacis. Amnes clari in oceanum defluunt, Guttalus, Vistillus sive Vistula, Albis, Visurgis, Amisius, Rhenus, Mosa. Introrsus vero nullo inferius nobilitate, Hercynium jugum prætenditur.

ed,

ed, and, as Circumſtances may give Occaſion, ſhall be obſerved in the Sequel of this Hiſtory.

§. III. The moſt ancient Marks of this, which we find in Hiſtory, are, that ſome Colonies out of *Gaul* paſſed the *Rhine*, and ſettled in the *Hercynian Foreſt*. About the Time *Tarquinius Priſcus* reigned in *Rome*, it is ſaid, that *Ambigatus*, a King of the *Celtæ*, who were in Poſſeſſion of one Part of *Gaul*, found his Subjects ſo greatly encreaſed, that he thought it expedient to detach ſome Colonies to ſettle elſewhere. *Belloveſus* and *Sigoveſus*, his Siſter's Sons, two active and valiant Princes, who deſpiſed Danger, when it led to Glory and Power, were appointed their Leaders: And the Flight of Birds, a ſuperſtitious Cuſtom, as much in Vogue with the *Celtæ*, as among the *Romans*, and other ancient People, was to determine their Courſe. *Sigoveſus* was directed, by the Augury, to paſs the *Rhine*, and *Belloveſus* to penetrate into *Italy*. (1.) We find, however, no Account in Hiſtory of the Colonies which *Sigoveſus* carry'd over the *Rhine*, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that *Cæſar* is ſpeaking of them, when he ſays; that, in his Time, there dwelt a Nation of the *Gauls* in the Heart of *Germany*, who entirely conformed to the Cuſtoms and Manners of that People; (2.) or that they are meant by *Tacitus*, who in expreſs Terms accounts the *Boji* a Nation of the *Gauls*. (3.)

The *Gauls* ſend Colonies into *Germany*.

§. IV. As for the Colonies, who paſſed the *Alps*, *Livy* gives us a more circumſtantial Account of them. According to him, *Belloveſus*, having paſs'd the *Sylva Taurina*, vanquiſhed the *Tuſcians*, whoſe Dominions extended thither, and laid the Foundation of the City of *Milan*. The *Cenomanni*, *Saluvii* (or *Sallyes*) and, at length, the *Boji* and *Lingones*, (or *Langres*) followed his Footſteps, and the two latter

And at the ſame Time into *Italy*.

§. III. (1.) Livius, *L.* V. *c.* 34. autem propinquitas & tranſmarinarum rerum notitia, multa ad copiam atque uſus largitur. Paulatim aſſuefacti ſuperari, multiſque victi proeliis, ne ſe quidem ipſi cum illis virtute comparant. Rhenanus in Comment. Rer. German. *Suppoſes that theſe* Volcæ Tectosages *inhabited the Banks of the* Neckar, *and that the Caſtle of* Teck *took its Name from them. And* Dionysius Vossius, *in his Remarks upon* Cæsar, ad h. l. *ſtarts the Queſtion, whether* Volkach, *in modern* Franconia, *had not its Name from theſe* Volcæ?

(2) Cæsar *de B. G. L.* VI. *c.* 24. Ac fuit antea tempus, quum Germanos Galli virtute ſuperarent, & ultro bella inferrent, ac propter hominum multitudinem, agrique, inopiam, trans Rhenum colonias mitterent. Itaque ea, quæ fertiliſſima ſunt, Germaniæ loca circum Hercyniam ſilvam, quam Eratoſtheni, & quibuſdam Græcis, fama notam eſſe video, quam illi Orciniam appellant, Volcæ Tectoſages occuparunt, atque ibi conſederunt. Quæ gens ad hoc tempus iis ſedibus ſe continet, ſummamque habet juſtitiæ, & bellicæ laudis opinionem, nuncque in eadem inopia, egeſtate, patientia, qua Germani, permanent, eodem victu, & cultu corporis utuntur. Gallis

(3.) Tacitus *de M. G. c.* 28. Igitur inter Hercyniam ſilvam, Rhenumque & Moenum amnes Helvetii, ulteriora Boji, Gallica utraque gens, tenuere.

paſſed

paſſed over the *Apennin Alps*, (1.) Laſt of all followed the *Semnones*, who, after having long rambled about, pillag'd *Rome*, and reduced the *Capitol* to ſuch Extremity, that the Reſidue of the *Romans* muſt have purchas'd their Liberty with Gold, if the valiant Dictator *Camillus* had not come ſeaſonably to their Relief. (2.) The Regions about the *Apennin Alps*, thro' which the *Gauls* paſſed in Swarms into *Italy*, were, at that Time, inhabited by *German* People; (3.) and therefore, it is highly probable, that they had their Share in theſe Excurſions, and in the Ravages which enſued. This, however, cannot be ſo evidently proved from the *Roman* Hiſtory; becauſe the *Romans*, before they paſſed the *Alps*, with their Armies, and by that Means got a diſtinct Knowledge of the *Germans* and *Gauls*, confounded both theſe Nations, under the common Appellation of *Gauls*. We find a remarkable Paſſage in the *Faſti Capitolini*, at the Year 531.

Whether the *Germans* had any Share in theſe Excurſions? Examination of a Paſſage in the *Faſti Capitolini*.

M. CLAUDIUS M. F. M. N. MARCELLUS =
COS. DE. GALLEIS. INSUBRIBUS. ET. GERMANEIS
K. MART. ISQUE. SPOLIA. OPIMA RETTULIT.
DUCE HOSTIUM VIRIDOMARO AD CLASTIDIUM
INTERFECTO. (4.)

THIS Victory of *Marcellus* is not only highly extolled in the *Roman* Hiſtories; (5.) but *Virgil* reckons it among the great Actions, which *Anchiſes*

§. IV. (1.) LIV. *L.* V. *c.* 35. Aliæ ſubinde manus Cenomannorum, Elitovio duce, veſtigia priorum ſecuta, eodem ſaltu, favente Bellovcſo, quum tranſcendiſſet Alpes, ubi nunc Brixia ac Verona urbes ſunt (locos tenuere Libui) conſidunt, &c. *Some pretend to read here* Manus Germanorum, *but without Grounds.*

(2.) LIVIUS, *L.* V. *c.* 35.—49.

(3.) LIVIUS, *L.* XXI. *c.* 28. Nec veriſimile eſt, ea tum ad Galliam patuiſſe itinera; utique quæ ad Penninum ferunt, obſepta gentibus SEMIGERMANIS fuiſſent, neque hercule montibus his, (ſi quem forte id movit) ab tranſitu Poenorum ullo, Veragri, incolæ jugi ejus, norunt nomen inditum: ſed ab eo, quem in ſummo ſacratum vertice, Penninum montani appellant.

(4.) THAT *which is printed in ſmaller Capitals has been added, by the* Criticks, *to the* Faſti.

(5.) POLYBIUS *gives an Account of this Expedition*, L. 2. p. 104. ſeq. *and ſays, the* Inſubres *called in the* Geſatæ, *who inhabited the Banks of the* Rhone, *to their Aſſiſtance, but makes no mention of* Viridomarus. *Other Hiſtorians, who ſpeak of him, vary in ſome Circumſtances.* Plutarch *gives us a Relation of this War, in his Life of* Marcellus, *and after having ſaid of the* Inſubres: Milites ex cæteris Gallis mercenaria ſtipendia merentes, qui Gæſatæ vocantur, exciverant. *He adds, p.* 300. Gæſatarum Rex Viridomarus decem millibus militum aſſumtis regionem circum padanam vaſtavit. Quod ubi perlatum ad Marcellum eſt collega ad Acerras cum peditatu, univerſaque gravi armatura relicto, reliquum equitatum ſecum trahens nec die nec nocte raptim agmine facto, remiſit iter, dum ad hoſtes pervenit juxta Claſtidium vicum Galliæ, &c. *Cluverus* in Antiq. Ger. L. I. c. 8. p. 55, &c. 44. p. 298. *proves, that the* Geſatæ *were not a pe-*

chiſes foretold his Son, in the *Elyſian Fields.* (6.) In the Collection of Medals belonging to the *Cornelian* Family, we find one, upon which this *Marcellus* is repreſented, offering the Spoils of vanquiſhed *Viridomarus*, in the Temple of *Jupiter Ferctrius.* (7.) It may, however, be queſtioned, whether thoſe who copied the *Faſti Capitolini* have not been miſtaken in their Reading; ſince, of all the Hiſtorians of thoſe Times, none mention the *Germans*, a Name perhaps not then known. It is probable they may have read *Germani* inſtead of *Cenomanni*: The latter were likewiſe a People of *Gaul*, who inhabited the Countries next adjoining to thoſe of the *Inſubres*, where afterwards the Cities of *Breſcia*, *Cremona* and *Placenza* were built, and who had a conſiderable Share in this, as well as the enſuing Wars with the *Romans.* And we have the more Reaſon to believe this, as we find in the *Faſti*, that, not long after the Times of *Marcellus*, *Cethegus* triumphed over both theſe Nations, the *Inſubres* and the *Cenomanni*, at one and the ſame Time. (8.)

§. V. WE find a more ſatisfactory Account of the Colonies which the *Germans* ſent over the *Rhine* into *Gaul.* *Julius Cæſar* (1.) informs us, that

Of the *German* Colonies which ſettled in *Gaul* and *Britain.*

a peculiar Nation, but a kind of Militia, ſo called from the Word Geſa, *a Sort of half Pike of Iron, which was the Arms they uſed; as the* Schleuderer (*or* Slingers) *were ſo called from their* Schleuder (*or* Slings) *and the* Halbardeers *from their* Halberds. *In* Livy's Epitome, 20. Viridomarus *is called a King of the* Inſubres. Exercitibus Romanis tum primum trans Padum ductis, Galli Inſubres, aliquot proeliis fuſi, in deditionem venerunt. M. Claudius Marcellus, occiſo Inſubrium Gallorum duce, Virodomaro, opima ſpolia retulit. *Florus* L. II. c. 4. *ſays*; Viridomaro Rege, Romana arma Vulcano promiſerant: aliorſum vota ceciderunt. Occiſo enim Rege, Marcellus tertia poſt Romulum patrem Feretrio Jovi arma ſuſpendit. In *Eutropius* L. III. c. 2. Sect. 5. *We find*, Poſtea cum collega ingentes copias Gallorum peremit, Mediolanum oppugnavit, tandem prædam Romam pertulit, ac triumphans Marcellus ſpolia Galli, ſtipiti impoſita, humeris ſuis vexit. *This* Viridomarus *is likewiſe mentioned by* Propertius, Lib. IV, Eleg. X. v. 40. ſeq.

Claudius Eridanum trajectos arcuit hoſtes,
Belgica cui vaſti parma relata ducis.
Virdumari. genus hic Rheno jactabat ab ipſo
Nobilis e tectis fundere Geſa rotis.

The firſt Line is likewiſe read thus:

Claudius at Rheno trajectos arcuit hoſtes.

However the moſt noted Criticks have ſhewn, that inſtead of the Words at Rheno, *we muſt read* Eridanum. *See* Bruckhuſius ad h. l.

(6) VIRGILIUS ÆN. VI. v. 855.—860.

Aſpice ut inſignis ſpoliis Marcellus opimis
Ingreditur, Victorque viros ſupereminet omnes.
Hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu
Siſtet eques, ſternet Poenos, Gallumque rebellem
Tertiaque arma patri, ſuſpendet capta Quirino MANNIS.

Confer. Perizonium *in animadvers. Hiſt. c.* 7.

(7) V. PATINI familiæ Romanæ in numis. p. 87. num. 3 4.

(8) AD *an.* V. C. DLVI. C. CORNELIUS L. F. M. N. Cethegus Coſ. de Inſubribus & Ceno:

§. V. (1) CÆSAR, *L.* II. *c.* 4. Quum ab his quæreret, quid in bello poſſent——ſic reperiebat, pleroſque Belgas eſſe ortos a Germanis, Rhenumque antiquitus tranſductos, propter loci fertilitatem ibi conſediſſe, Galloſque, qui ea loca incolerent, expuliſſe; ſoloſque eſſe, qui patrum noſtrorum memoria omni Gallia vexata, Teutones, Cimbroſque intra fines

ſuos

that the *Belgæ*, who were in Poſſeſſion of a third Part of *Gaul*, and who, in his Days, were eſteemed the moſt valiant People of that Nation, ow'd their Extraction to the *Germans*. The *Treviri* and *Nervii*, in particular, were proud of this Deſcent. The *Belgæ* afterwards peopled the Coaſts of *Britain*, (2.) and were in continual War with the *Germans*. (3.)

The Original of the Name of *Germans*.

§. VI. The very Name of *Germans* took it's Riſe on the other Side of the *Rhine*; when the *Condruſi*, *Eburones*, *Cæræſi*, and *Pæmani* paſſed that River, after the Example of other *German* Nations, who had before eſtabliſhed themſelves in *Gaul*. Theſe were the firſt People to whom the Name of *Germans* (1.) was given, which Name was afterwards extended, not only on the *Gallick* Banks of the *Rhine*, but on the oppoſite Side of that River, to other *German* Nations, who had the ſame Original, Language and Cuſtoms, 'till at laſt it became a general Denomination for all the *Germans*: (2.) We have ſeveral Examples of par-

ſuos ingredi prohibuerint. Qua ex re fieri, uti earum rerum memoria magnam ſibi auctoritatem, magnoſque ſpiritus in re militari ſumerent.

(2) Idem *L.* V. *c.* 12. Britanniæ Pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos in inſula ipſa memoria proditum dicunt. Maritima pars ab iis, qui, prædæ ac belli inferendi cauſa ex Belgio tranſierant, qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum appellantur, quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt, & bello illato ibi remanſerunt, atque agros colere cœperunt.

Tacitus, *Vit. Agricolæ*, *c.* 11. Rutilæ Caledoniam inhabitantium Comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem aſſeverant.

(3) Cæsar, *L.* I. *c.* 1. Horum omnium fortiſſimi ſunt Belgæ, propterea quod a cultu atque humanitate provinciæ longiſſime abſunt, minimeque ad eos mercatores ſæpe commeant, atque ea, quæ ad effeminandos animos pertinent, important. Proximique ſunt Germanis, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, quibus cum continenter bellum gerunt.

§. VI. (1) Idem, L. II. c. 4. Condruſos, Eburones, Cæræſos, Pæmanos, qui uno nomine Germani appellantur; & L. VI. c. 32. Segni, Condruſique, ex gente & numero Germanorum, qui ſunt inter Eburones, Treviroſque, legatos ad Cæſarem miſerunt, oratum, ne ſe in hoſtium numero duceret, neve omnium Germanorum, qui eſſent citra Rhenum, cauſam eſſe unam judicaret.

(2) Tacitus de M. G. c. 2. Cæterum Germaniæ vocabulum recens & nuper additum: quoniam, qui primi Rhenum tranſgreſſi, Gallos expulerint ac nunc Tungri, tunc Germani vocati ſunt. Ita nationis nomen, non gentis evanuiſſe paulatim, ut omnes primum a victore ob metum, mox a ſe ipſis, invento nomine, Germani vocarentur. *This Paſſage, which is in itſelf perplexed and obſcure, has given Room to the Learned, who have pretended to explain the Word* Germans, *to draw many different, and, in Part, very far fetched Concluſions, all which, however, have been attended with ſome Difficulties. Thus much is at leaſt evident, from this Paſſage of* Cæſar's, *that the* Condruſi, *and the other* German *Nations, who accompany'd them over the* Rhine, *and who, in the Days of* Tacitus *all went by the Name of* Tungri, *were not call'd* Germans *till they invaded* Gaul. *Among the many Alterations, which the Learned have thought fit to make in the Text it ſelf, that ſeems moſt deſerving of our Notice, when they read* A victis *inſtead of* a victore. *Taken in this Senſe, the Name of* Germans *would have been firſt given them by the* Gauls: *And, therefore, the Etymology of the Word has been ſought in the* Celtan *Tongue, and believed to be a Compound of the Word* Gerre, *which in that Language ſignifies* War, *and the Word* Man; *Conſequently the whole Word ſignifies, a* Soldier, *or Man train'd up to War. Let it be, however, either of* German *or* Gallick *Extraction, we*

cannot

particular Names, which, in Proceſs of Time, have become common to whole Nations. Thus the *Germans* themſelves are all called, in the *French* Tongue, *Allemands*; The Reader will find the Hiſtory and Actions of theſe firſt *Germans* in our Second Book. The *Condruſi*, in particular, are called by CÆSAR, *Clientes Trevirorum* (Vaſſals of the *Treviri.*) (3) But their Name diſappeared with the reſt; or, at leaſt, was very little heard of, after they were comprehended in general under the Name of *Tungri*.

§. VII. AMONG the *German* Nations, of whoſe Wars with the *Romans*, we have any ſatisfactory Account, in Hiſtory, the *Cimbri* and *Teutones* are the firſt. The *Cimbri* (1) had their Reſidence in the great Peninſula, which extended from the Mouth of the *Elve*, into the *North Sea*; (2) and which, from them, was called *Cherſoneſus Cimbrica*. The *Teutones* inhabited the neighbouring Coaſts and Iſlands of the *Eaſt Sea*, or *Baltick*. (3.) Their native Country not being extenſive enough for the Number of its Inhabitants, the moſt daring among them removed, with their Wives and Children, to ſeek new Habitations, in diſtant Regions. It is, indeed, a Doubt, whether both theſe Nations began their Excurſions, at one and the ſame Time, or which Way they directed their

The two firſt Victories obtained by the *Cimbri* over the *Romans*.

cannot forbear wondring, ſince, as Tacitus *writes, they themſelves made Uſe of it, that it has not been preſerved, and handed down to us, in their own Language.*

(3) CÆSAR. *L.* IV. *c.* 6. Condruſorum, qui ſunt Trevirorum Clientes.

§. VII. (1) ACCORDING *to* PLUTARCH's *Account, in* Vita Marii, *p.* 410. *Some of the Ancients imagin'd that the* Cimbri *were a-kin to the* Cimmerii, *on the Mæotick Lake.* STRABO, Lib. VII. p. 293. *gives the Opinion of* Poſidonius, *on this Matter, in the following Words:* Idem *(Poſidonius)* non inepta conjectura colligit, Cimbros homines fuiſſe prædones ac vagos armiſque ad Mæotin uſque Lacum progreſſos: & fuiſſe ab iis Cimmerium Boſphorum denominatum, quaſi Cimbricum, quum Græci Cimbros Cimmeriorum nomine afficiant. Idem perhibet, Bojos quondam Hercyniam incoluiſſe ſilvam, ac Cimbros ab iis, quum ad ea loca ſe contuliſſent repulſos, ad Iſtrum, & Scordicos Gallos deſcendiſſe. ERPOLD LINDENBRUCH, *in the Beginning of his Chronicle of the* Cimbrian *War, has given a ſmall Specimen, how we may reconcile the Accounts we have of the* Cimmerii, *with the Hiſtory of the* Cimbri.

(2) PLINIUS *H. N. L.* IV. *c.* 27. Promontorium Cimbrorum excurrens in maria longe peninſulam efficit.

(3.) PTOLEMEUS, *L.* II. *c.* 11. *p.* 23. Poſt Saxones vero à CHALUSO fluvio uſque ad Suevum fluvium tenent Pharodini ——— Inter Pharodinos vero & Suevos Teutones & Avarpi. MELA, *L.* III. *c.* 3. *writes:* Super Albim Codanus, ingens ſinus, magnis parviſque Inſulis refertus eſt. Hac re Mare, quod gremio litorum accipitur, nuſquam late patet, nec uſquam mari ſimile, verum aquis paſſim inter fluentibus ac ſæpe tranſgreſſis, vagum atque diffuſum facie amnium ſpargitur. ——In eo ſunt Cimbri & Teutoni: ultra ultimi Germaniæ Hermianes. *And farther, c.* 6. In illo ſinu, quem Codanum diximus, ſex *(ſcil. inſulæ)* ex iis Scandinavia, quam adhuc Teutoni tenent, ut magnitudine alias, ita foecunditate, anteſtat. LINDENBRUCH, *l. c. circa fin. ſuppoſes that they inhabited that Country, where the City of* Teutoburgium *was ſituated.*

Courſe? (4) According to the Account PATERCULUS (5) gives us, we might reaſonably conclude they invaded *Gaul*, with united Force; if, on the contrary, we did not find, by LIVY (6) and STRABO, (7) that the *Cimbri* alone had before penetrated into *Noricum* and *Illyricum*,
A. U. 640. and, about the 640th Year of the *Roman Æra*, (8) vanquiſhed the *Roman Conſul*, PAPIRIUS CARBO, near the City of *Noreja*. (9) Four Years after, they ſent an Ambaſſy to *Rome*, and entreated the State to aſſign them a Portion of *Land*, for their Habitation, in Return for which, they offered to ſerve the *Romans* in all their Wars: Their Requeſt was, however, denied; there being great Diviſions at that time in *Rome*, concerning the *Leges Agrariæ*, or Repartition of their Lands; and this Refuſal was, to the *Cimbri*, a Declaration of War. The *Conſul*, M. JUN. SILANUS (10) was ſoon after vanquiſhed by them in a pitched Battle; for which he was called to a ſtrict Account by the *Roman* People. (11)

The third Victory of the *Cimbri* over the *Romans*.

§. VIII. THIS War proved, in the Sequel, of the more dangerous Conſequence to the *Romans*, becauſe, about the ſame time, the *Tigurini* took to Arms, and joined with the *Cimbri*. Theſe *Tigurini*, (1) a

(4) PLUTARCHUS, in Vita Marii. p. 411. *D. takes Notice, in his Time, that he had found in ſome of the Ancients:* Has domo egreſſas, non uno neque perpetuo impetu, verum quoquo anno ſemper porro progredientes, ſub ver arma circumferendo, peragraſſe continentem Europæ.

(5) PATERCULUS, *L.* II. *c.* 8. Tum Cimbri & Teutoni tranſcendere Rhenum, multis mox noſtris, ſuiſque cladibus nobiles. *Conf.* JULIUS CÆSAR, *L.* II. *c.* 29.

(6) LIVIUS, *Epit.* 63. Cimbri gens vaga, popŭlabundi in Illyricum venerunt, ab iis Papirius Carbo Cos. cum exercitu fuſus eſt.

(7) STRABO, *L.* V. p. 214. Sita eſt Aquileja extra Venetorum fines ——— *CIↃ. CC.* Stadiis ad Norejam urbem, apud quam Cn. Carbo inani Conatu cum Cimbris conflixit. *Perhaps the* Cimbri *march'd firſt into* Illyricum, *and the* Teutones *directly into* Gaul; *whom the* Cimbri *might after follow, and join them there.* (8) TACITUS *de M. G. c.* 37. Sexcenteſimum & quadrageſimum annum urbs noſtra agebat, quum primum Cimbrorum auditas ſunt arma Cæcilio, Metello ac Papirio Coſs.

(9) *The City of* Noreja *was ſituate in the Regions of the* Carni, *on the Borders of* Illyricum, *about* 8 *or* 9 Roman *Miles from* Aquileja. *See the Words of* Strabo, *in Note* 7.

(10) C. Cæcil. Metello, M. Junio Silano Coſs. An. U. 644.

(11) LIVIUS, *Epit.* 65. M. Junius Silanus, Conſul, adverſum Cimbros infelicite, pugnavit. Legatis Cimbrorum ſedem & agros, in quibus conſiderent, poſtulantibus, ſenatus negavit. FLORUS, *L.* III. *c.* 3. *gives a farther Account of this Ambaſſy of the* Cimbri; Miſere legatos in Caſtra Silani, inde ad Senatum, petentes, ut Martius populus ſibi aliquid terræ darent, quaſi ſtipendium: cæterum, ut vellet, manibus atque Armis ſuis uteretur. Sed quas daret terras populus Romanus agrariis legibus intra ſe dimicaturus? Repulſi igitur, quod nequiverant precibus, armis petere conſtituunt.

ASCONIUS PEDIANUS, *at the End of his Commentary, in* Cicer. *and* Orat. II. pro C. Cornelio, *gives the following farther Account of the Battle with* Silanus: M. Silanus quinquennio ante Conſul fuerat, quam Domitius Tribunus Plebis: atque ipſe quoque adverſus Cimbros rem male geſſerat. Quam ob Cauſam Domitius eum apud populum accuſabat. Criminabatur, bellum cum Cimbris injuſſu Populi geſſiſſe, idque principium fuiſſe calamitatum, quas eo bello populus accepiſſet: ac de eo tabellam quoque dedit. Sed pleniſſime Silanus abſolutus eſt.

§. VIII. (1) SEE CELLARIUS, *in his Diſſertation* de Cimbris & Teutonis, §. 17. *and* 20.

People

People of *Helvetia*, (2) had likewiſe forſaken their native Country, in Queſt of new Habitations. On their March, they met with *L. Caſſius*, the *Roman* Conſul, on the Confines of the Regions belonging to the *Allobroges*, and overcame him in a pitched Battle. (3) Much about the ſame Time, M. AUR. SCAURUS, who had been Conſul the foregoing Year, but then commanded as *Legatus Conſulis* (or *Vice-Conſul*) (4) was ſo unfortunate, in an Action againſt the *Cimbri*, that he not only loſt the Field, but was himſelf taken Priſoner: Their King, *Bolus*, in the Council of War, which he held after this Battle, deſirous to dive into the Thoughts of his Priſoner, order'd him to be brought before him. *Scaurus*, who was under more Concern for the Honour of his Country, than his own Misfortune, repreſented to the Victor the Peril he was running into, if he made any further Attempt againſt the *Romans*, adding, that they were an invincible Nation. *Bolus* might eaſily have confuted his Priſoner, by putting him in Mind of the Succeſs of the late Battle: But he was ſo enraged at the Rhodomontade of a Man, whom he had juſt before ſubdued, that he cauſed him to be cut in Pieces on the Spot. (6)

§. IX. PERHAPS the *Cimbri* firſt united with the *Teutones*, after this Battle; for we find, from that time, the *Cimbri*, *Teutones* and *Tigurini* held together. We likewiſe often find the *Ambrones* mentioned with them; and it is probable, that they were a People of *Gaul*, who firſt joined the *Germans* in their Paſſage through that Country. There are, however, ſome, that believe them to have been *Germans*, who, dwelling in the Neighbourhood of the *Cimbri*, on the Banks of the *Amber*, accompanied them in their Excurſions. Againſt theſe, the *Roman* Conſul

The fourth Victory of the *Cimbri* over the *Romans*.

(2) *Of the Confines of the* Helvetians, *vide Book* II. §. 3.

(3) CÆSAR *de B. G. L.* 1. *c.* 12. *de Tigurinis.* Hic pagus unus, quum domo exiſſet, patrum noſtrorum memoria L. Caſſium, Conſulem, interfecerat, & ejus exercitum ſub jugum miſit. LIVIUS, *Epitom.* 65. L. Caſſius, Conſul, a Tigurinis Gallis, pago Helvetiorum, qui a civitate ſeceſſerant, in finibus Allobrogum cum exercitu cæſus eſt. Milites, qui ex ea clade ſuperaverunt, obſidibus datis, & dimidia rerum omnium parte, ut incolumes dimitterentur, cum hoſtibus pacti ſunt. PAULUS OROSIUS, *L. V. c.* 15. Iiſdem Jugurthini belli temporibus, L. Caſſius, Conſul, in Gallia Tigurinos uſque ad Oceanum perſecutus, rurſumque ab iiſdem inſidiis circumventus, occiſus eſt.

PLINIUS, *L. X. c.* 13. *ſays, that this* Caſſius *was Conſul with* Marius, *but the* Faſti Siculi *differ from* Pliny *in this Point.*

(4) SEE CELLARIUS, *L. c.* §. 18. *where he contradicts* Sigonius *in his Chronology.*

(5) HE *may perhaps be the ſame whom* Plutarch *calls* Bojorix.

(6) LIVIUS, *Epit.* 67. M. Aur. Scaurus, Legatus Conſulis, a Cimbris, ſuſo exercitu, captus eſt: & quum in Conſilium ab iis evocatus, deterreret eos, ne Alpes tranſirent Italiam petituri, eo quod diceret, Romanos vinci non poſſe, a Bolo Rege, feroci juvene, occiſus eſt.

A. U. 648. *ſul. C. Manlius*, and the *Proconſul*, *Q. Servilius Cepio*, were ſent: (1) But they diſagreing, and each envying the other every Advantage over the Enemy, they were both defeated, and, with the Battle, loſt their Camp. (2) This Battle was fought on the *Rhone*, and ſo great was the Overthrow of the *Romans*, that the Day it happened on was numbred in their Calendar, among the unfortunate Days: (3) And, as *Cepio*, by his imprudent Conduct, had contributed moſt to this Diſaſter, his Goods were all proſcribed at *Rome*. (4.)

The *Cimbri* and the *Teutones*, at Length, invade *Italy*.

§. X. We do not know what hindered the *Cimbri*, at this Time, from invading *Italy*. We only find, that after having depopulated the whole Country, between the *Rhone* and the *Pyrenees*, (1) they bent their Courſe towards *Spain*: But being repulſed by the *Celtiberi*, they rejoined the *Teutones*, in *Gaul*, and there laid all waſte before them, far and near; there being no Nation of the *Gauls* (the *Belgæ* only excepted) who were able to withſtand them, and to keep them from their Confines. (2) At length, they agreed to attack *Italy*, on both Sides at

§. IX. (1) *Vide* Cellarium, l. c. §. 19.

(2) Excerpta Dionis Valeſiana p. 631. Livius Epit. 67. Ab iiſdem hoſtibus C. Manlius, Conſul, & Q. Servilius Cepio, Proconſul, victi proelio, caſtris quoque binis exuti ſunt. Orosius, L. V. c. 16. *gives us the following Relation of this Matter:* Manlius, Coſ. & Q. Cepio, Proconſul, adverſus Cimbros, & Teutonas, & Tigurinos, & Ambronas, Gallorum & Germanorum gentes, quæ tunc, ut imperium Romanum exſtinguerent, conſpiraverant, miſſi, provincias ſibi Rhodano fluvio medio diviſerunt. Ubi, dum inter ſe graviſſime invidia & contentione diſceptant, cum magna ignominia & periculo Romani nominis victi ſunt. Siquidem - - - octoginta millia Romanorum, ſociorumque, eadem tempeſtate trucidata, Antius ſcribit. Sallustius d. B. I. in fine *ſays:* Per idem tempus adverſum Gallos a ducibus noſtris, Q. Cæpione, & M. Manlio, male pugnatum eſt. *He calls them* Galli, *perhaps becauſe the* Tigurini, *and the* Tugeni, *were amongſt them.* Vid. Cellarium, l. c. §. 20. Plutarchus in Vita Q. Sertorii, p. 369. A. *makes likewiſe mention of this Expedition of* Cepio's. Prima ſtipendia, quum Cimbri & Teutoni impreſſionem feciſſent in Galliam, ſub Cæpione faciens, quum eſſent Romani fuſi fugatique, equo amiſſo, ac conciſo vulneribus corpore. Rhodanum tranſmiſit, cum ipſa lorica & ſcuto adverſis ingentibus undis natans. Adeo erat robuſto corpore & ſubacto exercitatione.

(3) Plutarchus in Lucullo, p. 510.

(4) Livius Epitom. 67. Secundum populi Romani juſſionem, Cæpionis, cujus temeritate clades accepta erat, damnati, bona publicata ſunt.

§. X. (1) *According to the Order of Time obſerved by* Livy, Epit. 67. *The Invaſion of* Spain *by the* Cimbri *muſt be placed the ſame Year that* Marius *was a ſecond time* Conſul: *For he firſt relates the Triumph of* Marius *over* Jugurtha, *and then proceeds:* Cimbri vaſtatis omnibus, quæ inter Rhodanum & Pyrenæum ſunt, per ſaltum in Hiſpaniam tranſgreſſi, ibique multa loca populati a Celtiberis fugati ſunt; reverſique in Galliam bellicoſis ſe Teutonis conjunxerunt.

(2) *We ſee this by a Paſſage in* Cæsar L. II. c. 4. *where the Ambaſſadors of the* Remi *ſay:* Solos Belgas eſſe, qui patrum memoria omni Gallia vexata, Teutonas, Cimbroſque intra fines ſuos ingredi prohibuerint. *Of this likewiſe the Paſſage*, L. VII. c. 77. *muſt probably be underſtood*; *when* Critognatus *is introduced ſaying:* Ergo mei conſilii eſt, facere quod noſtri majores, nequaquam pari bello Cimbrorum, Teutonorumque fecerunt, qui in oppida compulſi, ac ſimili inopia ſubacti, eorum corporibus, qui ætate inutiles ad bellum videbantur, vitam toleraverunt, neque ſe hoſtibus tranſdiderunt.

once.

once. The *Teutones* and the *Ambrones* were to march through *Provence*, while the *Cimbri*, croſſing the *Rhine*, were to attempt their old Route, through *Noricum*. They both left a good Part of their burthenſome Baggage behind them, on the *Rhine*, with a Guard of ſome Thouſands of Men. This Remnant, being afterwards conſtrained, wherever almoſt they went, to fight their Way thro', ſettled, at length, in *Belgick Gaul*, where, in Proceſs of Time, they were called *Atuatici*. (3)

§. XI. It is eaſy to conceive, in what Conſternation the *Romans* were, at the Approach of the, 'till then, invincible *Cimbri*. The only General then judged capable of oppoſing them was *C. Marius*, who, about this Time, had overthrown *Jugurtha*, King of *Mauritania*, and thereby obtained the Reputation, among the *Roman* People, of a brave and fortunate Commander. He was, therefore, choſen *Conſul*, a ſecond time, while abſent; and the *Cimbri*, in the mean while, marching into *Spain*, this Dignity was conferred upon him, the enſuing Year, a third time. The *Cimbri* now returning out of *Spain*, and threatning *Italy*, he was conſtrained to keep his Poſt another Year; and thus, when he marched againſt this Victorious Enemy, he was dignified with the *Conſulſhip*, a fourth time. (2) He encamped in *Provence*, near the *Rhone*, A. U. 651.

C. Marius ſent by the *Romans* to encounter the *Germans*.

(3) Cæsar L. II. c. 29. de Atuaticis: Ipſi ex Cimbris Teutoniſque prognati, qui cum iter in provinciam noſtram, atque Italiam, facerent, his impedimentis, quæ ſecum agere ac portare non poterant, circa flumen Rhenum depoſitis, cuſtodiæ ex ſuis ac præſidio VI millia hominum una reliquerunt. Hi poſt eorum obitum multos annos a finitimis exagitati, quum alias bellum inferrent, alias illaturum defenderent, conſenſu eorum omnium pace facta, hunc ſibi domicilio locum delegerunt. *That it was at the time of this Expedition, we may reaſonably infer, becauſe we do not find the* Cimbri *and* Teutones *mentioned ſo expreſsly being together, in any other.*

§. XI. (1) Plutarchus in Mario p. 412. B. Quæ quum ad urbem eſſent diverſis ex locis nuntiata, acciverunt ad bellum gerendum, atque iterum Conſulem deſignaverunt Marium. Quum lex autem abſentem, & niſi interjecto certo ſpatio vetaret denuo creari Conſulem, repudiavit populus adverſantes. Quippe.... arbitrabantur---- non alieniorem præſentem cauſam illa, ob quam contra leges Conſulem creaverant Scipionem, quum non timerent urbis ſuæ perniciem, ſed Carthaginem cuperent evertere. Hæc ſententia obtinuit.

(2) Idem, p. 413. D. Id Romam nuntiatum imprimis Mario tertium Conſulatum confecit: Simul etiam, quia ineunte vere adventus barbarorum in expectatione erat, nolebant, ullo alio duce aleam Martis cum illis jacere. Non tam cito tamen (ut ferebat opinio) advenerunt, ſed Conſulatus tempus iterum Mario circumactum eſt. Urgentibus commitiis, quum defunctus collega ejus eſſet, relicto ad exercitum M. Aquilio, contendit Romam. Ibi multis & inſignibus viris conſulatum ambientibus, L. Saturninus, qui præcipue inter tribunos impellere valebat plebem, quem circumegerat in ſe Marius, monuit eam pro concione, ut Conſulem illum crearent. Quum Marius, in ſpeciem detractare ſe Conſulatum, nec cupere, jactaret, proditorem eum patriæ Saturninus appellavit, qui periculo impendente tanto, bellum ſuſcipere gerendum abnueret. Haud clam erat eum ſimulationi Marii inſcitum hiſtrionem ſervire, verum quod tempus videret populus

Rhone, (3) leaving to his Colleague, *Luctatius Catulus*, the Care of defending the *Norick Alps*. (4) *Marius* resolved to wait there the coming of the Enemy; and, in the mean time, to facilitate the Navigation of Ships coming from the Sea into the *Rhone*, he caused his Soldiers to dig the famous Canal, near *Marseilles*, which is known, in History, by the Name of the *Fossa Mariana*. (5) The *Teutones* formed their Camp almost opposite to the *Romans*, and endeavoured, more than once, to entice them to a Battle; but *Marius* put a Check to the Impetuosity of their Valour, under Pretext, that he had not yet seen the auspicious *Omens*, which he expected from the *Gods*. (6) His real Intention was, however, to make himself, and his Soldiers, better acquainted with the Arms and martial Discipline of the *Teutones*, to which they were, 'till then, Strangers; and, besides, he hoped, by feeding up their Expectations, their Impatience would be a Spur to their Courage.

The *Ambrones* and the *Teutones* defeated by *Marius*.

§. XII. The Patience of the *Teutones* being, at length, worn out, they resolved to march into *Italy*, and leave *Marius* behind them; and some of them were so presumptuous, that they rode up to his Camp, and asked the *Romans* tauntingly, if they had any Commands to their Friends at *Rome?* (1) *Marius* followed them, and overtook them near *Aix*, a Colony then but newly founded by the *Romans*. The *Teutones*, and the *Ambrones*, who marched in different Bodies, both halted, and waited his coming up. *Marius* first attacked the *Ambrones*, who were 30,000 Men; (2) and having beaten them out of the Field, the next Day, he fell upon the *Teutones*, whom he likewise routed, and took a vast Number of Prisoners. *Plutarch* gives us a very circumstantial Relation

populus requirere illius virtutem & fortunam, Consulem eum quartum designaverunt, collegamque ei Luctatium Catulum addiderunt, magnæ virum inter primores autoritatis, nec plebi ingratum.

(3) Idem, l. c. p. 413. E. Ubi hostes prope esse intellexit, raptim superavit Alpes, ac castris ad amnem Rhodanum communitis, convexit affatim eo commeatum, ne unquam nisi postulante usu, ex necessariorum inopia dimicare cogeretur.

(4) Idem, L. c. p. 414. A.

(5) *Vide* Mela L. II. c. 5. Plinius, L. III. c. 4. & Plutarchus, L. c. p. 414. H. *This Canal* Marius *made a Present of to the City of* Marseilles, *after the Victory he obtained over the* Teutones. Strabo, L. IV. p. 183. Posterioribus temporibus Marius videns, adgestione limi ostium Rhodani obturari, intratuque reddi difficile, novam egit fossam, qua majorem amnis partem exciperet: eamque Massilienfibus, ob navatam præclaram in bello contra Ambrones & Toygenos operam, præmii loco donavit.

(6.) Plutarchus p. 414. E. *Where he likewise makes mention of a* Syrian *Sorceress, called* Martha, *whom* Marius *carried about with him in his Army, and deluded the credulous Vulgar, with the Predictions which they together concerted.*

§. XII. (1) Plutarchus, L. c. p. 415. E.

(2) Idem, l. c. p. 416. B.

of

of the Battle, (3) and, among other Things, ſays, the Number of Slain and Priſoners amounted to above 100,000. He adds, that the Fields about *Marſeilles*, being manured with their Blood, were, the enſuing Year more fruitful than uſual. *Marius* reſerved ſome of the chief of the Booty for his Triumph, and having cauſed the reſt to be brought into one Heap, made a Thankſgiving-Offering of it to the Gods. The Army was drawn up round the Pile, and the Soldiers decked with Garlands of Laurel, when *Marius*, juſt as he was going to ſet Fire to it, received Advice from *Rome*, that the *Senate* had honoured him, a fifth Time, with the *Conſular* Dignity. (4) He ſtayed ſome time in *Provence*, to reſtore it to its Priſtine State; and, in the mean Time, the Chiefs of the *Teutones* and *Ambrones*, who were taken in Flight, were brought to him. (5) Among theſe, *Florus* mentions King *Teutobochus*, (6) whoſe Name, in After-times, gave Birth to many Fables. (7)

§. XIII. *Luctatius Catulus*, who had been *Conſul* with *Marius*, and now commanded as *Proconſul*, was not ſo fortunate againſt the *Cimbri*, who attempted *Italy*, by the Way of *Noricum*. He at firſt poſſeſſed himſelf of the narrow Paſſes of the *Alps*; but afterwards, fearing to ſeparate his Troops too much, he retired beyond the *Adige*, thinking that a ſecure Barrier. Thus the *Cimbri* paſſed the *Alps*, without Oppoſition, and they no ſooner approached the *Adige*, than the *Roman* Army, being ſtruck with a *Pannick*, fled. They, therefore, croſſed that River with the ſame Eaſe, and took a ſmall Fort, which the *Romans* had erected to cover their Bridge. The Garriſon was ſuffered to march out, upon very

Catulus repulſed by the *Cimbri*.

(3) Plutarchus, L. c. p. 417. Paterculus *reckons the Number of the Slain to be* 150000. Livius, Epit. 69. *goes yet farther, and ſays, there were* 200,000 *ſlain, and* 90,000 *Priſoners. But how little Reliance there is on ſuch Accounts, is well known.*

(4) Plutarchus, L. c. p. 418. B. Deſilierunt ex equis, atque eum amplexi, nuntiaverunt læti quintum Conſulatum.

(5) Idem, L. c. p. 419. D. Sic fatus vinctos Teutonum Reges produci imperat, nam in Alpibus fuerant a Sequanis retracti.

(6) Florus, L. III. c. 3. Certe Rex ipſe Teutobochus, quaternos, ſenoſque equos tranſilire ſolitus, vix unum, quum fugeret, aſcendit, proximo in ſaltu comprehenſus, inſigne ſpectaculum triumphi, fuit, quippe vir proceritate eximia, ſuper tropæa ſua eminebat.

(7) *There is yet to be ſeen, at* Orange, *an ancient* Roman *Triumphal Arch, which, as it has been believed, was built by* Marius, *in Memory of this Victory.* De la Piſe *ſays, that about the Beginning of the XV Century, a Stone fell down, upon which was carved the Word* Teutobochus. *This Opinion is, however, with great Grounds of Reaſon, confuted, by the Author of the* Diſſertation, dans laquelle on examine, qui ſont ceux, qui ont fait conſtruire l'Arc de Triomphe, que l'on voit à *Orange, which we find, in the* Bibl. Franc. T. II. P. II. p. 210. *About the Year* 1613 *there ran a Report, that a Tomb had been diſcovered in the* Dauphiny, *not far from the Place, where the* Iſere *falls into the* Rhone, *with the Inſcription* Teutobochus Rex, *in which was found a Skeleton five and twenty Foot and a half long: But* Pierifcius *diſcovered the Cheat, and proved it to be the Skeleton of an Elephant. The Reader will find a Relation of this Matter at large, in* Gaſſendus in Vita Peiriſcii, L. III. p. 88. 89. & 156. *He takes Notice, at the ſame time,* p. 89. *of a Treatiſe publiſhed by* Nicholas Habigot, *a Surgeon at* Paris, *concerning theſe pretended Giant's Bones.*

good

good Terms, which were ſworn to on a Brazen Bull, (1) a Ceremony by which they were wont to execute all their Bonds and Covenants.

The *Cimbri* overthrown by *Marius.*

§. XIV. Rome was, at that Time, in the utmoſt Anxiety, and expected nothing leſs than a ſecond *Brennus*. The beſt Counſel they could take was to recall *Marius*. His Return revived the ſinking Spirits of the *Romans*, and the Fame of his Victories over the *Teutones* made them hope the ſame happy Succeſs againſt the *Cimbri*. *Marius* joined his Legions with thoſe of *Catulus*, and they had no ſooner croſſed the *Po*, with their united Force, than an Ambaſſy from the *Cimbri* arrived in their Camp. Their Demand was, as before, that a certain Diſtrict of Land might be amicably allotted, for them and their Brethren to inhabit. Being asked whom they meant by their Brethren, their Anſwer was the *Teutones*; upon which the whole Aſſembly was moved to Laughter. *Marius* bad them be under no farther Concern for the *Teutones*; becauſe he had aſſigned them an eternal Habitation; and to convince them of this Truth, he commanded the Chiefs of that Nation to be brought before them in Bonds. The Ambaſſadors were no ſooner returned, than the *Cimbri* prepared for Battle. *Bojorix*, their King, in Perſon, required the *Romans* to determine the Time and Place, and *Marius*, at length, appointed to meet them, the third Day, in the Plains of *Vercelli*. The Appearance of the *German* Horſe was, at firſt, very terrible to the *Romans*; their Helmets being decked with the Heads of wild (and, ſome of them unknown) Beaſts, adorned with large Plumes of Feathers, which made them ſeem much taller than in Reality they were. Their Misfortune, however, was, that they had not only the *Romans*, but the Sun, the Wind, and the Duſt to combat with; an Advantage *Marius* had prudently known how to gain over them. This occaſioned, in a great Meaſure, their Overthrow, a Deſcription of

§. XIII. (1) Plutarchus, p. 419. Barbari autem præſidium trans Atheſin adorti, ceperunt, militeſque qui impoſiti fuerant, quum geſſiſſent ſe fortiſſime, atque ex dignitate patriæ dec rtaſſent, reveriti virtutem eorum, datis induciis dimiſerunt, æneum taurum jurati; quem poſt ſub pugnam captum, in domum Catuli ferunt, tanquam victoriæ primitias delatum fuiſſe. *Conf. Ol.* Borrichius *in Ant. urb. Roman. fac. cap. 7. In a Treatiſe on the Original of the* Cimbri, *publiſhed in the Year* 1594, *and entitled* Libellus de origine & rebus geſtis Cimbrorum, *It is indeed ſaid:* Plutarchus ſcribit, in vexillis Cimbrorum depictum fuiſſe caput Tauri, quod nunc quoque ducum Megapolenſium eſt inſigne. *But we find no ſuch Paſſage in* Plutarch; *at leaſt not in his Life of* Marius, *in which he treats moſt at large of the* Cimbri. Johannes Strelovius, *in the Preface to his* Chronic: Guthilandorum *writes, that the* Cimbri *offered publick Adoration to ſuch an Image, and that a* Bullock's Head *was their Enſign, as the* Eagle *was that of the* Romans: *But, as we find no Teſtimony of this in the Ancients, we can look upon it but as a mere Conjecture.* Thomas Bartholinus *ſhews, however, a great Inclination, in his* Antiquit. Dan. I. II. c. 9. p. 484. *to derive the* Bullock's Head, *in the Arms of* Mecklenburg *from this Original.*

which

which, with ſeveral Circumſtances of it, we find in *Plutarch*; (1.) And we may give the greater Credit to his Account, becauſe he had the authentick Relations of *Sylla*, *Catulus*, and ſeveral others, which are now loſt, for his Guides. That *Sylla*, who was in Perſon in this Action, wrote a Deſcription of it, we find by *Plutarch* himſelf; and that *Catulus* left *Memoirs* of all the remarkable Events of his Conſulſhip appears from *Cicero*; (2.) Who, in another Place, in Honour to that excellent Poet, *Archias*, ſays, he ſung the *Cimbrian* War ſo happily, that *Marius* himſelf, as little as he favoured Learning, was pleaſed with it. (3.)

§. XV. The Intrenchments the *Cimbri* had made with their Carriages drew the *Romans* into a new Skirmiſh with their Wives, who choſe rather to periſh, with their Children, than to ſuffer themſelves to be led away into Captivity. (1.) Nay, the very Dogs defended their Huts, which

The *German* Intrenchments of Carriages forced.

§. XIV. *(1.)* Plutarchus *in vita Marii*, p. 419, 420. *The Order of Battle and Accoutrements of the* Cimbrian *Army deſerve to be particularly mentioned here: And* p. 420. B. *he deſcribes them in the following Manner:* Cimbrorum pedites ex caſtris compoſite proceſſerunt, ac quadrata acie conſtiterunt. Si quidem latera aciei ſingula cernas, millia ſeptingenta & quinquaginta paſſuum obtinebant. Equitum quindecim millia numero effuderant ſe ſplendide. Galeas gerebant, quæ repræſentarent ſevarum beluarum rictus, & inuſitatas figuras, quas alatis faſtigiantes criſtis, apparebant eminentiores. Loricis ferreis erant exculti, ac candidis micabant ſcutis, pro telo habebant ſinguli telum bipenne. Pede collato ingentibus utebantur, & gravibus gladiis. *The Intrepidity of the* Cimbri, *and how earneſt they were of dying in the Field, we may ſee by the following Paſſage in* Valerius Maximus, *L.* II. *c.* 6. Avara & fœneratoria Gallorum philoſophia: Alacris & fortis Cimbrorum & Celtiberorum, qui in acie exultabant, tanquam glorioſe & feliciter vita exceſſuri: Lamentabantur in morbo, quaſi turpitur & miſerabiliter perituri. Bartholinus, *in his Treatiſe* de Cauſis contemtæ mortis apud veteres Danos, *illuſtrates this Idea of the ancient* Germans, *with divers other Evidences.*

(2.) Cicero *in Bruto c.* 35. Jam Q. Catulus non antiquo illo more, ſed hoc noſtro eruditus. Multæ literæ, ſumma non vitæ ſolum atque naturæ, ſed orationis etiam comitas, incorrupta quædam latini ſermonis integritas: quæ perſpici cum ex orationibus ejus poteſt, tum facillime ex eo libro, quem, de Conſulatu, & de rebus geſtis ſuis, conſcriptum molli, & Xenophonteo genere ſermonis, miſit ad A. Furium Poetam.

(3.) Cicero *Or. pro Archia c.* 9. Nam & Cimbricas res adoleſcens attigit: Ipſi illi C. Mario, qui durior ad hæc ſtudia videbatur, jucundus fuit.

§. XV. *(1.)* Plutarch, p. 421. A. Quum effuſos ad caſtra ſummoviſſent, inciderunt in horrendiſſima ſpectacula. Feminæ conſiſtebant in plauſtris pullatæ, fugienteſque, hæ viros, illæ fratres, parentes aliæ interficiebant: Infantes ſuis ſtrangulabant manibus, & ſub rotas, jumentorumque pedes projiciebant, mox trucidabant ſemetipſæ. Unam memorant ex ſummo dependiſſe temone, quæ pueros ex cruribus ſuis, annexos laqueis, hinc inde ſuſpenderat. Viros arborum inopia cornibus boum, alios cruribus adalligaſſe colla mox eos ſtimulaſſe, quo exilientibus bobus raptati & obtriti interirent. Qui, quanquam ita ſibi conciliarent mortem, capta tamen ſunt plus LX millia. Cecidiſſe bis totidem referuntur. Florus *L.* III. *c.* 3. Quum miſſa ad Marium legatione libertatem ac ſacerdotium non impetraſſent (nec fas erat) ſuffocatis, eliſiſque paſſim infantibus ſuis, aut mutuis concidere vulneribus, aut vinculo e crinibus ſui facto, ab arboribus, jugiſque plauſtrorum, pependerunt. *What* Florus *ſays of the Prieſthood muſt probably be underſtood only of the Sorcereſſes which always followed the*

which were erected on their Carriages. (2.) I am, therefore, at a Loss, how to understand the *Roman* Writers, who pretend, that the total Overthrow of this People, who behaved so bravely, in several Engagements with them, cost them no more than three Hundred Men. (3.)

The *Tigurini* retire.

§. XVI. WHEN the *Tigurini*, who stayed behind, in *Noricum*, were informed of this entire Defeat of the *Cimbri*, they dispersed, and probably returned into their own Country; for we shall find, that, in the Days of *Julius Cæsar*, they were the Authors of new Troubles. (1.)

The Triumph and Trophies of *Marius*.

§. XVII. IT will be easy to conceive, with what Joy and Triumph, *Marius* was received at *Rome*, where the Fears they were under, on Account of the *Cimbri*, were so great, that they had vowed solemn Festivals to *Jupiter*, to implore his Assistance, which was never done but in Times of the utmost Danger. (1.) Every one looked upon *Marius* as the Preserver of the *Roman State*; (2.) And tho' the Success of the last Battle was chiefly owing to *Catulus*, the Honour of it was almost wholly ascribed to *Marius*. (3.) The *Plebeians* were for excluding *Ca-*

Cimbrian *Camp*. *We find the following remarkable Passage concerning these Women, in* Strabo, *L.* VII. p. 294. Morem hunc fuisse Cimbris usitatum ferunt. Sequentibus eos in bellum uxoribus, vates quædam comitabantur canæ, albo vestitu, carbasinis supparis desuper fibulis affixis, cinctu æreo, pedibus nudis: Eæ per castra captivis occurrebant, strictis gladiis, prostratosq; ad craterum æneum adducebant, amphoras circiter XX. capientem. Super eum pulpitum erat, quo conscenso, vates sublimis supra lebetem elevatis guttur incidebat: e sanguine in crateram fuso suam captabant quandam divinationem: Reliquæ cadavera sic cæsorum scindebant, intestinisque spectatis victoriam suis vaticinabantur. In prœliis pelles pulsabant, cratibus curruum prætentas, quibus sonitus terribilis, edebatur.

(2.) PLINIUS *in Hist. Nat.* L. VIII. c. 41. *says*, Canes, Cimbris cæsis, domus eorum plaustris impositas, defendisse.

(3.) FLORUS *L.* I. *c.* 14. Millia inde sexaginta ceciderunt: hinc trecenti, minus. EUTROPIUS: Romani milites ex utroque exercitu 300. perierunt.

§. XVI. (1.) FLORUS *L.* III. *c.* 18. Tertia Tigurinorum manus, quæ quasi subsidio Noricos insederat Alpium tumulos, in diversa lapsi, fuga ignobili & latrociniis evanuit.

§. XVII. (1.) SUETONIUS *in Augusto c.* 23. Vovit & magnos ludos Jovi optimo maximo, si res publica in meliorem statum veniisset: Quod factum CIMBRICO, Marsicoque bello erat. *In* Livy's *Epit.* 68. *it is observed, that before the* Cimbrian *War, the* Ancilia *were heard to clatter with a very great Noise, which was always esteemed an evil Omen at* Rome.

(2.) CICERO *mentions him long after his Death*; *in Or. ad Quirit. pro redit. c.* 4. Custodem libertatis atque imperii Rom. *And in* Catilin. IV. c. 10. *he says*, Sit in æterna gloria Marius, qui bis Italiam obsidione & metu servitutis liberavit.

(3.) PLUTARCH. *l. c.* p. 421. C. Mario tamen totum illud factum & superior palma, & Consulatus majestas adscripsit. Atque adeo illum plebs urbana tertium Romæ conditorem appellavit, quod Gallico hoc non levius avertisset discrimen, lætique cum liberis, & conjugibus, quisque domi in cœna Diis, & Mario libaverunt, solique voluerunt utrumque triumphum decernere, quo tamen non est ille usus. Cæterum quo commendaret tantis rebus gestis modestiam suam, una cum Catulo triumphavit. Adhæc nonnihil milites illius formidabat, obstinatos, si Catulus eo honore spoliaretur, nec sibi permittere triumphum.

tulus

tulus from the Triumph; but *Marius* had more Modeſty, or, at leaſt, more Prudence: For he was apprehenſive the Troops which were under the Command of *Catulus* might, in that Caſe, have oppoſed his Entry. They were, therefore, joined in their Triumph; and among other Spoils, which were expoſed to publick Shew, was the *Brazen Bull*, (4.) which *Catulus* afterwards cauſed to be preſerved in his own Houſe, as a perpetual Memorial of this Victory. (5.) *Marius* aſſign'd one Part of the Booty, to build a Temple, dedicated to *Honour* and *Virtue*; (6.) and happy had it been for *Rome*, if, in his future Conduct, he himſelf had purſued the Paths he hereby pointed out to others; and if his ſeventh *Conſulſhip* had not obſcured, if not totally effaced, the extraordinary Merits of the ſix foregoing. Many were the Trophies which were erected to his Honour. They were, indeed, afterwards demoliſhed by *Sylla*; but *Julius Cæſar*, who profeſſed a Value for the Memory of *Marius*, as being nearly allied to him in Blood, reſtored them. (7.) One Inſcription is yet in Being, in which honourable Mention is made of *Marius*'s Victory over the *Cimbri*, for which Reaſon we ſhall inſert it here. (8.)

C. MARIVS. C. F. COS. VII.
PR. TR. PL. Q. AVGVR. TR. MIL. EXTRA.
SORTEM. BELLVM. CVM. IVGVRTHA. REGE. NVMID.
GESSIT. EVM. CEPIT. ET. TRIVMP*H*ANS. IN. SECVNDO.
CONSVLATV. ANTE. CVRRVM. SVVM. DVCI. IVSSIT.
III. CONSVL. APSENS. CREATVS. EST. IIII. CONSVL.

(4.) *See* §. XIII. *Note* 1.

(5.) *See, concerning this, the Words of* Plutarch, *ib. in the* 1 *Note.*

(6.) POMPEIUS FESTUS *L.* XVII. *in voce* ſummiſſior *ſays*, ſummiſſiorem aliis ædem honoris & virtutis C. Marius fecit, ne ſi forte officeret auſpiciis publicis, augures eam demoliri cogerent. CELLARIUS l. c. p. 28. *ſuppoſes, he only reſtored and beautified the Temple, which had been before built by* Marcellus.

(7.) SUETON. *in vit.* Cæſ. c. 2. Quorum (ſc. optimatum) auctoritatem, ut quibus poſſet modis invicem diminueret, tropæa C. Marii de Jujurtha, deque Cimbris atque Teutonis olim a Sylla disjecta, reſtituit. *The Trophies which are to this Day ſtanding before the* Capitol, *are by* Borrichius, in ant. urb. fac. c. 7. NARDINUS Rom. vet. IV. 2. FABRICIUS, deſcr. urb. Rom. c. 14. *pretended to be the Trophies of* Marius, *but without Grounds.* V. DONATUS de urbe Roma III. 10. BELLORIUS *believes them to be the Trophies of* Trajan, *the Emperor*, in fragm. veteris Romæ, p. 13. *We have likewiſe a Medal, which ſeems to refer to this. But the beſt Judges think it ſpurious.*

(8.) GRUTERUS CCCCXXXVI. 3. *In Count* Moſcardi's *Cabinet, at* Verona, *was formerly ſeen another Inſcription, concerning this Victory of* Marius's, *which* Mabillon *has given us in his* Muſ. Ital. T. I. P. I. §. XVI. *as follows.*

D. F.
G. M. TRVCIDATIS
CIMBRIS. IN. F. ITA. A. V.
R. R. OB INSIGNEM EIUS
MEMORIAM
S. P. Q. R.

In the Faſti Pighiani *the Triumph is placed* A. U. DCLII.

C. MARIVS. C. FILIVS. CONSVL. V.
DE TEVTONEIS AMBRONIBVS ET
CIMBREIS.

TEVTONORVM. EXERCITVM. DELEVIT. V. CONSVL.
CIMBROS. FVGAVIT. EX. IEIS. ET. TEVTONEIS. ITERVM.
TRIVMPHAVIT. REM. P. TVRBATAM. SEDITIONIBVS
TR. PL. ET. PRAETOR. VI. QVI. ARMATI. CAPITOLIVM.
OCCVPAVERANT. VI. CONSVL. VINDICAVIT
POST. LXX. ANNVM. PATRIA. PER. ARMA. CIVILIA
PVLSVS. ARMIS. RESTITVTVS. COS. VII. FACTVS. ET
DE. MANVBIEIS. CIMBRICEIS. ET. TEVTONICEIS. AEDEM.
HONORI. ET. VIRTVTI. VICTOR. FECIT. VESTE. TRIVMPHALI.
CALCEIS PVNICEIS.

§. XVIII. Thus the *Cimbri* loſt, in one Day, all the Hopes they had built upon the Succeſs of ſo many bloody Battles, by grounding their Enterprizes rather on a raſh Intrepidity, than a prudent Conduct, and by expoſing their whole Force, at once, againſt an Enemy who was in a Capacity to ſend freſh Armies into the Field, every Year. Thoſe who remained in their own Country conſtantly preſerved their ancient Habitation; (1.) And of thoſe who eſcaped from this Battle, it is highly probable, that many returned thither likewiſe. We find, that the *Cimbri* ſent an Ambaſſy to *Auguſtus*; (2.) And *Tacitus* (3.) ſpeaks of them as being a noted People, in his Days. *Ptolemy*, (4.) who wrote in the Days of *M. Antoninus*, extols them as the moſt renowned of all the Nations who inhabited the great *Peninſula*, from them called *Cherſoneſus Cimbrica*. *Claudianus* (5.) likewiſe mentions them, as a People who flouriſhed in his Time, and names that Part of the Ocean, (6.) which we now call the *North Sea*, by their Name. The *Saxons*, another People who inhabited the *Cimbrian Peninſula*, advancing by Degrees to a great Renown, it is probable that the *Cimbri* took Part with them, in all their Excurſions, and were thus, in Courſe of Time, ſwallowed up in the ſame Denomination.

Of the *Cimbri* who remained in their own Country.

§. XVIII. (1.) *Beſides the Authors which are already, here and there, mentioned, we find, that* Paulus Cypræus, Hieron. Turlerus *and* Joh. Janus Alanus *have written concerning theſe* Cimbri.

(2.) Strabo, *L.* VII. p. 292-293. De Cimbris quædam inepte dicuntur, quædam probabilitatem habent non mediocrem. Non enim hac de cauſa eos ut incertis vagarentur ſedibus, & latrociniis victum quærerent, compulſos crediderim, quia e peninſula, quam inhabitaverint ejecti: Cum hodieque antiquas incolant ſedes: Nuperque Auguſto lebetem, qui apud ipſos ſacerrimus habebatur, dono miſerint, amicitiam expetentes, & veniam illatarum injuriarum; eaque conſecuti domum redierunt.

(3.) Tacitus *de M. G. c.* 37. Eundem Germaniæ ſinum proxime Oceano Cimbri tenent, parva nunc civitas, ſed gloria ingens.

(4.) Ptolemæus L. II. c. 11.

(5.) Claudianus L. IV. Cos. Honorii, p. 450.

- - - latiſque paludibus exit
Cimber, & ingentes Albim liquere Cheruſci.

(6.) Idem 335. - - Cimbrica Thetis
Diviſum bivio conſumit, Rhene, meatu.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ANCIENT GERMANS.

BOOK II.

The Wars of the GERMANS with JULIUS CÆSAR.

SECT. I. *THE Hiſtories written by* Julius Cæſar *were ſuſpected of Partiality in his Life-time. The Diviſion of ancient* Gaul. *Fifteen thouſand* Germans *paſs the* Rhine, *and are followed by a much greater Number.* II. Arioviſtus *founds a Kingdom in* Gaul. III. Julius Cæſar, *on Occaſion of the* Helvetian *War, intermeddles in the Affairs of the* Gauls. IV. *And reſolves to ſet Bounds to the Power of* Arioviſtus, *or to drive him out of* Gaul. V. *His Conference with* Arioviſtus. VI. *The Battle which enſued, and the Overthrow of the* Germans. *What became of the* Marcomanni, *the* Tribochi, *the* Nemetes, *and the* Vangiones. VII. Cæſar *vanquiſhes* Gallia Belgica; *makes* Comius *King of the* Atrebates: VIII. *And himſelf becomes Maſter of the Metropolis of the* Atuatici. *Where the* Atuatici *inhabited?* IX. Galba's *Attempt to ſubdue the People who dwelt about the Source of the* Rhine. X. Cæſar's *fruitleſs Expedition againſt the* Morini *and the* Menapii. XI. *Who gave Occaſion to the War which* Cæſar *made with the* Germans *on* the Eaſt *Side of the* Rhine. *His Deſcription of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the* Suevi *and* Ubii. XII. *The* Tencteri *and* Uſipites, (*or* Uſipedes) *two* German *Colonies, invade* Gaul: XIII. *But are defeated by* Cæſar. *Some accuſe him of violating the Laws of Nations with*

with these People. XIV. Cæsar *builds a Bridge over the* Rhine, *and ravages the Country of the* Sicambri. XV. *Broils occasioned by the* Treviri. XVI. *A* Roman *Army decoyed into an Ambush, and defeated by* Ambiorix, *a Prince of the* Eburones. XVII. Ambiorix *spirits up the* Nervii *to attack* Q. Cicero. *Their Want of Experience in the Art of besieging.* XVIII. Cæsar *relieves* Cicero. XIX. Labienus *beats* Induciomarus, *Prince of the* Treviri. *A Medal of* Induciomarus, *and another of* Comius, *King of the* Atrebates. Note (3.) XX. *The* Treviri *renew their Preparations for War.* Cæsar *makes an Inroad into the Country of the* Nervii. XXI. *And subdues the* Menapii. XXII. Labienus *defeats the* Treviri *a second Time.* Cingetorix *appointed Ruler over them.* XXIII. Cæsar *passes the* Rhine *again.* XXIV. *Pursues the Prince of the* Eburones, *and delivers his Country a Prey to his Neighbours.* XXV. *The* Sicambri *pass the* Rhine, *and surprize* Cicero *in* Atuatica. XXVI. Cæsar *destroys the whole Nation of the* Eburones. XXVII. *Some of the* German *Colonies serve* Cæsar *against the* Gauls, *and others the* Gauls *against* Cæsar. XXVIII. *The Conclusion of the* Gallick *War. A Figure, representing the* Rhine, *carried in Triumph at* Rome. XXIX. Cæsar *retains* Germans *in his Service after the Conclusion of the* Gallick *War.* XXX. *The Death of* Cæsar *interrupts his great Design of opening a Way thro'* Scythia *into* Germany. XXXI *to* XXXIX. *A Description of ancient* Germany, *and its Inhabitants; with a brief Account of the Genius, Policy, Religion, Warfare, Arts and Customs of the Ancient* German *Nations.*

The Division of Ancient *Gaul.*

§. I. AFTER the *Cimbrian* War, we find no Mention of the *Germans,* in the *Roman* History, 'till *Julius Cæsar,* on Occasion of his War with the *Gauls,* was, by the Circumstances of Affairs, frequently embroiled with them likewise. Great Pity it is, that we are obliged to have Recourse chiefly to *Cæsar*'s own *Commentaries,* for our Relations of these Matters, since *Asinius Pollio* (1.) very much questioned the Impartiality of them, even in his Life-time. *Gaul* was, at that Time, divided, by the *Romans,* into *Gallia Cis-alpina* and *Trans-alpina.* We shall only take Notice of the latter, which contained all that Tract of Land, which reached from the *Alps* to the *North Sea,* and was separated from *Germany* by the *Rhine.* That Part of it which bordered upon *Italy* was already under the *Roman* Yoke, as a Province, whence it goes by the Name of *Provence* to this Day. The Remainder had 'till then retained its Liberty, and was inhabited by three different Nations: The Upper Part by the *Belgæ,* the Middle, by the *Celtæ,* and that Part

§. I. 1. Suetonius in Julio. c. 56.

Part towards the Borders of *Spain*, by the *Acquitains*. (2.) In *Gallia Celtica*, the *Ædui* and the *Arverni* were till then the moſt powerful People; all the others were either tributary to them, or had endeavour'd to ſecure their Friendſhip by Alliances. The flouriſhing State of the *Ædui*, who, as they bordered upon *Provence*, lived in a good Intelligence with the *Romans*, had long excited the Envy and Jealouſy of the *Arverni*. They therefore confederated with the *Sequani*, who were the neareſt Neighbours to the *Ædui*, and likewiſe call'd in the bordering *Germans* to their Aid, againſt them. (3.) At firſt, about fifteen Thouſand only of the *Germans* paſs'd the *Rhine*; But, being delighted with the Country, their Number ſoon encreas'd to a Hundred and twenty Thouſand. With the Help of theſe, the *Sequani* vanquiſh'd the *Ædui*, in ſeveral Battles; And, at Length, reduced them to the Neceſſity of ſubmitting to their Yoke, to give them their Children in Hoſtage, and to promiſe not to ſeek any farther Aſſiſtance from the *Romans*. *Divitiacus* alone refuſed to accept of theſe hard Conditions, and, eſcaping to *Rome*, implored the Aid of the Senate, to relieve his Country. *

§. II. THE *Sequani* were, however, as great Sufferers by their Victory, as the *Ædui* by their Overthrow: As it generally is the Fate of thoſe, who call in Auxiliaries, to pay them in Proportion to the Danger for which they employ them. *Arioviſtus*, King of the *Germans*, found *Gaul* ſo agreable, that he obliged the *Sequani* to evacuate a third Part of their Poſſeſſions for his Uſe. At the ſame Time, he ingratiated himſelf ſo far with the *Romans*, that, in the Conſulſhip of *Julius Cæſar*, they allowed him the Title and Reſpect of a King, an Honour they were otherwiſe very ſparing of. (1.) (2.) In the mean while, having overcome moſt of the Nations of *Gaul*, who had engaged in a Confederacy againſt him, in a Battle near *Amagetobria*, he look'd upon their Dominions as his Property, won by the Sword. He therefore, ſoon afterwards, demanded of the *Sequani* the Poſſeſſion of another third Part of their Territories, which he deſign'd for the *Harudes*, who, about this

Arioviſtus founds a Kingdom in *Gaul*.

(2.) CÆSAR L. I. c. 1.

(3.) CÆSAR L. I. c. 31. *Where* Divitiacus *is introduced, ſaying:* Factum eſſe, uti ab Arvernis, Sequaniſque Germani mercede accerſerentur.

* IDEM L. I. c. 31.

§. II. (1.) *When the Son of* Syphax *demanded of the* Romans, Ut Rex, ſociuſque, & amicus appellaretur, *his Anſwer was:* Nominis ejus honorem, pro magnis erga ſe meritis dare populum Romanum conſueſſe. LIVIUS L. XXXI. c. 11.

(2.) DIO. L. XXXVIII. p. 81. *ſays:* Germanis illis Arioviſtus imperabat, cujus regnum Romani confirmaverant: ipſumque Cæſar in Conſulatu ſuo inter amicos ſocioſque Romanorum adſcripſerat.

Time,

Time, pafs'd the *Rhine*, to the Number of four and twenty Thouſand. While the *Sequani* were in the utmoſt Conſternation at this Demand, *Julius Cæſar* obtained the Proconſulſhip over *Gallia Narbonnenſis*, as a Province; And, beſides, Fortune threw another Opportunity in his Way of intermeddling in the Affairs of the Reſt of *Gaul*.

Cæſar's War with the *Helvetii*.

§. III. This Opportunity was given him by the *Helvetii*, who were Poſſeſſors of that Country, to which *Cæſar* ſet the following Confines: (1.) Towards the South, the *Lacus Lemanus* and the *Rhone*, which River ſeparated them from *Gallia Narbonnenſis* and the *Allobroges*: Towards the Eaſt, and in Part the North, the *Rhine* was a Boundary between them and the *Germans*, as, towards the Weſt, Mount *Jura* was a Separation between them and the *Sequani*. Weary of being confined within theſe narrow Limits, they reſolved to leave their Country, and ſeek a more extenſive Habitation in *Gaul*, pleaſing themſelves with the Hopes, that they might poſſibly conquer the whole Country. (2.) Their Confidence was ſo ſanguine, that they ſet Fire to their Houſes, Villages and Towns, with all their Stores, which they could not carry with them, thereby to cut off all Proſpect of a Return. (3.) They excited, not only their Neighbours, the *Rauraci*, (4.) the *Tulingi*, (5.) and the *Latobrigi*, (6.) but likewiſe the *Boji*, who had ſeated themſelves in *Noricum*, and taken Poſſeſſion of *Noreia*, to ſhare in the Fortune of this Expedition. Their Deſign was to paſs the *Rhone* near *Geneva*, where they found a Bridge, and to continue their Route thro' *Gallia Romana*. *Cæſar* was no ſooner informed of their Motions, than he haſtened to his Province, and not only refuſed to conſent to their March, but put himſelf in a Poſture to repel them by Force. Being thus denied a Paſſage by the *Romans*, they then ſought it of the *Sequani*,

L. Piſone A. Gabinio Coſs. A. U. 695. *a C.* 58.

§. III. 1. Cæsar L. I. c. 2.

(2.) Hottomannus ad c. 2. Cæſaris, *endeavours to diſcredit his Relation of this Matter.*

(3.) Hottomannus. c. 1. *ſuppoſes, not without ſome Shew of Reaſon, that theſe were not the whole Nation of the* Helvetians.

(4.) The Rauraci *inhabited the Country where now* Baſel *ſtands. The* Roman Conſul, L. Munacius Plancus, *erected a Colony amongſt them, which was afterwards,* (perhaps in Honour to *Auguſtus) called* Auguſta Rauracorum. *It is now a poor Village on the* Rhine, *not far from* Baſel. Valeſius in notitia Galliæ, in voce *Rauraci*.

(5.) We *have hitherto no better Suppoſition where the* Tulingi *inhabited, but that it was probably about* Dutlingen *or* Stulingen.

(6.) It *is uncertain where the* Latobrigi *inhabited. The Suppoſition that it was in the* Briſgow *is hitherto the moſt plauſible, tho' it ſtands upon a very weak Foundation, being only grounded on the ſingle Syllable* Bri. Valesius l. c. in voce *Latobrigi*. Idem in voce *Helvetii, calls them a People of* Belgium, *and obſerves, that they inhabited down to the* Mayn.

pre-

pretending, their Design was upon the Dominions of the *Santonæ*, who, 'till then, had lived under the Protection of the *Arverni*. They, hereupon, ravaged the Territories of the *Ædui*, where *Dunmorix*, a Man of great Riches and Authority, privily sided with them, in Hopes, by their Means, to obtain, soon or late, the Sovereignty he aimed at over his Country-men. The opposite Party had Recourse to *Cæsar*, who was then, with an Army, in the Country of the *Segusiani*, (7.) now a Part of the *Brescian*; and who, either because he himself thought it expedient to put a Stop to the Inroads of an Enemy, into the Dominions of the *Santonæ*, from whence they might have infested the *Roman* Province, or to gratify his natural Propensity to War, was very ready to grant the Aid they desired. He, therefore, broke up, and pursued the *Helvetii*, who were then passing the River *Saone*. As they had no other Convenience but Floats, they had been twenty Days about it, when *Cæsar* overtook them, and found the *Tigurini*, who made a fourth Part of their Army, on that Side of the River. These he immediately defeated, hardly allowing them Time to put themselves in Order of Battle; and, laying a Bridge over the River, soon came up with the Body of the *Helvetian* Army. They had the Courage to attack the *Romans* first, not many Leagues from *Bibracte*; (8.) but, after a bloody Battle, were routed, obliged to leave their Camp and Provisions a Prey, and, in a few Days, to surrender themselves, on Discretion, to the Conqueror. *Cæsar* caused the *Helvetii*, the *Tulingi*, and the *Latobrigi*, to return to their old Abode, lest the *Germans*, whose Neighbourhood he was more apprehensive of, finding that Country waste, might possess themselves of it; and, as they had destroyed every Thing at their Departure, he commanded the *Allobroges* to furnish them with Provisions, 'till they had again cultivated their own Lands. Only the *Boji* were suffered to remain in *Gaul*, at the Suit of the *Ædui*, on Account of their extraordinary Valour. They canton'd them on their Confines, (9.) and soon after gave them not only their Liberty, but the Right of Citizens, and thus they became one People. *Cæsar* says, (10.) they found, in their Camp, Lists,

(7.) THE Segusiani *inhabited, where now the District called* Lionois Forêt, *and a Part of* Beaujolois *and* Brescia *is situated.*

(8.) IT *is now but a poor Village, not far from* Autun, *call'd* Bevrai, *or* Beuvrai, VALESIUS l. c. in voce *Augustodunum.*

(9.) HOTTOMANNUS *thinks opposite to the* Arverni.

(10.) CÆS. L. I. c. 29. In castris Helvetiorum tabulæ repertæ sunt literis Græcis confectæ, & ad Cæsarem perlatæ, quibus in tabulis nominatim ratio confecta erat, qui numerus

Liſts, written in *Greek*, as well, in general, of all thoſe who had left their Country, as, in particular, of thoſe who were able to bear Arms; by which it appeared, that they were in all three Hundred and ſixty-eight Thouſand Souls, among which were ninety-two Thouſand Warriors. *

His War with *Arioviſtus.*

§. IV. This Victory gave great Renown to the *Roman* Arms, in *Gaul*; and thoſe who were devoted to the *Romans* repreſented to their Country-men, that, in them, they would find a ſure Relief againſt *Arioviſtus.* The *Sequani*, to whom he was the moſt irkſome, readily united with the *Ædui*: And *Cæſar* was beſought, in the Name of all the Nations of the *Celtæ*, to deliver *Gaul* from this troubleſome Gueſt. *Divitiacus*, who was then the Chief of the *Ædui*, found no great Difficulty to perſuade him to it. *Cæſar* had indeed great Reaſon to fear, that, when the *Germans* had once got ſure Footing in *Gaul*, the *Roman* Provinces would be no leſs expoſed to them, than they had been to the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*; but his Ambition to engage in ſuch important Wars, which could not but eſtabliſh his Power, ſoon gained the Aſcendant over his Fears. (1.) However, as he, being now Proconſul, durſt not have entered upon a new War, without the Knowledge of the Citizens of *Rome*, (2.) he again made a Pretext of the *Ædui*, whoſe Defence the *Roman* Governors, in *Gaul*, were, by Virtue of former Alliances, authorized to undertake, without a ſpecial Order from *Rome*. His firſt Step was to ſend an Ambaſſy to *Arioviſtus*, to acquaint him, that the *Roman Proconſul* had Matters of the higheſt Concern, to treat with him; and, therefore, deſired he would name ſome Place between their two Situations, where they might have an Interview. *Arioviſtus* anſwered very coldly, that he ſhould not hazard his Perſon, with a ſmall Retinue, in the Midſt of the *Gauls*, and to come with an Army was liable to many Inconveniences. *Cæſar*, hereupon, let him know, by his Ambaſſadors, that he was obliged to protect the

merus domo exiſſet eorum, qui arma ferre poſſent, & item ſeparatim pueri, ſenes, mulieresque. Quarum omnium rerum ſumma erat, capitum Helvetiorum millia CCLXIII. Tulingorum millia XXXVI. Latobrigorum XIV. Rauracorum XXIII. Bojorum XXXII. ex his, qui arma ferre poſſent ad millia XCII. Summa omnium fuerant ad millia CCCLXVIII.

* Idem L. II. c. 14-30.

§. IV. 1. Dio. L. XXXVIII. p. 81. *plainly remarks this Reaſon.* Cæſar, quod Arioviſtus bello clarus potenſque haberetur, parui pendebat: id tantum agebat, ut ab eo occaſionem diſſidii acciperet, neque prior eum invadere videretur.

(2.) Cæsar. L. I. c. 35. Si id non impetraret, ſeſe, (quoniam M. Meſſala, M. Piſone Cos. Senatus cenſuiſſet, ut quicunque Galliam provinciam obtineret, quod commodo R. P. facere poſſet, Æduos, cæteroſque amicos populi Romani defenderet) Æduorum injurias non neglecturum.

Ædui,

Ædui, and, therefore, inſiſted upon his returning their Hoſtages, that he would forbear all farther Hoſtilities, and not permit any more *German* Forces to be tranſported over the *Rhine*. *Arioviſtus* replied; That the Portion of *Gaul*, which he poſſeſs'd, he had won with the Sword, and obliged the *Ædui*, not only to give him Hoſtages, but to become tributary to him: That he had the Right of War on his Side; and hoped the *Romans* would no more pretend to ſet him Bounds, what Uſe he ſhould make of his Victories, than they would ſuffer him to preſcribe Laws for them; but that, in all Events, he was prepared to repel Force by Force. When *Cæſar* received this Anſwer, the *Ædui* had juſt ſent Complaints, that the *Harudi*, whom *Arioviſtus* had ſuffered to paſs the *Rhine*, were ravaging their Country, notwithſtanding a Treaty was ſubſiſting between them. The *Treviri*, at the ſame Time, adviſed him, that a Swarm of *Suevi*, (3.) under the Command of two Brothers, *Naſua* and *Cimberius*, (4.) were aſſembled on the Banks of the *Rhine*, and preparing to paſs over into *Gaul*. *Cæſar*, therefore, haſtened to encounter *Arioviſtus*, before theſe People could join him. After three Days March, he got Intelligence, that *Arioviſtus* had likewiſe broke up, three Days before, having formed a Deſign on *Veſontio*, (or *Beſançon*) the Capital of the *Sequani*, a Place of great Importance, as being fortified and provided with all Neceſſaries. *Cæſar* purſued his March, Night and Day, with ſuch Diligence, that reaching the Place, before *Arioviſtus*, he became Maſter of it. The Inhabitants of *Beſançon* gave the *Romans* ſo frightful an Idea of the *Germans*, as diſcouraged them; and *Cæſar* had Need of all his Authority and Eloquence to prevail upon them to purſue the Enterprize. This done, he left a Garriſon in *Beſançon*, and advanced to meet *Arioviſtus*. *Divitiacus* directed the March, and *Cæſar* led his Army fifty *Roman* Miles about, to avoid the Inconveniences of Woods and Mountains, which might have proved a new Diſcouragement, and have diſpirited his Soldiers. The Corn was then ripe in the Field; and, beſides, the *Leuci*, the *Lingones*, and the *Sequani* were obliged to bring Proviſions to his Army.

§. V. THE ſeventh Day, he got Information, that *Arioviſtus* was but four and twenty Miles diſtant from him; and he received an Ambaſſy from him, with his Conſent, as they were now ſo near, to the Interview which he had before refuſed. They agreed to meet on a Riſing

Cæſar's Conference with *Arioviſtus*.

(3.) Pagos centum.
(4.) HOTTOMANNUS ad Cæſar. *thinks this* Naſua's *true Name was* Naſſau.

Ground, which lay about Mid-way between the two Armies, with a Retinue of ten Perſons only, on each Side, all on Horſeback, and a certain Number of Cavalry, for their Guards. Being met, *Cæſar* opened the Conference, by putting *Arioviſtus* in Mind of the Obligation he had to the *Romans*, who had allowed him the Royal Title and Dignity, acknowledged him their Ally, and withal made him ſuch conſiderable Preſents. He then repreſented to him, that, as the *Ædui* had lived ſo long in the ſtricteſt Amity with *Rome*, he could not refuſe them his Protection; and, to conclude, perſiſted in his former Demand, that he ſhould return the *Ædui* their Hoſtages, deſiſt from his Pretence of Tribute from them, never more moleſt them, nor their Allies, and ſend Part of his *Germans* back again over the *Rhine*, or, at leaſt, ſuffer no more to come over that River, for the future. *Arioviſtus* anſwered, that the *Gauls* themſelves had engaged him to paſs the *Rhine*, with Promiſes of large Rewards, and had allotted him that Portion of Land which he now inhabited. That for thoſe *Gauls*, who had unjuſtly attempted to diſpoſſeſs him of what was thus become his Right, he had vanquiſhed them in open Field, and thereupon made a Convention with the *Ædui*, to become tributary to him. That, as long as they held this Convention, he ſhould no farther moleſt them; and that, if he had ſuffered more *German* Troops to join him, from the other Side of the *Rhine*, it was for his own Security, and becauſe the *Gauls* had made ſuch open Profeſſions of their Enmity. He added, that he hoped the *Romans* would not ſet ſo high a Rate upon their Friendſhip; but, if they did, he was very ready to renounce it. He told *Cæſar*, that he was ſeated in *Gaul*, before the *Romans* came thither; and, as he did not think he had any Right to encroach upon their Provinces, neither would he ſuffer any Intruſion upon his. As for the ſtrict Alliance, which *Cæſar* pretended was ſubſiſting between the *Romans* and the *Ædui*, he could not but think it very ſtrange; ſince neither they had lent the *Romans* any Aſſiſtance, in their Wars with the *Allobroges*, nor had received any Succours from them againſt the *Sequani*. He muſt, therefore, look upon it as a meer Pretext of *Cæſar*'s to break with him. He deſired him not to think too contemptibly of him; ſince many of the Chief Men at *Rome*, who heartily wiſh'd *Cæſar*'s Death, in *Gaul*, had attempted to make him his Enemy; but if, on the contrary, *Cæſar* would cultivate his Friendſhip, and not invade his Rights, he was ready to aſſiſt him, with all his Force, againſt any Enemy, whomſoever. * *Cæſar* replied; but the Matter was too important to be ami-

§. V. * L. I. c. 35-48.

amicably decided, between two great Commanders, equally fired with Ambition, and who had an equal Confidence in their Armies.

§. VI. THE two Armies, therefore, advanced, and were, at Length, encamp'd oppoſite to each other, in ſuch Manner, that a Battle might daily enſue. That of *Arioviſtus* conſiſted of ſeven Nations or Cantons; for, beſides his *Suevi*, he had, in his Army, *Marcomanni*, *Harudi*, *Tribochi*, *Vangiones*, *Nemetes* and *Seduſii*. He had frequent Skirmiſhes with the *Romans*, (1.) but carefully avoided a general Battle; and *Cæſar* was informed, by ſome Priſoners, that it was, becauſe he had been warn'd by Auguries not to hazard a Battle, 'till the New Moon, a Period the Ancient *Germans* uſually held auſpicious for any Undertaking. (2.) (3.) *Cæſar* took the Advantage of this Circumſtance, and, having drawn out his Army, in Order of Battle, attacked the *German* Camp. The *Romans* had, by this Time, gained ſome Knowledge of the *Germans*, and of their Manner of Fighting. They had likewiſe obtained ſome ſmall Advantages, in their Encounters with them, and the Fear they had, at firſt, conceived of them, began to diſſipate. On the other Hand, that Valour, which was ſo natural to the *Germans*, was, in ſome Meaſure, depreſs'd by their Superſtition, when they found themſelves oblig'd to give Battle, in Oppoſition to their Auguries. Each Canton formed a ſeparate Body, and behind them were their Carriages, formed into a Sort of Intrenchment, where they left their Wives and Children. The *Germans*, finding themſelves attack'd, fell upon the *Romans*, with ſuch Fury, that they could not make Uſe of their Slings or Javelins; but were obliged to have

The *Germans* are defeated.

§. VI. 1. CÆSAR L. I. c. 48. Arioviſtus his omnibus diebus exercitum caſtris continuit, equeſtri prœlio quotidie contendit. Genus hoc erat pugnæ, quo ſe Germani exercuerant: Equitum millia erant ſex, totidem numero pedites velociſſimi ac fortiſſimi, quos ex omni copia ſinguli ſingulos ſuæ ſalutis cauſa delegerant. Cum his in prœliis verſabantur, ad eos ſe equites recipiebant. Hi, ſi quid erat durius, concurrebant. Si qui, graviore vulnere accepto equo deciderant, circumſiſtebant; ſi quo erat longius prodeundum, aut celerius recipiendum, tanta erat horum exercitatione celeritas, ut jubis equorum ſublevati, curſum adæquarent.

(2.) TACITUS de M. G. XI. Coeunt niſi quid fortuitum aut ſubitum inciderit, certis diebus, cum aut inchoatur luna, aut impletur. Nam agendis rebus hoc auſpicatiſſimum initium credunt.

(3.) CÆSAR l. 50. Quum ex captivis quæreret Cæſar, quamobrem Arioviſtus prœlio non decertaret, hanc reperiebat cauſam: quod apud Germanos ea conſuetudo eſſet, ut matres familias ſortibus & vaticinationibus declararent, utrum prœlium committi ex uſu eſſet, nec ne: eas ita dicere, non eſſe fas Germanos ſuperare, ſi ante novam lunam prœlio contendiſſent. PLUTARCHUS in vit. Cæſ. p. 717. B. *deſcribes the Manner of theſe Auguries.* Magis inſuper vaticinia percellebant illos futiloquarum mulierum, quæ amnium vorticibus inſpectis, rivorumque gyris & Arcpitibus notatis futura præcinebant. Hæ ſigna conferre antequam illuxiſſet nova luna, vetabant.

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Recourſe to their Swords; and even theſe would hardly be of any Service; for the *Germans*, having formed themſelves into a *Phalanx*, or ſquare Battalion, held their Shields ſo cloſely join'd over their Heads, that they were a ſort of Roof to them, thro' which their Enemies Swords could not penetrate, while they ruſhed on with their Spears. The *Roman* Soldiers had, however, the Dexterity and Courage, that they leap'd upon the Shields, and, tearing them aſunder, ſlew them who lurked under them; (4.) 'till, having broken their Ranks, they opened a Paſſage for their Companions. The right Wing of the *German* Army gave Way firſt; but their Left had overthrown the Right of the *Romans*, had not *P. Craſſus*, with the Cavalry, which formed the third Line of the *Roman* Army, come to their Relief. Upon this, the *Romans* rallied, and the whole *German* Army was put to the Rout, nor could their Intrenchment of Carriages, or the Lamentations of their Wives and Children, ſtop their Flight. The *Romans* purſued the Fugitives to the *Rhine*, (5.) where ſome of them eſcaped by ſwimming, whilſt others, among whom was *Arioviſtus* himſelf, got over in ſmall Boats. Theſe, however, were but few; for much the greater Part were either kill'd, or taken Priſoners by the *Romans*. Among the latter, were the two Wives of *Arioviſtus*; one of the Blood of the *Suevi*, to whom he was married, before he paſs'd the *Rhine*; and the other, a Siſter of *Vocion*, a King of *Noricum*, who, thinking to advance his Credit, by this Alliance, gave her in Marriage to *Arioviſtus*, after his Arrival in *Gaul*. For, tho' the *Ancient Germans* were wont to take but one Wife; yet their Princes, eſpecially if any Benefit could thereby accrue to the State, made no Scruple

(4.) This *Circumſtance ſeems almoſt incredible.* Cæsar L. I. c. 52. *relates it, in the following Words.* At Germani celeriter, ex conſuetudine ſua, phalange facta impetus gladiorum exceperunt. Reperti ſunt complures noſtri milites, qui in phalangas inſilirent & ſcuta manibus revellerent, & deſuper vulnerarent.

(5.) In *ſome ancient Editions we find it, in* Cæsar L. I. c. 53. Neque prius fugere deſtiterunt, quam ad flumen Rhenum, millia paſſuum ex eo loco circiter QUINQUE pervenerunt: *From whence* B. Rhenanus *would have it believed, that the Battle was fought not far from* Baſel. *He ſays,* L. I. Rer. Germanicar. cap. de Maxima Sequanorum: Cæſar, in Sequanis cum Arioviſto conflixit, quæ pugna ad D. Apollinaris facta putatur. Is locus milliario Germanico a Rheno & Baſilea diſtat. *But, as* Cellarius, *in his* Diſſertatio de bello Jul. Cæſaris adverſus Arioviſtum, §. 17. *has already ſhewn, that this Number, in* Cæſar, *is not to be depended on, and, in the latter Editions is read* Quinquaginta, *ſo we are at an Uncertainty, with Regard to the Place; Only it ſeems to have been more to the North, than* Rhenanus *ſuppoſes; becauſe the* Leuci *and* Lingones *were obliged to furniſh* Cæſar *with Proviſions.*

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of taking more. (6.) In the Purſuit, *Cæſar* had the good Fortune to free his Friend *M. Valerius Procillus*, a Man of great Renown among the *Gauls*, from the Danger he was threatned with, by the *Germans*. Knowing him to adhere faithfully to *Rome*, *Cæſar* had ſent him to *Arioviſtus*, after the Interview, as his Ambaſſador; becauſe, as he had, by a long Uſe, attain'd to a Knowledge of the *Gallick* Tongue, he might confer with him, without an Interpreter. (7.) *Arioviſtus*, taking him for a Spy, had put him in Irons; and, three Times, had cauſed the Lot to be caſt over him, whether he ſhould be immediately condemned to the Flames, or the Sentence be deferr'd; which had as often fallen in his Favour. (8.) We find nothing farther in Hiſtory, concerning *Arioviſtus*; only, by a Paſſage in *Cæſar*, we may conclude, he died ſoon after. (9.) As for the Nations which ſerved him, in this War; we find, that the *Marcomanni* went afterwards, under the Conduct of *Maroboduus* into *Bojohemum*. The *Tribochi*, *Nemetes*, and *Vangiones*, either maintained their Ground, on the *Gallick* Shoar, notwitſtanding the Defeat they had ſuffered; or, together with the *Ubii*, obtained it again from the *Romans* ſoon after: For, (10.) we find they always inhabited *Upper Germany*, (11.) and ſubmitted to the

(6.) TACITUS de M. G. c. 8. Prope ſoli barbarorum ſingulis uxoribus contenti ſunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, ſed ob nobilitatem, pluribus nuptiis ambiuntur.

(7.) CÆSAR L. I. c. 47. Commodiſſimum viſum eſt, C. Valerium Procillum, C. Valerii Cabari filium, ſumma virtute & humanitate adoleſcentem, cujus pater a C. Valerio Flacco civitate donatus erat, & propter fidem, & propter linguæ Gallicæ ſcientiam, qua multa jam Arioviſtus, longinqua conſuetudine utebatur, & quod in eo peccandi Germanis cauſa non eſſet, ad eum mittere. *By which Paſſage, we ſee pretty plainly, how far the* Celtick *Tongue differed from the* German, *which was ſpoken by* Arioviſtus.

(8.) Ib. c. 53.

(9.) CÆSAR L. V. c. 29. *Ubi Titurius Sabinus:* Magno eſſe Germanis dolori Arioviſti mortem, & ſuperiores Romanorum victorias. PH. CLUVERIUS L. III. Germ. ant. c. 3. *chooſes rather to read* ſortem; *but all the ancient* Codices *are againſt him, as is likewiſe the* Greek *Verſion, which gives it,* Θάνατον.

(10.) THEY *may, perhaps, have been among the* Suevi deditii, *which* Tiberius *carried over the* Rhine. *See* B. III. §. XVIII. Not. 2.

(11.) TACITUS de M. G. c. 28. Ipſam Rheni ripam haud dubie Germanorum populi colunt, Vangiones, Tribocei, Nemetes add. PLINII Hiſt. Nat. L. IV. c. 17. CÆSAR *himſelf places the* Tribocci, *after the Defeat of* Arioviſtus, *among thoſe Nations, who dwelt in* Gaul, *on the Banks of the* Rhine. L. IV. de B. G. c. 10. Rhenus autem oritur ex Lepontiis, qui Alpes incolunt, & longo ſpatio per fines Nantuatium, Helvetiorum, Sequanorum, Mediomatricorum, *Triboccorum*, Trevirorum citatus fertur. *The Confines of theſe Nations are not ſo exactly determined; but it may ſuffice for us, to know, where their chief Towns were ſituated. The Capital of the* Tribochi *ſtood where now* Straſsburg *ſtands.* Civitas Nemetum, *or* Noviomagus, *is our* Spires: *And* Civitas Vangionum, *or* Borbetomagus, (forte pro Vorbetomagus) *what we now call* Worms.

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Roman Yoke. The *Suevi*, on the other Hand, who were aſſembled upon the *Rhine*, retired, upon the firſt Notice of the Defeat of *Arioviſtus*; but the *Ubii*, who, at that Time, dwelt near that River, and had before been treated by them in an Hoſtile Manner, took Advantage of their Conſternation, and cut off many of them, in their Flight. (12.) *Cæſar*, tho' the Seaſon was not ſo far advanced, put his Troops into Winter-Quarters, among the *Sequani*, and himſelf went over the *Alps*. *

Cæſar vanquiſhes *Gallia Belgica*. *P. Cornelio Lentulo, Cæcilio Metello Coſs.*

§. VII. The Year following *Cæſar* had a bloody Campaign, in *Belgick Gaul*, a brief Account of which will properly find Place here; not only, becauſe the *Belgæ*, at leaſt thoſe who dwelt about the *Moſel*, the *Maeſe*, and the *Scheld*, (1.) were of *German* Extraction, as has already been obſerved above, and Part of their Dominions were afterwards incorporated with the *German* Empire; but, likewiſe, becauſe *Cæſar*, on this Occaſion, had more than once to do with the *German* Nations, who were ſeated on the oppoſite Banks of the *Rhine*. The *Belgæ* were not too well ſatisfied with the Neighbourhood of the *Romans*, and, beſides, were privately ſtir'd up by the *Celtæ*, who began to think the *Roman* Army, which had taken Winter-Quarters in their Country, as troubleſome Gueſts as the *Germans*, under *Arioviſtus*. The *Bellovaci*, a renowned People among the *Belgæ*, together with the *Nervii*, *Attrebates*, *Ambiani*, *Morini*, *Menapii*, *Caletes*, *Velocaſſes*, and *Veromandui*, entered therefore, into a Mutual League, and drew over to their Party, not only the *Atuatici*, a Remnant of the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, (2.) but the *Condruſi*, *Eburones*, *Cæreſi*, and *Pæmani*. Theſe were all *Germans*, who had, not long before, ſeated themſelves in *Gaul*, where they had acquired the Names of *Germans*, which, afterwards (as has already been obſerved) (3.) became a general Appellation for all the *Teutſche* (*Dutch*) or *German* Nations. As great as was the Hatred, which the *Belgæ*, at firſt, conceived for theſe New-Comers, ſo ſtrictly were they now united, by their common Danger. *Cæſar* haſtened back to his Army, as ſoon as the Graſs was in the Field. The *Rhemi*, who, of all the *Belgæ*, lived the neareſt to *Belgick Gaul*, and would not be a Party in the Mutual League, declared for the *Romans*; and *Cæſar* marched to meet the *Belgæ*. He came up with

(12.) Idem L. I. c. 54. Quos Ubii, qui proxime Rhenum incolunt, perterritos inſecuti, magnum ex his numerum occiderunt.

* Ib. c. 48. *to the End of the Book.*

§. VII. 1. So Tacitus de M. G. c. 28. *ſays, eſpecially of the* Treviri: Circa affectationem Germanicæ originis ultro ambitioſi ſunt, per quam a ſimilitudine & inertia Gallorum ſeparentur.

(2.) See B. I. §. X.

(3.) See B. I. §. VI.

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them on the Banks of the River *Aiſne* (or *Axona*) and encamp'd oppoſite to the *Confederate* Army, expecting they would give him Battle: But he had entrench'd himſelf ſo advantageouſly, that the *Belgæ* would not venture upon the Attack; And, beſides, receiving Advice, that the *Ædui* had invaded the *Bellovaci*, they reſolved to ſeparate, and ſee what Courſe the *Romans* would then take. *Cæſar*, who was a perfect Maſter of the Art to make his Enemies deſtroy one another, had, in his Service, beſides the *Rhemi*, a Body of *Trevirian* Horſe, eſteemed the moſt valiant of all *Gaul*. (4.) He, likewiſe, found means, as it generally happens in Leagues of many Nations, to diſunite the *Confederates*, and attacking them ſingly, the *Soiſſones*, *Bellovaci* and *Ambiani*, ſubmitted voluntarily; But the *Nervii*, *Atrebates* and *Veromandui* waited for *Cæſar* on the *Sambre*, † where they had very near revenged the loſt Freedom of their Country-men; Nor did hardly any of the Victories, which *Cæſar* won in *Gaul* coſt him dearer than this. They were, however, obliged to bend their Neck to the Yoke; (*) and he made *Comius*, a Perſon on whoſe Fidelity and Capacity he had great Dependance, King of the *Atrebates*. (5.)

† *Sabis Fl.*

§. VIII. *The Atuatici* were on their March to aid the *Atrebates*, but when they had intelligence of their Defeat, they retired to their Capital, which was ſo fortified by Nature and Art, (1.) that they believed themſelves ſecure in it; And, therefore, when the *Romans* who were much leſs in Stature than they, undertook to beſiege the Place, they

Cæſar takes the *Metropolis* of the *Atuatici*.

(4) CÆSAR *L.* II. c. 24. *takes Notice of them, in his Deſcription of the Battle with the* Nervii; Quibus omnibus rebus permoti equites Treviri, quorum inter Gallos virtutis opinio eſt ſingularis, qui auxilii cauſſa a civitate miſſi, ad Cæſarem venerant, quum multitudine hoſtium caſtra noſtra compleri, legiones premi & pæne circumventas teneri, calones, equites, funditores Numidas, diverſos diſſipatoſque in omnes partes fugere vidiſſent, deſperatis noſtris rebus domum contenderunt. Romanos pulſos ſuperatoſque, caſtris impedimentiſque eorum hoſtes potitos, civitati renunciaverunt.

(*) CÆSAR *L.* II. *throughout.*

(5) CÆSAR *L.* IV. *c.* 21. Et cum his una Comium, quem ipſe Atrebatibus ſuperatis, Regem ibi conſtituerat, cujus et virtutem & conſilium probabat, & quem ſibi fidelem arbitrabatur, cuiusque autoritas in his egionibus magna habebatur, mittit.

§. VIII. 1. CÆSAR *L* II. *c.* 24. Cunctis oppidis caſtelliſque deſertis, ſua omnia in unum opidum, egregie natura munitum, contulerunt. Quod, cum ex omnibus in circuitu partibus, altiſſimas rupes, deſpectuſque haberet, una exparte leniter acclivis aditus, in latitudinem non amplius ducentorum pedum relinquebatur. *The Learned differ about the Situation of this Place.* Cluverius, *whom moſt give Credit to, places it in the County of* Namur, *and ſeems to think, that the* Oppidum, *here mentioned by* Cæſar, *ſtood, where now the Citadel of* Namur *is: Yet to this might be objected, that* Cæſar *makes no Mention of the River, which greatly contributes to the ſtrength of the Fort.*

turned them into Ridicule. *Cæſar*, on this Occaſion, obſerves, that the *Gauls*, in general, and particularly the *Germans*, had at firſt no great Opinion of the Valour of the *Roman* Soldiers, ſince they eſteemed it proportionable to their Stature: (2.) But when the *Atuatici* experienc'd Dexterity to be preferable to Strength, and ſaw the *Romans* approaching, with their Machines, eſpecially their Turrets, for the Siege, aſtoniſhed at the Sight, they ſued for Peace. *Cæſar* refuſed to grant them any other Terms but the delivering up of their Arms, which the Situation they were in, oblig'd them to ſubmit to. Theſe Arms they immediately threw over their Walls, into the Ditch, and opened their Gates to the *Romans*; but whatever Weapons they poſſibly could, they hid; and when *Cæſar*, in the Evening, order'd his Soldiers to return to their Camp, leſt, contrary to his Promiſe, they ſhould moleſt the Citizens, they armed themſelves with the Weapons that were concealed, and in the Night fell unexpectedly upon the *Roman* Camp. The Sentinels ſoon alarmed the Soldiers, inſomuch, that the *Atuatici* met with a far greater Reſiſtance, than they imagin'd. *Cæſar* himſelf owns, that they fought like Lions; for they ſaw certain Death, or, what was more dreadful to them, Slavery, before their Eyes: But the *Romans* had too great Advantages over them, and repulſed them, with the Loſs of 4000 Men. The Place was now wholly at the Mercy of the Conqueror. *Cæſar* ſold it, with all that was therein; and they who made the Purchaſe afterwards confeſs'd, that the Slaves they made were in Number 53,000. *Cæſar* ſeems here to intimate, that the whole Nation was then extirpated (*); but we ſhall, in ſucceeding Times, find them making Head, with their former Power, againſt the *Romans*; which may ſerve, among many other Inſtances, to prove, that the Advantages gain'd over the *Germans*, by the *Roman* Armies, were not always ſo great, as they made them. *P. Craſſus* had, in the mean while, extended the Fame of the *Roman* Arms, and caus'd it to reach on the oppoſite Side of the *Rhine*, by ſubduing thoſe Nations in *Belgick Gaul*, who dwelt on the Sea-Coaſt, and were wholly unprepared for any ſudden Invaſion. *Cæſar* boaſts of having had Ambaſſadors ſent to him, by ſome *German* Nations, beyond that River, to treat with him about their Subjection; but that he commanded them to come again the next Summer: But the Actions of the *Germans*, in the enſuing Year, ſhew very few Traces of any ſuch Treaties, unleſs the *Ubii* may perhaps have enter'd into Engagements of that kind. He aſſigned his Soldiers their Winter Quarters in the Countries that were in the Poſſeſſion of the *Carnutes*, *Andes*, and *Senones*, and haſtened himſelf to *Italy*, in Order to go from thence to *Illyricum*.

(2.) CÆSAR L. II. c. 30. Pleriſque hominibus Gallis, præ magnitudine corporum ſuorum, brevitas noſtra contemtui eſt.

(*) Idem, L. II. c. 29-34.

§. IX.

§. IX. By the Way he appointed another Expedition againſt the *Nantuates*, *Veragri*, and *Seduni*, who were all *Gallick* Nations, that dwelt on the Confines of the *Allobroges*, along the *Rhone*, and from the Source of the *Rhine*, (1.) to the very Top of the *Alps*. *Cæſar* intended, by this means, to clear the Way for a Commerce with *Italy*, and ſent *Servius Galba*, with the twelfth Legion, and a Part of the Cavalry, upon them. *Galba* was at firſt ſucceſsful: quarter'd two Cohorts among the *Nantuates*, and, with the Reſt, went himſelf into Winter-quarters among the *Veragri* (2.) But the *Gauls*, unwilling to be in Subjection to the *Romans*, gave him ſo much Uneaſineſs, that after a bloody Conflict, he was forc'd to quit their Country, and, at laſt, retire into the Province of the *Allobroges*, where he reſided the Remainder of the Winter-Seaſon. *

Galba's Attempt to ſubdue the People, who dwelt about the Source of the *Rhine*.

§. X. *Cæſar* and his Lieutenants were employed, the following Year, in ſubduing ſeveral Nations of *Celtick* and *Aquitanick Gaul*, and, at the End of the Summer, he went towards the Coaſts of the Northern Sea, where the *Morini* and *Menapii* were the only People, who hitherto had not ſent any Ambaſſy to him. The *Morini* dwelt on the preſent Coaſts of *Boulogne*, as far as where *Dunkirk* now is, and reached towards the South, almoſt as far as that whole Tract of Land, which the Dioceſſes of *St. Omer* and *Ipres* poſſeſs in *Flanders* (1.) Next to them dwelt the *Menapii*, about the Mouths of the *Maes* and *Rhine*, who border'd, towards the Continent, on the *Atuatici* and *Eburones* (2.) Neither the *Morini* nor the *Menapii* thought it adviſable to hazard a Battle; ſince their Foreſts and Moraſſes were ſufficient Barriers to them; and eſpecially the Country of the *Menapii*, by Reaſon of their many Waters, was impaſſable to any foreign Army. *Cæſar* begun indeed to cut down the Woods, but the Harveſt-Rains falling, fruſtrated like-

Cæſar's fruitleſs Expedition againſt the *Morini* and *Menapii*.

In the Conſulate of *C. Cornelius Lentulus*, and *L. Marcius Philippus*.

§. IX. (1.) *The* Nantuates *dwelt about the* Rhine. Cæsar L. IV. c. 10. Rhenus autem oritur ex Lepontiis, qui Alpes incolunt, & longo ſpatio perfines Nantuatium, Helvetiorum, Sequanorum, Mediomatricorum, Triboccorum, Trevirorum citatus fertur.

(2.) Idem L. III. c. 1. In vicum Veragrorum, qui appellatur Octodurus. *It is ſuppoſed to be the preſent* Martigny, *by the* Germans *call'd* Martinach, *in the Country of* Valais.

* Idem, L. c.

§. X. (1.) *Hence the ancient Counts of* Flanders *were ſometimes call'd* Comites Morinorum.

(2.) *This laſt appears from* Cæsar L. V. c. 1. Uſipites *Germani*, & item *Tenchteri*, magna cum multitudine hominum flumen Rhenum tranſierunt, non longe a mari, quo Rhenus influit. *He deſcribes it more exactly in the fourth Chapter.* Ad Rhenum pervenerunt, quas regiones Menapii incolebant, & ad utramque ripam fluminis agros, ædificia, vicoſque habebant. *In the time of* Tacitus *they dwelt on the left Side of the* Maes. *The* Caſtellum Menapiorum *is thought to be the preſent* Keſſel, *between* Maſtricht *and* Grave. *The* Acta publ. *of the* Carolingi *yet mention the* pagus Mempiſcus.

wiſe this Undertaking, and oblig'd him to put his Soldiers into Winter-Quarters. (3.)

Who gave Occaſion to the War which *Cæſar* made with the *Germans* on the Eaſt-Side of the *Rhine*? His Deſcription of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the *Suevi* and *Ubii*.

§. XI. *CÆSAR* was the next Summer drawn into a War with ſome *German* Nations; which was occaſion'd by the *Suevi*, the moſt powerful among them. We are informed by *Tacitus*, that under this Denomination the *Senones*, *Longobards*, *Marcomanni*, and many other Nations, were comprehended. They are deſcribed by *Cæſar* (1.) as an uncivilized People, who ſeldom remained long in a Place, and neither cultivated their own Grounds, nor regarded any other Conveniencies of Life. He adds to this, that their Cloaths were only Skins of Beaſts, which, moreover, cover'd but a ſmall Part of their Bodies; that their only Wealth conſiſted in Cattle, and that they were Strangers to Commerce, excepting, that they gave a free Acceſs to ſome foreign Traders, to whom they ſold or barter'd away the Booty they made; that they ſuffer'd no Wine to be brought amongſt them, and that Hunting was their chief Diverſion: But that they ſtill wanted the beſt Part of terreſtial Happineſs, Contentment. Their Manner of Living was agreeable to their ſtrong Conſtitutions; inſomuch, that moſt of them were tall and robuſt; but this their native Roughneſs occaſion'd their Minds being left unpoliſhed; ſince they eſteemed nothing more beautiful, than bodily Strength, and hence we need not wonder to find their Inclinations wholly bent on War. They were, in particular, well skill'd in the Management of Horſes (2.), and annually muſter'd 100,000 Men, whence we may eaſily conceive what bad Neighbours they muſt have

(3) CÆSAR *L.* III. *c.* ult. Reliquis deinceps diebus Cæſar ſilvas cædere inſtituit, & nequis inermibus imprudentibuſque militibus ab latere impetus fieri poſſet, omnem eam materiam, quæ erat cæſa, converſam ab hoſtem collocabat, & pro vallo ad utrumque latus exſtruebat. Incredibili celeritate, magno ſpatio, paucis diebus, confecto, quum jam pecus atque extrema impedimenta ab noſtris tenerentur, ipſi denſiores ſilvas peterent, ejusmodi tempeſtates ſunt conſecutæ, uti opus neceſſario intermitteretur, & continuatione imbrium, diutius ſub pellibus milites contineri non poſſent.

§. XI. (1) CÆSAR *L.* IV. *c.* 1. Suevorum gens eſt longe maxima, & bellicoſiſſima Germanorum omnium. Ii centum pagos habere dicuntur, ex quibus quotannis ſingula millia armatorum, bellandi cauſſa ſuis ex finibus educunt, reliqui domi manent: pro ſe, atque illis, colunt. Hi rurſus invicem anno poſt in armis ſunt; illi domi remanent. Sic neque agricultura, neque ratio, neque uſus belli intermittitur; ſed privati ac ſeparati agri apud eos hihil eſt: neque longius anno remanere uno in loco, incolendi cauſſa, licet. Neque multum frumento, ſed maximam partem lacte atque pecore vivunt, multumque ſunt in venationibus, e. q. ſ.

(2) *Idem L.* IV. *c.* 2. Quin etiam jumentis, quibus maxime Gallia delectatur, quæque impenſo parat pretio, Germani importatis non utuntur; ſed quæ ſunt apud eos nata, parva atque deformia, hæc quotidiana exercitatione, ſummi ut ſint laboris, efficiunt. Equeſtribus proeliis ſæpe ex equis deſiliunt, ac pedibus proeliantur, equoſque eodem remanere veſtigio aſſuefaciunt, ad quos ſe celeriter, quum uſus eſt, recipiunt nequ eeorum moribus turpius quidquam, aut inertius habetur, quum ephippiis uti. Itaque ad quemvis numerum ephippiatorum equitum, quamvis pauci, adire ſolent. *In the Battle of* Arioviſtus *with the* Romans, *we find an Inſtance of this manner of fighting.*

been

been. One side of their Country was bounded by the *Ubii*, who extended from thence to the *Rhine*. These were, indeed, by Means of their Commerce and Intercourse with the neighbouring *Gauls*, become more polite than the *Suevi*, but were not powerful enough to resist them, and therefore obliged to be their Tributaries.

§. XII. The *Usipetes* and *Tencteri*, having, with much ado, maintain'd their Ground against the *Suevi* many Years, were at last obliged to abandon their Country, and ventur'd, at this Time, after they had wander'd three Years about *Germany*, to seek a new Habitation in *Gaul*. They invaded, near the Mouth of the *Rhine*, the Country of the *Menapii*, who dwelt on both Sides of that River; (1.) and having overcome those, who inhabited the Banks of the *Rhine*, on the right Side, made use of their Vessels, to pass to the other Side of the River, whence they likewise drove away the other Part of that Nation, and maintain'd themselves, during the Winter, out of their Stores. *Cæsar* was in *Italy* to manage an Affair, the Event of which might either establish or deprive him of the Fruits of all his former Victories. *Lucius Domitius*, who aim'd at the Consulate for the following Year, had publickly threaten'd, he would, at that Time, divest *Cæsar* of the Command of the Army: The latter therefore, enter'd into Engagements with *Crassus* and *Pompey*, that, at the impending Change in the Administration, he would promote their Interest to obtain the Consulate, and that they should then renew his Commission in the Army for five Years (2.) This News no sooner reach'd his Ears, than he hastened from *Italy* to the Army, fearing the *Gauls* would, according to their natural Propensity to Change, make Use of these warlike *Germans* to enter upon various Enterprizes. Some *Gallick* Nations had indeed sent to the *Usipetes* and *Tencteri*, and invited them farther into the Country, whereupon they had, at *Cæsar*'s Arrival in *Gaul*, actually reach'd (*) the Dominions of the *Eburones* and *Condrusi*. (3.)

The *Tencteri* and *Usipetes* invade *Gaul*.

§. XIII. Cæsar summon'd the Princes of the *Gallick* Nations, conceal'd his Suspicions, and declared his Resolution, to repel the *Germans*; to which they were obliged to contribute their Share of Cavalry and Provisions. On his March, he was met by an Ambassy from the *Tencteri* and *Usipetes*, which remonstrated, that Necessity alone had drove them over the *Rhine*; that, if *Cæsar* would allot them a Tract of Land to live in, or leave them in Possession of what they had taken, they were ready to serve him, upon all Occasions; but if not, they hoped

But are defeated by *Cæsar*.

§. XII. (1.) Cæsar L. IV. c. 1. Non longe a mari, quo Rhenus influit. *This Invasion was probably above the Island of the* Batavi.

(2.) Svetonius in Iulio, c. 24.

(*) Idem L. IV. c. 1-7.

(3) Qui erant Trevirorum clientes. Cæsar L. IV. c. 6.

by

by Force to maintain it. *Cæſar* anſwer'd, he ſhould, by no Means, ſuffer them to remain in *Gaul*; that he intended to procure them a Reception amongſt the *Ubii*, by means of ſome Deputies of that Nation, who were then in his Camp, and that they might then join their Forces in Defence of themſelves againſt the *Suevi*. The *Germans* had juſt before ſent a great Part of their Cavalry over the *Maes*, into the Country of the *Ambivariti* in queſt of Booty, and would gladly have firſt waited for their Return. They therefore renewed their Intreaties to *Cæſar* to grant them a Truce, till they could themſelves treat with the *Ubii*, about the Propoſal he made. But *Cæſar* was, in the mean while, drawn very near to them, and allow'd them only a Day's time to conſider. 800 *German* Horſe happen'd, on the ſame Day, to have the Advantage of attacking 5000 of the *Roman* Cavalry, who expected no Acts of Hoſtility, and without any Regard to the Truce, fell upon them and put them to Flight. (1) Their Chiefs came, the next Day, to *Cæſar*'s Camp, and begg'd that he would not impute the Raſhneſs of ſome young Men, who had the Day before inconſiderately attack'd the *Romans*, to the whole Body of the People, but rather allow them the Ceſſation of Arms they had requeſted. *Cæſar*, who look'd upon all their Excuſes as artful and fraudulent, thought he had a Right to impriſon them, notwithſtanding their publick Character. (2.) Upon this he directly marched to the *German* Camp, which was but 8 Miles diſtant from him. They little expected ſo ſudden an Attack, and, beſides, in the Abſence of their principal Leaders, were ignorant how or in what Manner to act. Thoſe who at firſt offer'd to reſiſt were inſtantly cut in pieces. Their Wives and Children endeavour'd to ſave themſelves by Flight, but were moſt of them put to the Sword, by ſome Horſe whom *Cæſar* had ſent in Purſuit of them. The *Romans* were as little indulgent to thoſe, who could make no Reſiſtance, as the *Germans* themſelves: And the Cries of the unfortunate Women and Infants, together with the advancing of the Enemy upon them, ſtruck the *Uſipetes* and *Tencteri* with ſuch a Pannick that the

§. XIII. (1.) CÆSAR L. IV. c. 12. Impetu facto celeriter turbaverunt; rurſus, reſiſtentibus noſtris, conſuetudine ſua ad pedes deſilierunt, ſuffoſſiſque equis compluribuſque noſtris dejectis, reliquos in fugam conjecerunt.

(2.) Dio L. 39. p. 113. A. B. ſays, *that ſome young* Germans *did indeed make an irregular Attack on the* Romans, *and this is obſerved as a Proof of* CÆSAR's *having related his Wars himſelf, that he might the better gloſs over his Actions with the Appearance of Juſtice.* Plutarch, *in his Life of* CÆSAR, L. c. p. 718. E. *ſays, that the Matter was otherwiſe repreſented by many at* Rome. *He particularly relates of* Cato:

Canuſius, Catonem, narrat, decernente victoriæ cauſſa ſupplicationem Senatu pro ſententia dixiſſe, Cæſarem barbaris dedendum ad expiandum a violato jure gentium civitatem, & ad piaculum in autorem vertendum, SUETONIUS *in Iulio cap.* 21.

whole

whole Multitude fled. The *Romans* purſued them to the *Maes*, (3.) where thoſe, who had eſcaped the Sword, threw themſelves into the River; and ſome ſav'd their Lives by Swimming, but the greateſt Part periſhed (*.)

§. XIV. THIS Succeſs excited *Cæſar* to greater Enterprizes. He reſolved to hinder the *Germans* from croſſing the *Rhine*, and let them ſee, that the *Romans* were able to make War with them in their own Country. The *Ubii*, with whom he had enter'd into an Alliance, earneſtly intreated him to aſſiſt them againſt the *Suevi*, or at leaſt to appear on the other Side of the *Rhine*; ſince they eſteemed the Reputation of being ally'd to the *Romans*, alone a ſufficient Protection: For *Ariovi ſtus*'s Overthrow had extended the Fame of the *Roman* Arms even to the remoteſt Confines of *Germany*. But *Cæſar* found a Pretence ſtill more plauſible. The Cavalry of the *Tencteri* and *Uſipetes*, who were not in the Battle, having been appriz'd of the Overthrow of their Countrymen, had found a Way over the *Rhine* and fled to the *Sicambri*. *Cæſar* ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Sicambri*, to demand their delivering his Enemies. They little thought, that he was near enough to invade them, and anſwer'd, that he ought at leaſt, to fix the *Rhine* for the Boundary of his Empire; and that, ſince he thought it unjuſt, and a Provocation for a War, if the *Germans* croſs'd the *Rhine*, he could claim no Right of perſecuting them on their Side of the River. *Cæſar* was in Hopes of an anſwer like this, to afford him a Pretence to a War. The *Ubii* offer'd their Boats to waft him over, but *Cæſar* thought it would be more Honour to the *Romans* to lay a Bridge over the River, (1.) which probably had never been attempted before. The ſurprize of the *Germans*, who had hitherto been accuſtomed to croſs the Stream on Floats, Canoes, or other ſlight Veſſels, at the Sight of this Undertaking, and the Idea they muſt have formed of the *Roman* Power and Dexterity, when they ſaw it finiſhed in 10 Days, can hardly be imagin'd. *Cæſar*, having left a ſtrong Guard on both Sides, march'd directly towards the *Sicambri*. This was the firſt Time, the *Romans* ſet Foot on the *German* Territories, which they afterwards ſo often ſtain'd with their own Blood, or that of the Inhabitants. The *Sicambri* no ſooner ſaw that a Bridge was building, than they fled, with all their Effects, into the Foreſts, and exhorted the remaining *Tencteri* and *Uſipetes* to do the ſame. *Cæſar* ſet Fire to their Houſes, cut down their

Cæſar builds a Bridge over the *Rhine*, and ravages the Country of the *Sicambri*.

(3.) CÆSAR, L. IV. c. 15. Quum ad confluentem Moſæ & Rheni perveniſſent. *Phil Cluverius in Ant. German* L. IV. c. 14. *reads it* ad confluentem. Moſellæ & Rheni, *but he is confuted by* Jo. Iſaac. Pontanus diſcept. Choragr. de Rheni divortiis, c. V. p. 27.

(*) CÆSAR L. IV. c. 7-16.

§. XIV. 1. CÆSAR *deſcribes this Building*, L. IV. c. 17.

Corn,

Corn, and thereupon returned to the *Ubii*. Here he was informed, that when the *Suevi* were appriz'd of this Bridge, they had conceal'd their Wives and Children in the thickeſt Woods, but order'd their Men to aſſemble and meet him on his Arrival in their Country. As *Cæſar* had not enter'd *Germany* with a Deſign to engage in a War, he had already fully gained his Point: For he had convinced the *Germans*, that he dar'd to attack them in their own Dominions, and had particularly ſhewn the *Ubii*, how advantageous an Alliance with the *Romans* was, while the *Sicambri*, on the other Hand, had experienc'd the Danger of refuſing them any thing. He therefore led his Army back over the *Rhine*, after it had been 18 Days in *Germany*, and broke down the Bridge behind him. (2.) Towards the Concluſion of this Year, he invaded *Britain*, pretending that the Inhabitants had aſſiſted the *Gauls* in their Attempts upon the *Romans*, and thereby drawn their Enmity on themſelves; but his real Deſign was, not only to become more popular among the *Romans*, by ſuch uncommon Attempts, but likewiſe to render himſelf more neceſſary. And the Benefit he received from this Expedition, had it been no more than the Knowledge of the Country, by which he might regulate his future Proceedings, was more advantageous, than any Conqueſt he could have made in the Foreſts of *Germany*. Theſe Excurſions were indeed diſapprov'd of by ſeveral great Men in *Rome*, who publickly ſaid, that he ought to be deliver'd into the Hands of the Barbarians, with whom he had needleſsly involv'd the *Romans* in dangerous Wars: (3.) But his Succeſs ſoon ſtopp'd the Mouths of theſe Slanderers: And in this very Year he was honour'd with a 20 Days Feſtival, when his Enemies were oblig'd, with others, to return Thanks to the Gods for Victories, for which they had perhaps never invok'd them. (*)

Troils occaſioned by the *Treviri*. *In the Conſulate* of Domitius Aenobarbus & Claudius Pulcher.

§. XV. The enſuing Year, the *Treviri* occaſioned a Commotion in *Gaul* againſt the *Romans*. They were a powerful Nation, which had formerly removed from *Germany* into *Gaul*, (1.) and had extended themſelves, among the *Belgæ*, from the *Rhine*, to the Confines of the *Rhemi*. Their Cavalry was thought to excell any in *Gaul*. They had ſometime before ſhaken off the *Roman* Yoke, (2.) and it was reported, they had ſought to draw over the *Germans*, beyond the *Rhine*, into *Gaul*. *Cæſar* went again, the Year following, to *Britain*, but ſtopp'd on the Borders of the *Treviri*, to be better inform'd of the true State of Things. The

(2.) Idem. 19. 20.
(3.) *See the* XIII. §. n. 3.
(*) Cæsar *L.* IV. *c.* 16. *to the End.*
§. XV. (1) *See the* VII. § Nota 1..
(2.) Cæsar *L.* V. *c.* 2. Neque ad concilia veniebant, neque imperio parebant, Germanoſque tranſrhenanos ſollicitare decibantur. *The* Trevirian *Cavalry, which I before obſerved to have been employ'd in* Cæſar's *Service, muſt have been ſent him by ſome private Men, or elſe the good Underſtanding with that Nation muſt have ceaſed afterwards.*

Minds

Minds of the People were divided, ſome adhered to their Prince *Induciomarus*, others were *Cingetorix*, his Son in Law's, Party. The Tye of Conſanguinity was as little capable of ſupporting a Friendſhip between theſe two Princes, as it was afterwards of preventing a War between *Cæſar and Pompey*. *Cingetorix*, who hitherto was not a Match for his Father in Law, had no ſooner heard of *Cæſar*'s Arrival, than he went, with his Adherents, to meet him. *Induciomarus*, on the other Hand, made at firſt all poſſible Preparations to oppoſe the *Romans*. He immediately aſſembled all that were able to bear Arms: And the old Men and Children were conceal'd in the *Arduennian* Foreſt, which, beginning at the *Rhine*, extended thro' the Midſt of the Country of the *Treviri*, as far as the Borders of the *Rhemi*. But, when ſeveral of the Heads of his Faction, either terrified by the *Romans*, or entic'd by *Cingetorix*, went over to the *Roman* Camp, he fear'd an univerſal Defection, and ſued for Peace. *Cæſar* readily conſented to it, as he intended to go to *Britain* that Summer, and was conſequently willing to be as expeditious here as poſſible. *Induciomarus* therefore went himſelf to his Camp, but was forced to deliver 200 Hoſtages, and among them his Son and ſeveral other Relations. *Cæſar*, on the other Side, ſuffer'd him to retain his former Dignity and Power: And then he reconciled the Chiefs of the oppoſite Party to *Cingetorix*, not only to reward his Fidelity to the *Romans*, but alſo to weaken *Induciomarus*'s Power, without any Shew of Animoſity. The latter did indeed ſtifle his Reſentment, but endeavour'd, during the Summer-Seaſon, to ripen the Minds of the *Gauls* for a Revolt. (*)

§. XVI. CÆSAR was ſucceſsful in *Britain*, and returned in Autumn, about the Equinox, to *Gaul*. He held the uſual Convention of the *Gallick* Nations at *Samarobriva*, and thereupon diſperſed his Men into Winter-quarters; this Year not having been ſo fertile to ſupport them longer in the Field. This ſeem'd to favour the *Gauls* in the Execution of their Deſigns. The *Eburones*, who were the moſt powerful of thoſe *German* Nations, who laſt croſs'd the *Rhine*, made the firſt Attack. They dwelt beyond the *Menapii*, chiefly between the *Rhine* and the *Maes*, (1.) but had extended their Dominions beyond the *Maes*, where they border'd on the *Atuatici*. Their Country therefore included a Part of the preſent Biſhoprick of *Liege*, the Duchies of *Limburg* and *Jüliers*, with a part of *Guelders*, and of the Electorate of *Cologn*. They were governed by two Princes, one of whom, call'd *Cativulcus*, was ſuperannuated, and therefore the Adminiſtration lay chiefly on *Ambiorix*, the other Prince. *Cæſar* had aſſign'd *Atuatica*,

A *Roman* Army decoy'd into an Ambuſh and defeated, by *Ambiorix*, a Prince of the *Eburones*.

(*) CÆSAR L. V. c. 2. 3.

§. XVI. 1. CÆSAR *L.* V. *c.* 24. Quorum pars maxima eſt inter Moſam & Rhenum.

in the Country of the *Eburones*, for Winter-quarters, to the Troops of *Q. Titurius Sabinus* and *Aurunculeius Cotta*, which consisted of a Legion and five Cohorts. The two Princes received them on their Frontiers, (2.) and even procured for them the Provisions requisite. But *Induciomarus*'s Intrigues had, in the Space of fifteen Days, so great an Effect, that the *Eburones* suddenly attack'd their Quarters, but met with a vigorous Resistance from the *Romans*. When *Ambiorix* found it a difficult Undertaking to overpower them in their Camp, he thought of a Stratagem to entice them out of it. He demanded a Conference with the *Roman* Generals, which when they complied with, he remonstrated to their Deputies, that the *Romans* might easily imagine, the *Eburones*, and himself least of all, could not have dared to attack them of their own Motives, since he was indebted to *Cæsar* for having freed him from the Tribute, which he was before forced to pay to his Neighbours the *Atuatici*: But that the *Gauls* had all agreed to make a general Attack, on one Day, on the *Roman* Winter-Quarters; from which the *Eburones* could not be alone excluded. (3.) That he had therefore attempted what his Country required of him, but that he was now willing to act consistently with the Duty he owed to *Cæsar*, and the Hospitality which he had till then exercis'd with *Titurius*; (4.) and advis'd the General to retire with his Men, either to *Cicero*'s Quarters, among the *Nervii*, or to that of *Labienus*'s among the *Rhemi*, on the Borders of the *Treviri*: especially since a whole Swarm of *Germans* had cross'd the *Rhine*, and were expected in two Days: He assured them besides, that they should meet with no Obstructions on their March thro' his Country. The *Roman* Generals were divided in their Opinions, how far this Advice could be safely follow'd. *Q. Titurius Sabinus* at last insisted upon accepting it. They therefore began their March towards *Cicero*'s Camp the following Day: But the *Eburones* lay in Ambush for them

(2) Cæsar *L.* V. *c.* 26. Diebus circiter XV, quibus in hiberna ventum est, initium repentini tumultus ac defectionis ortum est ab Ambiorige & Cativulco: qui cum ad fines regni sui Sabino Cottæque præsto fuissent, frumentumque in hiberna comportavissent, Indutiomari, Treviri, nunciis impulsi, suos concitaverunt, subitoque oppressis lignatoribus, magna manu castra oppugnatum venerunt. Quum celeriter nostri arma cepissent, vallumque ascendissent; atque una ex parte Hispanis equitibus missis, equestri proelio superiores fuissent; desperata re hostes suos ab oppugnatione reduxerunt. Tum suo more conclamaverunt, uti aliqui ex nostris ad colloquium prodirent: habere sese, quæ de re communi dicere vellent, quibus controversias minui posse sperarent.

(3) Cæsar *L.* V. *c.* 27. Non facile Gallos, Gallis negare potuisse. *The* Eburones *are here termed* Galli *by* Cæsar, *tho' he himself affirms them to have been* Germans, *because they lived in one Community with the* Gallick *Nations.*

(4) *Ib.* pro Beneficiis Caesarem monere, orare Titurium pro hospitio.

in

in a Valley about eleven *Roman* Miles diſtant from their former Camp; and, being Maſters of the Eminencies on both Sides, there revenged the Maſſacre of their own Countrymen. Moſt of the *Romans*, and, both their Generals, loſt, their Lives. (5.) Thoſe who ſurviv'd returned to their former Camp, where they defended themſelves valiantly 'till Night, and then, ſeeing a further Reſiſtance, to ſo unequal a Number, impracticable, killed themſelves. Some few, who fled directly, at the Beginning of the Engagement, arrived at *Labienus's* Camp, whom this Relation render'd more cautious.

§. XVII. AMBIORIX knew how to make an Advantage of the Victory he had gained. He haſtened, with his Cavalry, to his Neighbours, the *Atuatici*, and from them to the *Nervii*, and excited them, by his good Fortune, to rid themſelves of their unbidden Gueſts. The latter ſummon'd the *Centrones*, *Grudii*, *Levaci*, *Pleumatii* and *Gorduni*, who were all their Subjects, to appear in Arms, and with united Force ſet upon *Q. Cicero*, who was as yet ignorant of the Fate of *Titurius* and *Cotta*, and had not fortified his Camp. Some of the Chiefs of the *Nervii*, who had ſome Knowledge of him, deſired an Interview, and endeavour'd to terrify him in the Manner *Ambiorix* had *Titurius*. They promiſed him, at the ſame Time, a free Paſſage, and pretended, that they had nothing to object againſt the *Romans*, but the Inconvenience of their taking Winter-Quarters with them: But *Cicero*, who, in the mean while, got Intelligence of the Overthrow of the other two Generals, anſwer'd them with the uſual *Roman* Magnanimity, and was reſolved to ſee the Event. The *Gauls* hereupon inveſted the *Roman* Camp in Form, applied their Turrets, and made uſe of Sickles and Shields, which were made in Imitation of thoſe of the *Romans*, as well as their want of Experience and proper Tools would admit of. (1.) On the ſeventh Day, they threw red hot Bullets and Darts into the Camp, by which they ſet Fire to the *Roman* Huts, that like thoſe of the *Gauls* were thatch'd, with great Eaſe, being favor'd by a high Wind. In the mean while, they

The *Nervii* attack *Q. Cicero*.

(5) CÆSAR L. V. c. 35. *Deſcribes the Battles, and, among other Circumſtances, ſays*: Cotta legatus, omnes cohortes, ordineſque exhortans, in adverſum os funda vulneratur.

§. XVII. 1. CÆSAR L. V. c. 42. Ab hac ſpe repulſi Nervii, vallo pedum XI. & foſſa pedum XV. hiberna cingunt. Hæc ſuperiorum annorum conſuetudine a noſtris cognoverant; & quoſdam de exercitu nacti captivos, ab his docebantur. Sed nulla bis ferramentorum copia, quæ eſſet ad hunc uſum idonea: gladiis ceſpitem circumcidere, manibus, ſaguliſque terram exhaurire cogebantur. Qua quidem ex re hominum multitudo cognoſci potuit. Nam minus horis tribus millium paſſuum XV. in circuitu munitionem perfecerunt, reliquiſque diebus turres ad altitudinem vall., falces teſtudineſque, quas iidem captivi docuerant, parare, ac facere coeperunt.

advanc'd, with their Turrets, Shields and Ladders. The *Romans* defended themſelves with great Bravery, but were, at Length, moſt of them wounded, and muſt all have inevitably periſh'd, had not *Cicero* found Means of acquainting *Cæſar* with his Condition. (*)

Cæſar relieves *Cicero.*

§. XVIII. CÆSAR, who as ſoon as he heard of the Overthrow of *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, had let his Hair and Beard grow, that by his melancholy Aſpect he might enflame the Soldiers to a hearty Revenge, could not at firſt bring together more than two Legions; for *Labienus* excuſed himſelf on account of *Induciomarus*'s Motions. *Cæſar* left all his Ammunition, Hoſtages, Treaſure and Proviſions at *Samarobriva* (1), and march'd, with his two Legions, to meet the *Nervii*. Theſe came out to meet him, according to his own Computation, to the Number of 60,000, and *Cæſar* had both the Courage and Fortune to fight his Way thro' ſo unequal a Number, with his 7000 Men. (2) By this Victory, he not only relieved *Cicero*, but likewiſe gave an Opportunity to *Labienus* to act againſt *Induciomarus*, who was, as it were, in Order of Battle; and the Nations in *Armorica*, who were on their March to fall upon *L. Roſcius*, on hearing this News, inſtantly retired. (3.) *Cæſar* ſent *Fabius* back to his Winter-Quarters among the *Morini*, and reſolved upon ſtaying himſelf, with three Legions, during the Winter-ſeaſon at *Samarobriva*, becauſe all the *Gauls*, excepting the *Ædui* and *Rhemi*, who continued loyal to the *Romans*, (4) were factious, and waited only for a freſh Opportunity.

Labienus routs *Induciomarus*, Prince of the *Treviri.*

§. XIX. THIS Opportunity ſoon offer'd among the *Treviri*. *Induciomarus* had no ſooner heard of *Cicero*'s Deliverance, than he retreated, and endeavour'd to draw thoſe *German* Nations, who dwelt on the other Side of the *Rhine*, over to his Party, in which he was unſucceſsful. (1.) The other *Gallick* Nations urged him, in the mean

* CÆSAR L. V. c. 38-44.

§. XVIII. 1. CÆSAR *L.* V. *c.* 47. Hora circiter III. ab antecurſoribus de Craſſi adventu certior eſt factus: eo die millia paſſuum XX. progreditur. Craſſum Samarobrivæ præficit, Legionemque ei attribuit, quod ibi impedimenta exercitus, obſides civitatum, litteras publicas, frumentumque omne, quod eo tolerandæ hiemis cauſſa devexerat, relinquebat.

(2) IDEM L. V. c. 48-51.

(3) IDEM. c. 52. 53.

(4) CÆSAR. *L. c. c.* 53. Cæſar Fabium cum legione in ſua remittit hiberna. Ipſe cum III. Legionibus circum Samarobrivam trinis hibernis hiemare conſtituit; & quod tanti motus Galliæ exſtiterant, totam hiemem ipſe ad exercitum manere decrevit.

§. XIX (1) CÆSAR *L.* V. *c.* 55. Treviri arque Induciomarus totius hiemis nullum tempus intermiſerunt, quin trans Rhenum legatos mitterent, civitates ſollicitarent; pecunias pollicerentur: magna parte exercitus noſtri interfecta, multo minorem ſupereſſe dicerent partem. Neque tamen ulli civitati Germanorum perſuaderi potuit, ut Rhenum tranſirent, quum ſe bis expertos dicerent, Arioviſti bello & Tenchterorum tranſitu, non eſſe fortunam amplius tentaturos.

while,

while, daily, to put himſelf at the Head of thoſe who were deſirous of freing their Country from the *Roman* Yoke. The good Opinion they expreſſed of him, ſo flatter'd his Hopes, that he at laſt gave Ear to their Entreaties, eſpecially as *Ambiorix* had, on the one Hand, already actually brought the *Nervii* and *Atuatici* into Arms; and, the *Senones* and *Carnutes*, on the other, ſeem'd only to wait for an Opportunity: *Induciomarus* aſſembled all that were able to bear Arms; (2) and, in a publick Convention, declared *Cingetorix*, and his Adherents, Enemies to the State. He acquainted the whole Army, that the *Senones* and *Carnutes* had implored his Aſſiſtance, which he intended to grant them, and by the Way to pillage the Country of the *Rhemi*, but firſt to attack the *Roman* General in his Winter-Quarters. *Cingetorix* informed *Labienus* of theſe Proceedings. His Camp was ſo advantageouſly ſituated and fortified, that he thought himſelf in no Danger from the *Treviri*. *Induciomarus* endeavour'd, for ſeveral Days, by his frequent Bravadoes, to decoy him out of it. The *Roman* General, left him to judge what he would of his Fears, till he had privately received a large Reinforcement of Horſe from the *Rhemi*: And then, *Induciomarus* having again provoked the *Romans*, with opprobrious Language, and being ſecurely, and in an irregular Manner, retreating towards the Evening, *Labienus* caus'd all his Cavalry to make an unexpected Sally upon him, and, leſt *Induciomarus* ſhould eſcape, he charged them, not to engage any other Perſon, till they had ſecured him dead or alive. They ſo punctually obſerved this Order, that they ſeized him as he was croſſing a River, (3.) and his Head became now a Signal to the Soldiers to exert the utmoſt Fury of inſulting Conquerours. (*)

(2) CÆSAR *L.* V. *c.* 56. Armatum concilium indicit. Hoc more Gallorum eſt initium belli, quo lege communi, omnes puberes armati convenire coguntur: & qui ex iis noviſſimus venit, in conſpectu multitudinis, omnibus cruciatibus affectus, necatur. *Livius L.* XXI. *c.* 20. In his (*ſcil Gallis*) eſt nova terribiliſque ſpecies viſa, quod armati, (ita mos gentis erat) in concilium venerunt.

(3) LAUR BEGRVS *has in his* Theſaurus Brandenburgicus, p. 309. *explain'd a Coin of this* Induciomarus, *which is ſtill preſerved in the Royal Cabinet at* Berlin. *On one ſide of it is a Man's Head, with a Royal Circle, and, on the other, a Bull with this Inſcription,* GERMANUS; *and under it* INDUT IIIII; *which he reads* INDUTIomarus IIIVIRENSIS (Trevirenſis *or* Trevir.) *He mentions, in the ſame Paſſage,* p. 305 *another Coin with the Name of* COMMIUS, *and interprets it of* Comius, *Prince of the* Atrebates, *whom* Dio Caſſius *likewiſe calls* Commius. *This is perhaps the moſt probable Conjecture we may venture at in the Explanation of two, otherwiſe wholly unintelligible, Coins; which however I leave to the Judgment of thoſe, who have an Opportunity of comparing it with the Coins themſelves.*

* CÆSAR, L. VI. c. 55-58.

§. XX. THE

Cæsar makes an Incursion into the Country of the *Nervii*:

§. XX. THE *Treviri* continued their Allegiance to the House of *Induciomarus*, and renew'd their Preparations against the *Romans*. (1.) They sent to the *German* Nations, on the other Side of the *Rhine*, and strove to bring them over to their Party. Those, who dwelt nearest to that River, and had two Years before experienced the Power of the *Romans*, in *Cæsar*'s Bridge over the *Rbine*, refused their Concurrence: But some Nations among the *Suevi* entered into the Confederacy. The *Treviri* gave them Security for the Reward promised them, renewed their Treaty with *Ambiorix*, and prepar'd for an early Campaign. (2.) The *Nervii*, *Atuatici* and *Menapii* were in Arms, on the other Side, and had engaged the Rest of the *Germans*, who dwelt on the left Side of the *Rhine*. (3.) The *Senones* and *Carnutes*, in *Celtick Gaul*, gave manifest Tokens of their being tir'd with the *Roman* Yoke. *Cæsar* remained in *Gaul* during the Winter, and *Pompey* (4) left him as many of those Troops, which he had rais'd the Year before, as repair'd the Losses he had sustain'd. With these he fell upon the *Nervii*, before the Winter was at an End, laid a Part of their Country waste, and deliver'd the Cattle and Prisoners a Prey to his Soldiers. He thereupon issued Writs in the Spring for the usual Convention in *Gaul*; at which the *Treviri*, *Senones* and *Carnutes* not appearing, *Cæsar* took it for an open Rupture; and, therefore, fell unexpected upon the *Senones*, who thereby found themselves under a Necessity of suing for Pardon; which *Cæsar*, at the Intercession of the *Ædui*, granted them. And the *Carnutes* were soon after reconciled to him by the Mediation of the *Rhemi*. (*)

And subdues the *Menapii*.

§. XXI. WHEN *Cæsar* found himself thus secur'd, on this Side, he resolved to humble *Ambiorix*, and first to deprive him of the Assistance he expected from the *Menapii* and *German* Nations. He sent all his Ammunition, with two Legions, to *Labienus*, and himself, with five Legions, march'd against the *Menapii*, who hoped for more Safety in their Forests and Marshes than they in Reality found. *Cæsar* attack'd them on three Sides at once, and the Celerity of the *Romans*, in laying Bridges over the Rivers and Morasses, laid the whole

§. XX. (1) CÆSAR *L.* VI. *c.* 2. Adejus propinquos a Treviris imperium defertur.

(2) *Ib.* Illi finitimos Germanos sollicitare & pecuniam polliceri non desistunt, quum ab proximis impetrare non possent, ulteriores tentant: inventis nonnullis, civitates jurejurando inter se confirmant obsidibusque de pecunia cavent: Ambiorigem sibi societate & fœdere conjungunt.

(3) Adjunctis *Cisrhenanis* omnibus.

(4) CÆSAR *L.* VI. *c.* 1. Quoniam ipse ad urbem cum imperio reipublicæ caussa maneret.

* IDEM. *L.* VI. *c.* 2-5.

§. XXI. * L. VI. *c.* 5. 6.

Country

Country open to them, which they waſted and plunder'd, 'till the *Menapii* ſued for Peace, and this *Cæſar* granted, on Condition of their abandoning *Ambiorix*. *Comius*, whom he had made Prince of the *Atrebates*, remain'd there with the Cavalry, to obſerve their Motions, and he himſelf went to *Labienus*, where he found as good News as he brought. (*)

§. XXII. FOR the *Treviri* had ventur'd a ſecond Time to approach *Labienus*, and had encamp'd oppoſite to him at the Diſtance of fifteen *Roman* Miles. *Labienus* was deſirous of bringing them to an Engagement, before the *Germans*, from the other Side of the *Rhine*, could come to their Aſſiſtance; but, not daring to croſs the River between the two Camps, (1) pretended to fly, and thereby decoy'd the *Treviri* to leave their advantageous Camp and paſs the River, in Purſuit of the *Romans*. *Labienus* turned upon them unexpectedly, and found them in ſuch Diſorder, that they ſcarce ſtood the firſt Attack, and afterwards diſperſed, moſt of them, into the neighbouring Foreſts. The News of this Defeat ſo terrified the *Germans*, who had already ſome of them paſs'd the *Rhine*, that they haſten'd their return home. The Chiefs of the Houſe of *Inducioma-rus*, who had hitherto promoted the War, were glad, with them, to eſcape the Hands of the Conqueror, whereupon he became, in a few Days, Maſter of the whole Nation, and advanc'd *Cingetorix*, who had, from the Beginning, been firmly attach'd to the *Romans*, to the Dignity of a Prince and General in his own Country. (*)

Labienus defeats the *Treviri* a ſecond Time.

§. XXIII. CÆSAR could now more eaſily execute his Intention of paſſing the *Rhine*, and depriving *Ambiorix* of all the Aſſiſtance he hop'd for, from that Side of the River. He made the Succours the *Germans* had ſent the *Treviri* a Pretext for this War; built a ſecond Bridge over the *Rhine*, ſomewhat above the Place where the firſt was laid, and left a ſufficient Guard among the *Treviri* to cover the Bridge, and keep the People in Aw. The *Ubii* received him, on that Side, with all poſſible Tokens of Friendſhip, and plainly cleared themſelves of the Imputation of having aſſiſted the *Treviri*. The *Suevi* were, upon narrow Enquiry, found to have ſent them Auxi-

Cæſar paſſes the *Rhine* again.

§. XXII. (1) CÆSAR *L.* VI. *c.* 7. Difficili tranſitu flumen, ripiſque præruptis.

* IDEM L. VI. c. 7. 8.

§. XXIII. (1) CÆSAR *L.* VI. *c.* 10. Silvam eſſe ibi infinatæ magnitudinis, quæ appellatur Bacenis: hanc longe introrſus pertinere, & pro nativo muro objectam, Cheruſcos a Suevis, Suevoſque a Cheruſcis, injuriis incurſionibuſque prohibere, ad ejus initium ſiluæ, Suevos adventum Romanorum expectare conſtituiſſe.

* IDEM L. VI. *c.* 9. 10. CÆSAR *here takes Occaſion to treat of the then State and Manners of the* Gauls *and* Germans, *from the* 11 *to the* 28 *Chapter.*

liaries;

liaries: *Cæsar* therefore prepar'd to invade their Dominions. They were no sooner informed of *Cæsar*'s Design, than they removed farther into the Country, to an impassable Forest, which separated them from the *Cheruſci*, and there determin'd to wait his coming. But *Cæsar* thought it not adviseable, to venture so far, especially as he foresaw, that the Land of the *Suevi* being badly cultivated, he must needs be destitute of Provisions. He therefore return'd; but to keep the *Germans* under, he broke down only that Part of the Bridge, which join'd the *Ubian* shoar, for about 200 Paces, and the Rest he secured and guarded sufficiently.

Pursues the Prince of the *Eburones*, and delivers his Country a Prey to his Neighbours.

§. XXIV. When Harvest approach'd, the Hostilities with *Ambiorix* began. *Cæsar* detach'd *L. Minucius Basilus*, with the Cavalry, thro' the *Arduennian* Forest, and he fell so unexpectedly upon the *Eburones*, that *Ambiorix* himself, who then resided in that Neighbourdood, very narrowly escap'd: He retired to the Banks of the *Scheld* where the Extent of that Forest separated the *Nervii* from the *Eburones*. He himself infused an universal Terror in his Subjects, and sent them the melancholy Order, to provide every Man for his own Safety. *Cativulcus*, who governed the Rest of the *Eburones*, was, by his great Age, render'd uncapable of doing any thing. He cursed the Projects and Temerity of *Ambiorix*, which now involved him, and the whole Nation, in this Misery, and, in Despair, killed himself. The People sought most of them their Safety in the thickest of the *Arduennian* Forest, and among the Marshes. Those who dwelt near the Sea-Coast fled to some neighbouring Isles, which were raised by the Tides and Surges of the Sea: And many took Refuge where-ever their first Fears directed them, since any Event was thought more supportable than to fall into the Hands of the *Romans*. *Cæsar*, who follow'd with his Legions, therefore found the Country desolate. The *Segni* and *Condrusii*, who dwelt between the *Eburones* and the *Treviri*, sent Ambassadors to him, and begg'd he would not impute the Guilt of their Countrymen, to which they had been no Way accessary, to them. (1.) *Cæsar* left all his Ammunition at *Atuatica*, which was almost in the Center of the Country, and where *Titurius* and *Aurunculeius* had, not long before, held their Winter-Quarters: But the Army he divided into three Bodies. *T. Labienus* was order'd to ravage the Country, that separated the *Eburones* from the *Menapii*, towards the Sea, and *C. Trebonius* to plunder that Part where they joined the *Atuatici* on the *Sambre*. Each had

§ XXVI. (1) Cæsar *L.* VI. *c.* 32. Ne se in hostium numero duceret, *Neve Omnium Germanorum, Qui essent Citra Rhenum,* causam esse unam judicaret

three

three Legions, and he himſelf march'd, with the third Body, towards the *Scheld*, in Purſuit of *Ambiorix*: (2) But finding it impracticable to penetrate the vaſt Foreſt of *Ardennes*, in which the Enemy lay conceal'd on every Hill, and in every Dale; or where-ever a Moraſs or unpaſſable Thicket could give them ſhelter; and as his Soldiers, being ignorant of the Paths, muſt have been diſperſed and ventur'd themſelves ſingly: For theſe Reaſons, to ſave his Men, and leave the Purſuit of the Enemy to the Hazard of others, he caus'd it to be proclaim'd every where, that the *Eburones*, with all they poſſeſs'd, ſhould be deliver'd a Prey to their Neighbours. Several of the neighbouring *Gauls*, who were better acquainted with the Country than the *Romans*, hereupon purſued the *Eburones*, in all their lurking Holes, and aſſiſted the *Romans* in deſtroying a Nation, whoſe Protection they had but juſt before craved againſt theſe very Invaders. *

§. XXV. THE Fame of theſe Ravages was near having an Effect different from what the *Romans* expected, eſpecially as it ſpread beyond the *Rhine*. The *Sicambri* wanted to partake of the Booty, and croſs'd that River, with 2000 Horſe, about 30 *Roman* Miles below the Bridge; where, many of the *Eburones* who had eſcaped the *Romans*, with the Cattle they had ſaved, fell into their Hands. This Succeſs tempted them to penetrate farther into thoſe Parts; eſpecially as they had, in their own uncultivated Country, been accuſtomed to Foreſts and Marſhes. In their March, one of the Priſoners blamed them for employing their Time upon the poor Remains of the *Eburones*, and not rather invading *Atuatica*, which was but three Hours March from them, where all the Treaſure of the *Roman* Army was guarded but by a ſmall Number of Men, ſcarce ſufficient to defend the Walls. The *Sicambri* were eaſily perſuaded, and, appointing the Propoſer to be their Guide, fell ſuddenly upon *Q. Tull. Cicero*, who lay in Gariſon, with a Legion of *Romans*, at *Atuatica*. *Cicero* happen'd that very Day to ſend five Cohorts, and a large Number of Foot-Soldiers behind them, to forage in the Neighbouring Grounds, and was hardly able to defend the Gates of the Place, which was otherwiſe well

The *Sicambri* paſs the *Rhine*, and ſurprize *Cicero* in *Atuatica*.

(2) CÆSAR. *L.* VI. *c.* 33. Ipſe cum reliquis tribus ad flumen Scaldim, quod influit in Moſam, extremaſque Ardennæ partes ire conſtituit, quo cum paucis equitibus profectum Ambiorigem audiebat. *Some have, inſtead of* Scaldim, *in this Paſſage read* Sabin. *But* Cluverius *and* Gerardus Noviomagus *have proved, that* Scaldim *ought to be retained. The Country about the* Sambre *fell to the Share of* Trebonius.

* CÆSAR L. VI. c. 29-34.

fortified, 'till the Return of theſe Cohorts, who valiantly forcing their Paſſage thro' the *Germans*, the latter found themſelves incapable of attacking the Place, after this their firſt Attempt had fail'd; and being probably informed, by their Priſoners, that *Cæſar* was hourly expected, they return'd with their firſt Booty, which they had left in the Foreſt, to their own Country, with the ſecret Satisfaction of having been almoſt of the greateſt Service to the very *Eburones*, againſt whom their Deſign was formed. *

Cæſar extirpates the whole Nation of the *Eburones*.

§. XXVI. The *Romans*, who imagin'd *Cæſar* muſt have been unfortunate, ſince the *Germans* ventur'd to attack their Camp, could hardly believe their Eyes, when they immediately afterwards ſaw his ſafe Arrival with the Army. He ſoon made a freſh Incurſion into the Country of the *Eburones*, and cauſed all the remaining Villages and Edifices to be ſet on Fire. Their Corn had been moſtly conſum'd by ſuch a Number of Men and Cattle, and what remained in the Field was ſpoil'd by the Inclemency of the Weather; ſo that thoſe, who had conceal'd themſelves, could not but periſh by Hunger. *Ambiorix*, with three more, eſcap'd, notwithſtanding the Reward *Cæſar* had put upon his Head, and tho' he had often been diſcover'd, and near being taken; a manifeſt Indication of the Difficulties the *Romans* muſt have had, to ſubdue a People, whoſe Princes choſe rather to undergo any other Miſery, than Servitude. *Cæſar* march'd with his Army to *Rheims*, whither he had ſummon'd a general Convention of the ſeveral Nations of *Gaul*, and ſo diſpoſed of the Troops, that two Legions lay in Winter-Quarters on the *Trevirian*, two on the *Lingonian*, and the other ſix on the *Senonian* Borders. *

Some of the *German* Colonies ſerve *Cæſar* againſt the *Gauls*, and others the *Gauls* againſt *Cæſar*.

§. XXVII. The Factions which then broke out at *Rome*, againſt *Cæſar*, cauſed Commotions throughout *Gaul*, (1) inſomuch, that all the Nations of that Region, the *Rhemi*, *Lingones* and *Treviri* excepted, conſpired againſt the *Romans*. The two former continued loyal to *Cæſar*, but the latter had a private Intelligence with the *Germans*. (2) Even *Comius*, the Prince of the *Atrebates*, to whom *Cæſar*, for his eminent Services, had alſo ſubjected the *Morini*, (3) en-

§. XXV. * Idem VI. *c.* 35-42.

§. XXVI. * Cæsar *L.* VI. *c.* 43. 44.

§. XXVII. (1) Cæsar *L.* VII. *throughout.*

(2) Cæsar *L.* VII. *c.* 63. Ab hoc concilio Rhemi, Lingones, Treviri, abfuerunt, illi, quod amicitiam Romanorum ſequebantur: Treviri quod aberant longius, & ab Germanis premebantur: quæ fuit cauſſa, quare toto abeſſent bello, & neutris auxilia mitterent.

(3) Idem. *c.* 76. Hujus opera Comii, ita ut antea demonſtravimus, fideli atque utili ſuperioribus annis erat uſus in Britannia Cæſar: pro quibus meritis civitatem ejus immunem eſſe juſſerat, juraque legeſque reddiderat, atque ipſi Morinos attribuerat.

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ter'd into this Confederacy; ſo that he was, this whole Year, in a dangerous Situation. In theſe Emergencies, *Cæſar* ſought the Aſſiſtance of the *Germans*. He borrow'd of the *Ubii*, and the neighbouring Nations, who were in good Intelligence with the *Romans*, a large Body of Horſe, and Foot-Soldiers lightly armed, to intermix with the Cavalry. But as they were but badly mounted, he diſtributed ſome of his own Horſes among them, (4) and they proved highly ſerviceable to him, (5) eſpecially at the Siege of *Uſſeldun*. (6) The *Gauls* had, on the other Hand, likewiſe *German* Auxiliaries, and we find that *Comius*, (7) as well as the *Treviri*, (8) made uſe of *German* Troops, who never refuſed their Aſſiſtance to any, that would employ it againſt the *Romans*. They were thus ſubſervient to both, and as on theſe Occaſions they became better acquainted with *Gaul*, and learned the *Roman* Military Art, it is no Wonder that they daily aimed at eſtabliſhing themſelves more firmly in that Country.

§. XXVIII. WHEN *Pompey*, towards the Concluſion of the following Year, had ſecretly, and *C. Martellus* openly, declared againſt *Cæſar*, he left *C. Trebonius* with four Legions in *Belgia*, and *C. Fabius*, with four Legions in the Country of the *Ædui*, who were the moſt renowned among the *Celtick* Nations, and haſtned to *Italy*. Upon this the Civil War broke out the enſuing Year, which obliged him to defer the Triumph he had merited in *Gaul*, 'till, at the ſame Time, he could triumph four ſucceſſive Days (1) over *Egypt*, *Parthia* and *Numidia*, and indeed over the Liberties of his own Country. The firſt of theſe Days was ſet a-part for the *Gallick* Triumph, and

The Concluſion of the *Gallick* War.

A Figure repreſenting the *Rhine*, carried in Triumph at *Rome*.

(4) *Idem c. 65.* Cæſar quod hoſtes equitatu ſuperiores eſſe intelligebat, & intercluſis omnibus itineribus, nulla re ex provincia atque Italia ſublevari poterat, trans Rhenum in Germaniam mittit ad eas civitates, quas ſuperioribus annis pacaverat: equiteſque ab his accerſit, & levis armaturæ pedites, qui inter eos prœliari conſueverant. Eorum adventu, quod minus idoneis equis utebantur, a tribunis militum, reliquiſque, ſed & equitibus Romanis, atque evocatis, equos ſumit, Germaniſque diſtribuit.

(5) *Idem. L.* VIII. *c.* 36. Quod ubi accidit, Germani equites, ſignis legionis viſis, vehementiſſime prœliantur. Confeſtim omnes cohortes undique impetum faciunt: omnibus aut interfectis, aut captis, magna præda potiuntur. Capitur ipſe eo prœlio Drapes.

(6) *Uxellodunum, in finibus Cadurcorum, hodie Lopuech. d' Uſſoldun. Confer.* Valeſius *in notitia Galliæ.*

(8) *Idem L.* VIII. *c.* 21. Comius, Atrebas, ad eos profugit Germanos, a quibus ad id bellum auxilia mutuatus erat.

(8) *Idem L.* VIII. *c.* 45. Labienus interim in Treviris equeſtre prœlium ſecundum facit: compluribuſque Treviris interfectis, & Germanis, qui nulli adverſus Romanos auxilia denegabant, principes eorum, vivos, in ſuam redegit poteſtatem.

§. XXVIII. (1). *Of* Cæſar's *Triumph ſee* Dio. L. XLII. p. 23.

among other Figures of Pageantry, the *Rhine* was repreſented, (2) which *Rome* afterwards oftner triumph'd over than conquer'd.

Cæſar retains *Germans* in his Service, after the Concluſion of the *Gallick* War.

§. XXIX. We have no very exact Account of what happened during *Cæſar*'s Dictatorſhip, and afterwards till his Death, in *Gaul*, and on that Occaſion, among the neighbouring *Germans*. It may be aſcribed as well to *Cæſar*'s good Fortune, as his prudent Ordinances, that the *Gauls* did not revolt during the Civil War. To theſe Ordinances, we may add his Policy in eſtabliſhing *Roman* Colonies in *Gaul*, of which ſome Foot-ſteps are yet viſible; and retaining ſeveral thouſand *Gauls* conſtantly in his Service, during the Wars with *Pompey* and his Adherents; (1) for which he ſummon'd the chief and moſt renowned Men from moſt of their Cities, that they might be, as it were, Hoſtages to him, at the ſame Time. Beſide, among theſe *Gallick* Nations, many *Germans* were likewiſe retain'd in his Service, as well of thoſe who were ſettled in *Gaul*, as from the other Side of the *Rhine*. The *German* Squadrons contributed, in an eſpecial Manner to the Victory at *Pharſalia*, (2) and ſome of them partook pro-

(2) Florus, *L.* IV. *c.* 2.

§ XXIX. (1). Lucanus *in Pharſ. L.* 1. *v.* 419. *Reckons alſo the* Nemetes, *the* Eburones, Vangiones, Treviri, Batavi, *and others:*

Tunc Rura Nemossi
Qui tenet, & ripas Aturi, qua litore curvo
Molliter admiſſum claudit Tarbellicus æquor,
Signa movet, gaudetque amoto Santonus hoſte,
Et Biturix: longiſque leves Sueſſones in armis.
Optimus excuſſo Levius, Rhemuſque lacerto,
Optima gens flexis in gyrum Sequana frænis,
Et docilis rector monſtrati Belgæ Covini.
Arvernique, auſi Latio ſe fingere fratres
Sanguine ab Iliaco populi; nimiumque rebellis
Nervius: ET CÆSI POLLUTUS SANGUINE COTTÆ
Et qui te laxis imitantur, Sarmata, braccis,
VANGIONES: BATAVIQUE truces, quos ære recurvo
Stridentes acuere tubæ. - - - - -
Tu quoque lætatus converti prœlia Trevir. *That the Words*, & caeſi pollutus ſanguine Cottæ *are to be underſtood of the* Eburones, *is plain by what is above obſerved* §. 16. *The Words* Rura Nemoſi *are more eaſily applied to the* Nemetes, *if with* Bucherius, *in his* Belgium Romanum L. IV. c. 2. *we read:* Rura Nemetis. Florus L. IV. c. 2. *reckons to* Cæſar's *Army* Galicos Germanicoſque delectus, *and* Appianus bello civilli, L. II. p. 468, *mentions in particular, that the* Germans, *after taking of the City of* Gomphi, *in* Theſſalia, *and the Hunger and Thirſt they had undergone near* Dyrzachium, *made ſo free afterwards with their Refreſhments, that their Drunkenneſs ſerved for Sport to the whole Army.* Quibus dictis mox petiit Apolloniam, indeque in Theſſalium, clam noctu, profectus eſt, ubi Gomphos, modicum oppidum, quod ſibi portas clauſerat, oppugnavit, diripiendumque præbuit militibus. Ibi famelici ſe explebant affatim, & vino ingurgitabant, inſigni Germanorum ebrietate, & ridenda cæteris.

(2) Florus L. IV. c. 2. Nam cum diu æquo Marte certaretur, juſſuque Pompeii fuſus a cornu erupiſſet equitatus, repente hinc *(ſc. a Cæſare)* ſigno dato, Germanorum cohortes, tantum in effuſos equites fecere impetum, ut illi eſſe pedites, hi venire in equis viderentur. Hanc ſtragem fugientis equitatus, levioris armaturæ ruina comitata eſt.

bably

bably afterwards of thoſe Rewards, which *Cæſar* was pleaſed to honour the *Gauls* with (3). *Cæſar*'s Deputies, and the Legions, which were left for a conſtant Guard, not only kept the *Germans* on the other Side of the *Rhine* in Aw; but likewiſe curb'd the turbulent Diſpoſitions of the *Gauls*: As, in particular, *Decimus Brutus* is recorded for having defeated the *Bellovaci*, when they attempted a Rebellion. (4)

§. XXX. As *Cæſar*'s Ambition was inſatiable, ſo likewiſe his Valour was more and more excited by his extraordinary Succeſs, to greater Enterprizes. He was upon the Point of marching againſt the *Parthians*; and, depending on the good Fortune which had always attended him, he propoſed, after having ſubdued them, to march thro' the *Hyrcanian* Foreſt, and along the *Caſpian* Sea, to *Scythia*, and, by the Conqueſt of thoſe Nations, to open a new Way for the *Roman* Eagle into *Germany*. (1) But the Execution of all theſe, and other his great Deſigns, was prevented by his being made a Sacrifice to the *Manes* of *Liberty*. *Cæſar*'s Death interrupts his great Deſign of opening a Way thro *Scythia* into *Germany*.

§. XXXI. Cæsar having, when he enter'd the *Teutonick* Dominions, given a brief Account of the Country and its Inhabitants, the like may not be amiſs here; as the *Germans* will appear with great Luſtre in the following Books, and the Sequel will ſhew how the Difficulties they were involv'd in encreas'd their Skill in War, and Politicks; how their Manners and Cuſtoms were changed; and how, at laſt, Religion and the Sciences took Place among them. Ancient *Germany* is generally deſcribed as a raw, uncultivated Region, (1) full of Bogs and Foreſts: But when they had afterwards learned to cut down the Woods, to keep the Rivers within their Banks, and to draw out the Waters that had overflowed; and when the Country begun to be cultivated with greater Care, the former The State of ancient *Germany*.

(3) Sueton. *Iul. c.* 24. Ad legiones, quas a rep. acceperat, alias privato ſumptu addidit: unam ex tranſalpinis conſcriptam, vocabulo quoque Gallico, alauda enim appellabatur: quam diſciplina, cultuque Romano inſtitutam, & ornatam, poſtea univerſam, civitate donavit. &c. 80. Civitate donatos, & quoſdam, e ſemibarbaris Gallorum, recepit in curiam.

(4) Livius *Epit.* 144. Brutus, Cæſaris letus, Bellovacos rebellantes cepit.

§. XXX. (1). Plutarchi *in Vit. Cæſ. T. I. Op. p.* 735 B. Parabat, & inſtituebat Parthos bello petere. His ſubjugatis per Hyrcaniam, ſecundum Mare Caſpium, & Caucaſum ambire Pontum, atque ita Scythiam invadere, incurſatiſque, quæ Germaniæ circumjecta ſunt, ac Germania ipſa, per Galliam regredi in Italiam.

§. XXXI. (1) Tacitus *de M. G. c.* 2. Informis terris, aſpera cœlo, triſtiscultu, aſpectuque. c. 5. Terra, etſi aliquanto ſpecie differat, in univerſum tamen, aut ſilvis horrida, aut paludibus fœda: humidior, (*al. humilior*) qua Gallias, ventoſior, (*al. verticoſior*) qua Noricum, ac Pannoniam adſpicit; ſatis ferax, frugiferarum arborum impatiens, pecorum fecunda, ſed plerumque improcera: ne armentis quidem ſuus honor, aut gloria frontis, &c.

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State of it appear'd to have been rather owing to the Negligence of the Inhabitants, than any Deficiency of the Country itſelf. Hence it is a difficult Matter, to know *Germany* at preſent, by the Deſcriptions *Cæſar* and *Tacitus* have given us of it; when we ſee how its Buildings are encreas'd; how well all foreign Plants thrive in the *German* Climate; how the Hills open and diſcover their inward Riches, and, how ſome of them, produce Plenty of Corn and Wine on their Surface.

Deſcription of the Inhabitants.

§. XXXII. The Nature of the Inhabitants was much the ſame. They are deſcribed, by the Ancients, as a People who all reſembled one another, and were diſtinguiſhed from other Nations by a large Stature, fair Complexion, blue Eyes, and light yellow Hair. (1) To their bodily Strength, the Cuſtoms of the Country, their being inured to Hardſhip, coarſe Diet, (2) nouriſhing Liquors, (3) and conſtant Exerciſe, were highly conducive. (4) Their vital Spirits were wholly employed upon the Formation of their Bodies, and were neither exhauſted by much Learning or Contemplation, (5) nor enervated by early Amours, or any of thoſe Effeminacies, which afterwards crept in under the Denomination of Gallantry. As theſe People always kept to themſelves, and never intermarried with Foreigners, theſe Qualities were tranſmitted pure and uncorrupted to their Poſterity. (6)

Their Genius.

§. XXXIII. Their Genius diſcovered itſelf in an Inclination to War, which rendered them, in ſome Meaſure, ferocious, and next to that in an extraordinary Fidelity. This they not only valued themſelves upon, (1) but it was likewiſe allowed them by their very Enemies. Hence *Auguſtus*, *Caligula*, and other *Roman* Emperors, always kept a Body of *German* Life-Guards: (2) They wanted how-

§. XXXII. (1) Tacitus *de M. G.* 4. Habitus quoque corporum, quamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus: truces & cærulei oculi, rutilæ comæ, magna corpora, & tantum ad impetum valida.

(2) *Idem ib. c.* 23. Cibi ſimplices, agreſtia poma, recens fera, aut lac concretum.

(3) *Ib.* Potui humor, ex hordeo, aut frumento, in quandam ſimilitudinem vini, corruptus.

(4) *See* Conringii *diſſ. de habitus antiqui, & novi corporum Germanorum, cauſſis.*

(5) Cæs. *L.* III. *c.* 1. *de Suevis.* Non multum frumento, ſed maximam partem lacte, atque pecore vivunt, multumque ſunt in venationibus, quæ res, & cibi genere, & quotidiana exercitatione, & libertate vitæ (quod a pueris nullo officio, aut diſciplina aſſuefacti, nihil omnino contra voluntatem faciant) & vires alit, & immani corporum magnitudine, efficit.

(6) Tacitus *de M. G. c.* 4. Ipſe eorum opinionibus accedo, qui Germaniæ populos, nullis aliis nationum connubiis infectos, propriam, & ſinceram, & tantum ſui ſimilem gentem, extitiſſe arbitrantur. *Idem Hiſt. IV. c.* 65. Deductos olim Italos, ſecum per connubia ſociatos.

§. XXXIII. 1. *See below. L.* IV. §. 30.

(2) *See below.* L. III. §. 4. & L. IV. c. 21.

ever,

ever, neither Cunning in War, nor Stratagems againſt their Enemies; and their Rebellions and Civil Broils, which proceeded rather from a too great Deſire of Freedom, than any Inſtability of Mind; hurried them ſometimes even to Treachery and Murder. Their Friendſhip and mutual Intercourſe was a Compoſition more of Sincerity and Hoſpitality, than Gallantry, Wit or Humour; and their Houſes were open for the Reception of almoſt every Stranger, whom they entertained to the utmoſt of their Ability. (3) The *Greeks* and *Romans* accuſe them of too great a Propenſity to Drunkenneſs. Their Climat and Manner of Living did indeed enable them to bear more Liquor than other Nations in warmer Countries; however they themſelves were frequently ſenſible that they carried this Vice to an Exceſs. They did not dwell in Cities, to which they, even in latter Times, could not well accuſtom themſelves; but were diſperſed, here and there, as every one thought it moſt conducive to his Safety and Convenience. The bare Neceſſaries of Life were the Bounds of their Deſires; and even their Cloathing at firſt, was no more than juſt what Nature required. (4) Moſt of them made Uſe of the Skins of thoſe Beaſts, which ſerved them for Suſtenance, to cover their Nakedneſs, and excepting the Diſtinction which aroſe from the Qualities of them, they knew as little of any Luxury in Attire, as in the Furniture and Utenſils of their Houſes. (5) What little they did uſe they got by Barter, 'till they learned of the *Romans* and *Gauls*, the Uſe of Money; (6) and then they chiefly valued thoſe ancient Coins, which

(3) Tacitus *de M. G. c.* 2. Convictibus, & hoſpitiis, non alia gens effuſius indulget. Quemcunque mortalium arcere tecto nefas habeter: pro fortuna quiſque apparatis epulis excipit. Cum defecere, qui modo hoſpes fuerat, monſtrator hoſpitii, & comes, proximam domum non invitati adeunt; nec intereſt, pari humanitate accipiuntur. Notum, ignotumque, quantum at jus hoſpitii nemo diſcernit. Abeunti, ſi quid popoſcerit, concedere moris: & poſcendi invicem eadem facilitas.

(4) *Idem c.* 17. Tegumen omnibus ſagum, fibula, aut ſi deſit, ſpina conſertum. Cætera intecti.

(5) *Idem* ibid. Locupletiſſimi veſte diſtinguuntur, non fluitante, ſicut Sarmatæ & Parthi, ſed ſtricta, & ſingulos artus exprimente. Gerunt & ferarum pelles, proximi ripæ negligenter, ulteriores exquiſitius, ut quibus nullus per commercia cultus. Eligunt feras, & detracta velamina ſpargunt maculis, pellibuſque belluarum, quas exterior Oceanus, atque ignotum mare gignit, &c.

(6) *Idem. c.* V. Argentum & aurum propitii, an irati Dii, negaverint, dubito. Nec tamen adfirmaverim, nullam Germaniæ venam argentum, aurumve gignere. Quis enim ſcrutatus eſt? poſſeſſione, & uſu haud perinde afficiuntur. Eſt videre, apud illos argentea vaſa, legatis & principibus eorum muneri data, non in alia vilitate, quam quæ humo finguntur: quamquam proximi, ob uſum commerciorum, aurum & argentum in pretio habent, formaſque quaſdam noſtræ pecuniæ agnoſcunt, atque eligunt: interiores ſimplicius & antiquis permutatione mercium uruntur. Pecuniam probant veterem, & diu notam, ſerratos, bigatoſque. Argentum quoque magis, quam aurum ſequuntur, nulla affectatione animi, ſed, quia numerus argenteorum facilior uſui eſt, promiſcua, & vilia, mercantibus.

Were

were ſtamped during the Times of the *Roman* Liberty, and particularly thoſe, whoſe Rims were cut or mill'd, that they might not be cheated with Copper or Iron plated over with Silver. They, in Time, learned how to draw Money enough from the *Romans* to ſerve all *Germany*. Their cold Climate would not admit of ſo early a Love of Women, (7) as was uſual among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and it was a Rule with them not to marry young. (8) But then the Flame of Love, when kindled, was, with them, the more pure and conſtant. They took but one Wife, and were ſo chaſte in their Conjugal Affections, that *Tacitus*, in this Reſpect, plainly prefers their Manners to thoſe of the *Romans*. (9) The Women ſhared with their Husbands the Care of bringing up their Children, and the Oeconomy of their Families; (10) nay even the Hardſhips of War; (11) and attended them in the Camp, not only to take take Care of them, when wounded, but to encourage and aſſiſt them. Servitude was not ſo great a Burden with them, as among the *Romans*; (12) ſome Footſteps of it are ſtill remaining here and there, eſpecially where Vaſſalage is in Uſe.

(7) *Idem. c.* 20. Sera juvenum Venus, eoque in exhauſta pubertas, nec virgines feſtinantur: eadem juventa, ſimilis proceritas, pares, validique miſcentur, ac robora parentum liberi referunt.

(8) Cæsar. *L.* VI. *c.* 21. Qui diutiſſime impuberes permanſerunt, maximam inter ſuos ferunt laudem, hoc ali ſtaturam, ali vires, nervoſque confirmari putant, intra annum vero XX feminæ notitiam habuiſſe, in turpiſſimis habent rebus.

(9) *Idem. c.* 18. Quamquam ſevera illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris. Nam prope ſoli barbarorum ſingulis uxoribus contenti ſunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui, non libidine, ſed, ob nobilitatem, plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur. Dotem, non uxor marito, ſed uxori maritus, offert. Interſunt parentes & propinqui; ac munera probant. Munera, non ad delicias muliebres quæſita, nec quibus nova nupta comatur; ſed boves, & frænatum equum, & ſcutum, cum framea, gladioque. In hæc munera uxor accipitur. Atque invicem ipſa armorum aliquid marito affert. Hæc maximum viniculum, hæc arcana ſacra, hos conjugales Deos arbitrantur. Ne ſe mulier extra virtutum cogitationes, extraque bellorum caſus putet, ipſis incipientis matrimonii auſpiciis admonetur, venire ſe, laborum, periculorumque ſociam, idem in pace, idem in prœlio paſſuram, auſuramque. Hoc juncti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denuntiant. Sic vivendum, ſic pereundum.

(10.) *See not.* 12.

(11) Tacitus *cap.* 7. Ad matres, ad conjuges vulnera ferunt: nec illæ numerare aut exſugere plagas, pavent. Ciboſque & hortamina pugnantibus geſtant. Memoriæ proditur, quaſdam acies, inclinatas jam, & labantes, a feminis reſtitutas &c.

(12) *Idem*, *c.* 25. Servis, non in noſtrum morem, deſcriptis per familiam miniſteriis, utuntur. Suam quiſque ſedem, ſuos penates regit. Frumenti modum dominus, aut pecoris, aut veſtis, ut colono injungit: & ſervus hactenus paret. Cætera domus officia, uxor, ac liberi, exſequuntur. Verberare ſervum, ac vinculis & opere coercere, rarum. Occidere ſolent, non diſciplina & ſeveritate, ſed impetu, & ira, ut inimicum, niſi quod impune. V. *POTGIESER de ſtatu & conditione ſervorum ap Germ.*

§. XXXIV.

§. XXXIV. WE find among the *Germans* evident Marks of thoſe Degrees, by which Men, from a natural Reſemblance one to another, were induc'd to form civil Society. The Neceſſity of having a General to lead them to the War, and a ſupreme Magiſtrate, to maintain Order, in Time of Peace, taught them to obey Kings and Princes: (1) But the *Germans* were not all united in one common State; almoſt every Nation was independent, and each had its own Form of Government. Liberty, the Happineſs of a rational Creature, which was always, even when moſt depreſs'd, eſteemed the Property of the *Germans*, (2) ſhone thro' all their Actions. Hence the People were entruſted with the Adminiſtration of the moſt weighty Affairs, even in their Monarchies (3). Banquets were held at all their Conventions, as they believed that they cemented a mutual Confidence, and gave Riſe to wholeſome Counſels (4). Their Princes and Kings had, excepting their Hereditary Eſtates, no Revenues, but a Part of the Fines, and what the People voluntarily added in Cattle and the Fruits of the Earth (5). Their Expences, on the other Hand, were not great. All their Subjects followed them to the Field, and their Nobles thought it an Honour to make up their Court and Retinue. They had the Liberty of their Prince's Table, and were frequently preſented by him with a Horſe, or ſome of his Arms (6). The Reſt of the People were diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral Claſſes or Ranks; as Nobles, Free-born, freed Men, and Bonds-Men. But thoſe were moſt eſteemed, whether Commons, Nobles or Princes, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by any great and laudable Exploit (7). Their Poilcy.

§. XXXIV. (1) TACITUS *c.* 12. Eliguntur in iisdem conciliis & principes, qui jura per pagos, vicoſque reddunt. *c.* 7. Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute, ſumunt.

(2) LUCANUS *terms Liberty*, *Pharſ. L.* VII. *v.* 430. Germanum, Scythicumque bonum. *Tacitus de G. M. c.* 37. Regno Arſacis acrior eſt Germanorum libertas.

(3) *Idem. c.* 11. De minoribus rebus principes conſultant, de majoribus omnes, ita tamen, ut ea quoque, quorum penes plebem arbitrium eſt, apud principes pertractentur.

(4) *Id. c.* 22. Sed & de reconciliandis invicem inimicis, & jungendis affinitatibus, adſciſcendis principibus, de pace denique, ac bello, plerumque in conviviis conſultant: tanquam nullo magis tempore, aut ad ſimplices cogitationes pateat animus, aut ad magnas incaleſcat. Gens non aſtuta, nec callida, aperit adhuc ſecreta pectoris, licentia loci. Ergo detecta, & nuda omnium mens, poſtera die retractatur: & ſalva utriuſque temporis ratio eſt. Deliberant, dum fingere neſciunt, conſtituunt, dum errare non poſſunt.

(5) *Idem c.* 15. Mos eſt civitatibus, ultro, ac viritim, conferre principibus, vel armentorum, vel frugum, quod pro honore acceptum, etiam neceſſitatibus ſubvenit. Gaudent finitimarum gentium donis, quæ non modo a ſingulis, ſed publice mittuntur. Electi equi, magna arma, phaleræ, torqueſque. Jam & pecuniam accipere docuimus.

(6) *Idem c.* 13. 14.

(7) *Idem. c.* 11.

Their Religion, Commemoration of Heroes, Augury,

§. XXXV. THEIR Religion ſeems to have retained more of the Simplicity of the firſt natural Worſhip, and perhaps of that Idea of a Creator, which is inſeparable from human Nature, than of the Superſtition of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. They knew the Folly of believing the Deity could be confin'd to an Image, and of adoring the Work of their own Hands. They worſhip'd the Supreme Being in the quiet Retirements of their Foreſts, without either Image or Temple (1). The Adoration, which ſome of them paid to the Sun, Moon, Earth and Water, as ſo many Deities (2), is to be imputed to an Error, whereby the Creator and the Creatures were confounded together, and which laid the firſt Foundation for Idolatry, before the Separation at *Babel*. Hence ſome Religious Ceremonies of the *Germans* agree with others of the moſt diſtant Nations, and particularly the Worſhip of the Goddeſs *Hertha*, among the *Suevi*, which exactly correſponded with that paid to the Earth, by the *Romans*, under the Appellation of *Magna Deorum Mater*. They celebrated, next to the Deity, the Memory of their Heroes and Heroins, in Honour of whoſe famous Actions, they ſung certain Songs (3), which gave Occaſion to their being, in Time, revered as Gods. The Poetical Narrations, which are yet perſerv'd, in ſome Traditions of the *Northern* Nations, as thoſe of *Odinus*, and the Goddeſs *Fria*, are very different from the Mythology of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. They diſcover at the ſame Time the different Inclinations of the People: The *Germans* chiefly praiſed their Heroes for their Exploits, applicable either to their Strength or Courage; whereas the *Romans* attributed to their Deities all their own Imperfections. The *Roman* Writers honour'd theſe *German* Heroes with the Names of thoſe Gods of theirs, whom they were thought to reſemble (4), by which that Part of the *German* Antiquity is render'd very intricate. We find indeed, among the *Germans*, ſome Footſteps of a foreign Worſhip: Such was, among the *Suevi*, the Adoration of the Goddeſs

§. XXXV. (1) TACITUS *de M.G c.* 9. Cæterum, nec cohibere parietibus Deos, neque in ullam humani oris ſpeciem adſimulare, ex magnitudine cœleſtium arbitrantur - - - - Lucos ac nemora conſecrant, Deorumque nominibus appellant, ſecretum illud, quod ſola reverentia vident.

(2) CÆSAR *L.* VI. *c.* 21. Deorum numero eos ſolos duxerunt, quos cernunt, & quorum opibus aperte juvantur. Solem, & Vulcanum, & Lunam.

(3) TACITUS *de M. G.* 2. Celebrant carminibus antiquis (quod unum apud illos memoriæ, & annalium genus eſt) Tuiſtonem Deum, terra editum, &c. *Ib. c.* 18. Fuiſſe apud eos & Herculem memorant, primumque omnium virorum fortium, ituri in prœlia canunt. *And of* Arminius *he ſays*, Ann. II. c. 88. Canitur adhuc barbaras apud gentes.

(4) TACITUS *de M. G. c.* 43. Apud Naharualos, antiquæ religionis lucus oſtenditur. Præſidet Sacerdos muliebri ornatu, ſed Deos, *interpretatione Romana, Caſtorem Pollucemque* memorant. Nulla ſimulacra, nullum peregrinæ ſuperſtitionis veſtigium. Ut fratres tamen, ut juvenes venerantur.

Iſis

Isis (5), tho' it don't appear, on what Occasion, she first became known to them. When they begun to be acquainted with the *Romans*, some of them borrow'd their Ceremonies, as is below exemplified in *Sigismund*, a Prince of the *Cheruſci*, who was *Sacerdos ad aram Ubiorum* (6): And in *Serapis*, a Prince of the *Alamanni*, who assumed this Name in *Gaul*, together with the *Egyptian* Superstition (7). They believed, moreover, two material Truths, on which a great Part of internal Religion is grounded, a Divine Providence, and the Immortality of the Soul (8): But it is to be lamented that Superstition was the Occasion of their Abuse of both. Their Desire of fore-knowing the Will of Heaven gave Rise to all kind of Predictions, or they borrow'd them from other Nations. They were directed, in their most weighty Concerns, by the Change of the Moon (9). They invented an Art of foretelling Events by Twigs of Trees, in which they placed as much Confidence as *Miners* in *Germany* do, to this Day, in their *Baguette Divinatoire* (10); Horses were esteemed as mysterious (11) with them as with the *Persians* of old. Others sought for the Truth of their Predictions in Water (12). Nay even the Lives and Blood of Men, have with them, as well as other Heathens, been made Instruments of their Augury (13). On the other Hand, the lively Idea

(5) Tacitus *de M. G. c.* 9. Pars Suevorum & Isidi sacrificat. Unde causſa, & origo peregrino, sacro, parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum, in modum Liburnæ figuratum, docet advectam religionem. *conf. tamen CL. Ditmarus ad h. l.*

(6) *See below the* 4 *Book*, §. 3.

(7) Am. Marcell. *L.* XVI. *c.* 12.

(8) Lucanus *in Pharsal. L.* I. *v.* 457.

Certe populi, quos despicit arctos
Felices errore suo; quos, ille timorum
Maximus, haud urget, lethi metus. Inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis: & ignavum, redituræ parcere litæ.

(9) Tacitus *de. M. G. c.* 11. Cöeunt, nisi quid fortuitum & subitum inciderit, certis diebus, cum aut inchoatur luna, aut impletur, nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt.

(10) *Idem c.* 10. Sortium consuetudo simplex: virgam, frugiferæ arbori decisam, in surculos amputant, eosque, notis quibusdam discretos, super candidam vestem, temere ac fortuito, spargunt. Mox, si publice consultatur, sacerdos civitatis; sin privatim, ipse pater familiæ, precatus Deos, cœlumque suspiciens, ter singulos tollit, sublatos, secundum impressam ante notam, interpretatur.

(11) Tacitus *Ib.* Proprium gentis, equorum quoque præsagia, ac monitus, experiri. Publice aluntur, iisdem nemoribus, ac lucis, candidi, & nullo mortali opere contacti, quos pressos sacro curru sacerdos, ac Rex, vel Princeps civitatis, comitantur, hinnitusque ac fremitus observant. Nec ulli auspicio major fides, non solum apud plebem, sed apud proceres, apud sacerdotes. Se enim ministros Deorum, illos conscios putant.

(12) *See above* Plutarch's *Words of the Female Soothsayers in* Ariovistus's *Army*

(13) Tacit. *c.* 10. Est & alia observatio auspiciorum, qua gravium bellorum eventus explorant. Ejus gentis, cum qua bellum est, captivum, quoquo modo interceptum, cum electo

they had of the Immortality of the Soul was a Spur to their Temerity in War, and the more as they believed, at the ſame Time, the ſureſt Way to future Happineſs was to dy in the Field of Battle: without thinking it needful to enquire, whether the Motives to their Wars were juſt or unjuſt (14).

Sacred Groves, Sacrifices, and Prieſts.

§. XXXVI. The external Part of their Religion was void of Pomp, but full of Reverence. Their Devotion was better kept up under the Cover of a dusky unpaſſable Grove, than by all the Ornaments of Architecture in *Greece* and *Rome*. Many of theſe Groves are noted in Hiſtory, and ſome Remains of them are here and there yet ſaid to be viſible. Their Sacrifices were, as well as thoſe of other Nations, and even of the *Romans*, themſelves attended with Cruelty, inſomuch that they ſhed Human Blood in them (1); and thus made a Part of their Religion conſiſt in what was condemned by Nature. *Cæſar* ſays indeed, that they had no *Druids* as the *Celtæ* had (2); But *Tacitus*, who knew the *Germans* much better, makes frequent Mention of their Prieſts, who perhaps neither bore the ſame Name, nor follow'd all the Cuſtoms, nor even taught the Doctrine of the *Druids*, but were not in leſs Eſteem than they: Since they were not only admitted into the general Conventions (3) of their States, but likewiſe accompanied them in their Wars (4). I ſhall below give an Inſtance, out of the *Burgundian* Hiſtory, to prove, that their High Prieſt was even ſuperior to their King. Their Wives applied themſelves more particulary to Augury (5); and we find ſeveral of them

electo popularium ſuorum, patriis quemque armis, committunt. Victoria hujus, vel illius, pro præjudicio accipitur. *This was a kind of divine Augury, to whoſe Deciſion they ſubmitted all dubious Caſes. What is ſaid above.* B. I. §. 15. not. 1. *of the Divination of the* Cimbrians *is ſtill more horrid.*

(14) *See above* B. I. §. 14. not. 1. *Of the* Marcomanni Appian in Celticis *ſays:* Immites erant moribus, animiſque ferociſſimi, & mortis contemtores, perſuaſione futuri in vitam reditus.

§. XXXVI. (1) Tacitus *de M. G. c.* 9. Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus, humanis quoque hoſtiis, litare fas habent. *Idem* c. 39. *de Suevis Semnonibus:* Stato tempore in ſilvam, auguriis patrum, & priſca formidine ſacram, omnes ejuſdem ſanguinis populi legationibus cöeunt, cæſoque publice homine, celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia.

2 Cæsar *L.* VI. *c.* 21. Neque Druides habent, qui rebus divinis præſint, neque ſacrificiis ſtudent.

(3) Tacitus *de M. G.* 11. Silentium per Sacerdotes, quibus tum & coercendi jus eſt, imperatur.

(4) *Idem. c.* 7. Cæterum neque animadvertere, neque vincire, neque verberare quidem, niſi ſacerdotibus permiſſum: non quaſi in pœnam, nec ducis juſſu, ſed velut Deo imperante, quem adeſſe bellantibus credunt.

(5) *To this muſt be referred that Paſſage of* Tacitus *de M. G. c.* 8. Ineſſe etiam ſanctum aliquid, & providum, putant, nec aut conſilia earum adſpernantur, aut reſponſa negligunt. *The Female Augurs in* Arioviſtus's *Army, and among the* Cimbri, *have been already mentioned.* conf. *Keyſlerus* de feminis fatidicis veterum Germanorum.

in

in Hiſtory, who raiſed themſelves to a high Eſteem by it. They were chiefly famous among the *Gothick* Nations, by the Name of *Alrunes*. Their Eſteem for Religion encreas'd after they became aquainted with the Truths of the Goſpel, and they could the more eaſily accuſtom themſelves to ſee their Biſhops at the Aſſemblies of their States, and even in their Camps (a Thing by no Means conſiſtent with their Office) ſince they had before allowed the ſame Freedom to their Prieſts in Paganiſm.

§. XXXVII. The principal Views of the *Germans* were placed in War, except of ſome few who had Cunning enough to raiſe their Fortunes in Time of Peace (1): Their Education (2), the whole Courſe of their Lives, and even their Religion, tended that Way. Whole Nations looked upon it as the only Means of acquiring Fame (3), and kept up the Opinion among the People, that nothing could be a greater Diſgrace, than to be eſteemed a Coward. Some even kept their Families from Husbandry, to make them more expert and ardent in War (4): For all who could bear Arms were obliged to go to the Field: And Their State of War.

§ XXXVII. (1) Tacitus *de M. G. c.* 35. *De Chaucis*: Populus inter Germanos nobiliſſimus, quique magnitudinem ſuam malit juſtitia tueri, ſine cupiditate, ſine impotentia, quieti, ſecretique, nulla provocant bella. Nullis raptibus aut latrociniis populantur. Idque præcipuum virtutis, ac virium argumentum eſt, quod, ut ſuperiores agant, non per injurias adſequantur.

(2) Cæsar *L.* VI. *c.* 21. A parvulis laborі ac duritiæ ſtudent. *Some have even aſſerted, that the* Germans *who dwelt near the* Rhine *dipp'd their Children, ſoon after their Birth, into that River, to make them hardy. Which they prove by a Paſſage in* Ariſtotle de Republ. *L.* VII. Opp. T. II. p. 447. Prodeſt & ſtatim, ab ineunte ætate, pueros frigoribus aſſueſcere, hoc enim, & ad bonam valetudinem, & ad actiones bellicas, utiliſſimum eſt. Quo circa multi barbari hunc morem retinent, alii, ut pueros, ſimul atque nati ſunt, in frigidum flumen immergant, alii, ut brevi integumento veſtiant, quod Galli faciunt, &c. *But the Cuſtom of dipping Children into the* Rhine *ſeems rather to have been a kind of the uſual Trials by Water.* Claudian in Ruf. *at leaſt hints at that* v. 109.

Inde truces flavo comitantur vertice Galli,
Quos Rhodanus velox, Araris quos tardior ambit,
Et quos naſcentes explorat gurgite Rhenus.

as does that Paſſage in Nonnus XLVI. v. 54. ſq. Barbaras leges ferentem judico beatam terram Celtarum, ubi recens natorum infantium purum partum docens Rhenus, incerti judex partus, ſanguinis ignoti adulterinum genus novit arguere.

(3) Cæsar *L.* VI. *c.* 23. Civitatibus maxima laus eſt, quam latiſſimas circum ſe, vaſtatis finibus, ſolitudines habere. Hoc proprium virtutis exiſtimant, expulſos agris finitimos cedere, neque quemquam prope ſe audere conſiſtere. Simul hoc ſe fore tutiores arbitrantur, repentinæ incurſionis timore ſublato.

(4) *Idem L.* VI. *c.* 22. Neque quiſquam agri modum certum, aut fines proprios habet, ſed magiſtratus, ac principes, in annos ſingulos, gentibus, cognationibuſque hominum, qui una coierunt, quantum eis, & quo loco viſum eſt, attribuunt agri, atque anno poſt, alio tranſire cogunt. Ejus rei multas afferunt cauſſas, ne aſſidua conſuetudine capti, ſtudium belli gerendi agricultura commutent; ne latos fines parare ſtudeant, potentioreſque humiliores poſſeſſionibus expellant, ne accuratius, ad frigora atque æſtus vitandos, ædificent, ne qua oriatur pecuniæ cupiditas, qua ex re factiones, diſſenſioneſque naſcuntur: ut animi æquitate plebem contineant, quum ſuas quiſque opes cum potentiſſimus æquari videat

Hence

hence it was that they were enabled to raiſe ſo many and ſuch numerous Armies (5). But, when the State was not engaged in War, the moſt able Soldiers went into foreign Service: not ſingly, or according to their own private Inclination; but in whole Bodies, and under the Command of certain Generals; that their Country might partake of the Honour of their Exploits, and at the ſame Time be furniſh'd with more experienced Commanders (6). Or elſe they detach'd Colonies, who were forced to fight their Way thro', and ſeek new Habitations (7). But as to the State of their Militia, their greateſt Strength conſiſted in Foot-Soldiers: Their Cavalry was not ſo numerous, but well-diſciplined (8); tho' their Horſes were not ſo good as thoſe of the *Romans* (9). They neither uſed Saddles nor Stirrups (10), and were accuſtomed, when

(5) *Conf.* Eſſay *on the Countries, Religion, &c. of the Nations, by which the* Roman *Empire was pull'd down. p.* 13--16.

(6) *Which was likewiſe obſerved by thoſe who were allied to the* Romans, *when they furniſh'd them with Auxiliaries.* Tacitus *ſays* L. IV. Hiſt. c. 12. Batavos in Britanniam tranſmiſiſſe cohortes, quas vetere inſtituto, nobiliſſimi popularium rexerint.

(7) Cæsar *de B. G. L.* VI. *c.* 23. Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam, quæ extra fines, cujuſque civitatis fiunt: atque ea juventutis exercendæ, ac deſidiæ minuendæ cauſſa, fieri prædicant. Atque, ubi quis ex principibus in concilio ſe dixit ducem fore, ut qui ſequi velint, profiteantur, conſurgunt ii, qui & cauſſam & hominem probant, ſuumque auxilium pollicentur, atque ab multitudine collaudantur: qui ex iis ſecuti non ſunt, in deſertorum ac proditorum numero ducuntur; omniumque rerum iis poſtea fides abrogatur.

(8) Tacitus *de M. G. c.* 6. Equi non forma, non velocitate, conſpicui. Sed nec variare gyros in morem noſtrum docentur. In rectum, aut uno flexu, dextros agunt, ita conjuncto orbe, ut nemo poſterior ſit. In univerſum æſtimanti, plus penes peditem roboris; eoque mixti prœliantur, apta, & congruente, ad equeſtrem pugnam, velocitate peditum, quos, ex omni juventute delectos, ante aciem locant. Cæſar *deſcribes this their Manner of fighting more plainly*, de B. G. L. I. c. 48. Arioviſtus, his omnibus diebus; exercitum caſtris continuit, equeſtri prœlio quotidie contendit. Genus hoc era pugnæ, quo ſe Germani exercuerant. Equitum millia erant VI. totidem numero pedites velociſſimi, ac fortiſſimi; quos ex omni copia ſinguli ſingulos, ſuæ ſalutis cauſſa delegerant. Cum his in prœlio verſabantur: ad hos ſe equites recipiebant: hi, ſi quid erat durius, concurrebant: ſi qui, graviore vulnere accepto, equo deciderant, circumſiſtebant; ſi quo erat longius prodeundum, aut celerius recipiendum; tanta erat horum exercitatione celeritas, ut, jubis equorum ſublevati, curſum adæquarent. *The* Tencteri *were always famous for being excellent Troopers, as is atteſted by* Tacitus l. c. cap. 32. Tenchteri ſuper ſolitum bellorum decus, equeſtris diſciplinæ arte præcellunt. Nec major apud Cattos peditum laus, quam Tenchteris Equitum, ſic inſtituere majores, poſteri imitantur. Hi luſus infantium, hæc juvenum æmulatio, perſeverant ſenes. Inter familiam, & Penates, & jura ſucceſſionum, equi traduntur. Excipit Filius, non ut cætera maximus natu, ſed prout ferox bello, & melior.

(9) Conf. not. præcedens. Cæſar *ſays of the* German *Horſes.* L. IV. c. 2. Quin etiam jumentis, quibus maxime Gallia delectatur, quæque impenſo parat pretio, Germani importatis, non utuntur; ſed quæ ſunt apud eos nata, prava atque deformia, hæc quotidiana exercitatione, ſummi ut ſint laboris, efficiunt.

(10) Cæsar *L.* IV. *c.* 2. Neque eorum moribus turpius quidquam, aut inertius habetur, quam ephippiis uti. Itaque ad quemvis numerum ephippiatorum equitum, quamvis pauci, adire audent.

neceſſary,

neceſſary, to diſmount and fight on Foot (11). *Cæſar* had *German* Cavalry in moſt of his Wars, and often boaſts of the Services they did him (12). Their Order of Battle conſiſted commonly of ſeveral Bodies; in which thoſe of the ſame Family or Diſtrict were placed together. It was nevertheleſs ſometimes obſerved, and eſpecially of the *Cimbri*, that all their Infantry was formed into one ſquare Battalion. Their Wives and Children they placed behind a Fence made of their Waggons. Their Arms were not to compare with thoſe of the *Romans*. Each Trooper had his Shield and Spear; the Infantry had, beſides theſe, as Occaſion requir'd, Darts, Bows and Slings (13). They very ſeldom had recourſe to their Pikes and Swords (14). Coats of Mail, Armour, and even Helmets were very rare: But thoſe who had them, uſed to put the Horns or Heads of wild Beaſts upon them; whence thoſe frightful Figures which *Plutarch* obſerved among the *Cimbrian* Cavalry, and which are met with upon the Seals and Arms of ancient Times: By which we may ſee the Care they had of their Shields, which they only diſtinguiſhed by different Colours. The Shield was eſteemed ſo ſacred among them, that it was thought the greateſt Diſgrace to loſe it in Battle, inſomuch that no one could appear at their religious Duties, or in their general Aſſemblies, without it. Their Arms were their favourite Furniture; they were ſeldom ſeen without them, and the young Men rejoiced at nothing ſo much, as the Day on which they were allowed to be qualified to bear Arms (15). No Oaths were ſo ſacred with them, as thoſe they ſwore by their Swords (16), and hardly any Thing that was ſolemn was perform'd by them, in which their Arms had not ſome Part. The *Gauls*, and their other Neighbours, were not

(11) *Ibid.* Equeſtribus prœliis ſæpe ex equis deſiliunt, ac pedibus prœliantur, equoſque eodem remanere veſtigio aſſuefaciunt; ad quos ſe celeriter, cum uſus poſcit, recipiunt.

(12) Cæsar *de B. G. L.* VII. *c.* 13. *add. A.* Hirtius *de bello Alexandrino*, *c.* 29.

(13) Tacitus *de M. G. c.* 6. Rari gladiis, aut majoribus lanceis utuntur. Haſtas, vel ipſorum vocabulo frameas, gerunt, anguſto & brevi ferro; ſed ita acri, & ad uſum habili, ut eadem telo, prout ratio poſcit, vel cominus, vel eminus pugnent. Et eques quidem ſcuto, frameaque contentus eſt. Pedites & miſſilia ſpargunt, pluraque ſinguli, atque in immenſum vibrant, nudi aut ſagulo leves. Nulla cultus jactatio. Scuta tantum lectiſſimis coloribus diſtinguunt. Paucis loricæ, vix uni alterive caſſis, aut galea.

(14) *Of the Swords of the* Cimbri *ſee the* I. *Book*, §. XIV. not. 1.

(15) Tacitus *c.* 13. Nihil autem, neque publicæ, neque privatæ rei, niſi armati agunt. Sed arma ſumere non ante cuiquam moris, quam civitas ſuffecturum probaverit. Tum in ipſo concilio, vel principum aliquis, vel pater, vel propinquus ſcuto frameaque juvenem ornant. Hæc apud illos toga, hic primus juventutis honos: antehac domus pars videntur, mox reipublicæ.

(16) Ammianus Marcell. *L.* XVII. *c.* 12. Eductis mucronibus, quos pro numinibus colunt, juraverunt, ſe permanſuros in fide. *Conf.* Hertius *in notit. vet. Germ. popul.* P. I. c. 3. §. 15.

a Match

a Match for the *Germans*: But the *Romans*, who had ſo long exerciſed the Art of War, excelled them in Diſcipline and Ammunition; Which Advantages were chiefly viſible in Sieges and pitch'd Battles. Hence their native Valour is the more apparent, as they defended themſelves againſt ſuch powerful Enemies, and at laſt ſubdued them, by their own Arts.

Their Laws. §. XXXVIII. As ferocious, however, as they were in War, no leſs careful were they in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, the principal Ty of ſocial Life. Their Laws were inſtituted according to the Circumſtances and Neceſſity of every Nation, and were preſerv'd rather by Cuſtom, than Records. We may partly form an Idea of them, from thoſe that are ſtill extant, ſince the *Germans* were ſo fond of their Cuſtoms, that many of them were obſerved, even after the Uſe of the *Roman* Laws was introduced. The Office of a Judge was eſteemed ſo honourable among them, that Men of the higheſt Rank were promoted to it (1). Their Princes are ſometimes called Judges, and Kings have in Perſon ſat as Judges, even in the Times of the *Franks*. But as, at that Time, Experience was almoſt their only Maſter, on which Account all Men advanc'd in Years were highly rever'd (2), thoſe were generally choſe for Judges, whoſe grey Hairs were, in a Manner, Tokens of their Experience and Diſcretion (3). The Judges had ſeveral Aſſeſſors appointed them, with whom they might adviſe; whence the Origin of the Office of *Scabinus* or Sheriff; Their Puniſhments were adapted to the different Purpoſes of the Common-Wealth (4): Hence they were ſevere in ſome Caſes, and uſed the more Lenity in others; inſomuch that even Murder was not Capital (5). But we muſt impute it to their Love of ſhort Proceſſes, and want of Practice in the Law, that, in Accuſations

§. XXXVIII. (1) Tacit. *c.* 12. Eliguntur in iiſdem conciliis & principes, qui jura per pagos vicoſque reddunt. Centeni ſingulis ex plebe comites, conſilium, ſimul & auctoritas, adſunt. *Conf. Hertius P. I. c. IV.* § 7.

(2) Cæsar *de B. G. c.* 13. Germani frequentes, omnibus principibus, majoribuſque natu adhibitis, ad eum in caſtra venerunt.

(3) *Hence is likewiſe derived the Title of* Grave *or* Graff, *(a Count.)* vid *Hertii* not. vet. Germ. popul. P. I. c. 4. §. 7.

(4) Tacit. *de. M. G. c.* 12. Diſtinctio pœnarum ex delicto. Proditores & tranſfugas arboribus ſuſpendunt. Ignavos & imbelles, & corpore infames, cœno ac palude, injecta inſuper crate, mergunt. Diverſitas ſupplicii illuc reſpicit, tamquam ſcelera oſtendi oporteat, dum puniuntur, flagitia abſcondi, &c.

(5) Tacit. *de M. G. c.* 21. Suſcipere tam inimicitias, ſeu patris, ſeu propinqui, quam amicitias neceſſe eſt. Nec implacabiles durant. Luitur enim homicidium certo armentorum, ac pecorum, numero, recipitque ſatisfactionem univerſa domus, utiliter in publicum, quia periculoſiores ſunt inimicitiæ juxta libertatem.

and

and other dubious Caſes, they rather left the Affair to the Deciſion of their ſuppoſed Divine Auguries, than made Enquiries, and weighed the Probabilities of Things; which occaſioned them even to admit of ſingle Combat, as a kind of Divine Judgment (6), and to retain it ſeveral Hundred Years (7).

§. XXXIX. Their Manufactures were not arrived at any Degree of Perfection. That of Linnen was perhaps the only one, which they were famous for (1). Thoſe Arts, which required any Dexterity of Hand, were in ancient Times almoſt unknown to them, unleſs thoſe who dwelt on the Sea-Coaſt acquired a greater Readineſs by building Ships and Navigation. They were yet greater Strangers to the Sciences, and it is even dubious, whether they knew the Uſe of Letters (2). Their Skill in Phyſick conſiſted in common Remedies, which by Experience, they had found uſeful; and their Aſtronomy in the Obſervation of the Change of the Moon (3); excepting what *Iornandes* ſays to the Honour of the *Goths* (4). Of all the Arts, Poetry and Muſick were moſt in Eſteem with them: They had a particular Set of Men, who Sung the famous Deeds of their Heroes: (5.) But *Apollo Hyperboreus* was Their Arts and Sciences.

obliged

(6) *For which Reaſon, when* Quintilius Varus *attempted to introduce the Uſe of the* Roman *Laws among them.* Paterc. L. II. c. 188. *they diſſemblingus returned him Thanks*, quod ſolita armis diſcerni, jure terminarentur.

(7) In vetere lege Alemannorum tit. 44. §. 1. Liceat illi alii, cui crimen impoſuit, cum ſpada ſe idoneare contra illum alium.

§. XXXIX. (1) Plinius *Hiſt. Nat. L.* XIX. *c.* 1. Cadurci, Caleti, Ruteni, Biturgies, ultimique hominum exiſtimati Morini, imo vero Galliæ univerſæ, vela texunt. Iam quidem & tranſrhenani hoſtes: nec pulchriorem aliam veſtem eorum feminæ novere.

(2) Tacit. *de M. G. c.* 18. Litterarum ſecreta viri pariter, ac feminæ, ignorant.

(3) *Idem. Ibid. c.* 2. Cöeunt certis diebus, cum aut inchoatur luna, aut impletur: nam agendis rebus hoc auſpicatiſſimum initium credunt.

(4) Jornandes de reb. Get. c. 11. *Speaks in Praiſe of a* Grecian *Philoſopher, who taught the* Goths *the Sciences, call'd* Diceneus. Qui cernens, eorum animos ſibi in omnibus obedire; & naturale eos habere ingenium, omnem pene philoſophiam eos inſtruxit, erat enim hujus rei magiſter peritus. Nam Eethicam eos erudivit, ut barbaricos mores ab eis compeſceret; Phyſicam tradens naturaliter, propriis legibus vivere fecit, quas uſque nunc conſcriptas Bellagines nuncupant: Logicam inſtruens, eos rationis, ſupra cæteras gentes, fecit expertos. Practicen oſtendens, in bonis actibus converſari ſuaſit: Theoricen demonſtrans, ſignorum duodecim, & per ea planetarum curſus, omnemque Aſtronomiam contemplari edocuit, & quomodo lunaris orbis augmentum ſuſtinet, aut patitur detrimentum, edixit, ſoliſque globus igneus quantum terrenum orbem in menſura excedat, oſtendit: aut quibus nominibus, vel quibus ſignis, in cœli polo vergentes, aut revergentes CCCXLIIII. ſtellæ, ab ortu in occaſum, præcipites ruant, expoſuit. Qualis erat, rogo, voluntas, ut viri fortiſſimi, quando ab armis quatriduum uſque vacaſſent, doctrinis philoſophicis imbuebantur? videres unum cœli poſitionem, alium herbarum frugumque explorare naturas: iſtum lunæ commoda, incommodaque, illum ſolis laborem attendere, & quomodo rotatu cœli raptus, retro reduci ad partem occiduam, qui ad orientalem plagam ire feſtinarit, ratione accepta, quieſcere.

(5) *Conf. ſuper.* §. 35. *not.* 3. Tacit. *de M. G. c.* 3. Sunt illis hæc quoque carmina, quorum relatu' quem Barditum vocant, accendunt animos, futuræque pugnæ fortunam ipſo

obliged to put up with a Ruſtick Song (6.) Their other Muſick, except. ing what they uſed in Wars, was probably as ſimple as their Sports and Diverſions (7). As the *Romans* begun firſt to delight in the Liberal Arts, when they had learned them of conquer'd *Greece*, ſo did the *Germans*, when they became Maſters of the *Roman* Provinces, receive thoſe Studies, which they there found, tho' in great Decay, and not only continu'd, but likewiſe, by many excellent Diſcoveries, ſo improv'd them, that the World is convinced, their Talent lay not only in Imitation, but likewiſe, in Invention.

ipſo cantu augurantur. Terrent enim trepidantue, prout ſonuit acies. Nec non voces illæ, quam virtutis concentus, videntur. Affectatur præcipue aſperitas ſoni, & fractum murmur, objectis ad os ſcutis, quo plenior, gravior, & vox percuſſi intumeſcat.

(6) JULIANUS *in Miſop.* p. 337. Enimvero barbaros eos, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, vidi, rúſtica carmina, verbis facta ſimilibus clangorum, quos aſpere clamantes aves edunt, ſtudioſe amplecti, & carminibus delectari.

(7). TACITUS *de M. G. c.* 24. Genus ſpectaculorum unum, atque in omni cœtu idem. Nudi juvenes, quibus id ludicrum eſt, inter gladios ſe, atque infeſtas frameas, ſaltu jaciunt. Exercitatio artem paravit, ars decorum, non in quæſtum tamen, aut mercedem. Quamvis audacis laſciviæ pretium eſt volutas ſpectantium. Aleam (quod mirere) ſobrii inter ſeria exercent, tanta lucrandi, perdendique temeritate, ut, cum omnia defecerunt, extremo, ac noviſſimo jactu, de libertate, de corpore, contendant. *They are known to have likewiſe diverted themſelves with running, ſwimming, and other bodily Exerciſes, nay ſome Nations ſeem, at leaſt, to have had a kind of Equeſtrian Sports, like the* Tournaments, *which were afterwards ſo much in Vogue. We may in particular ſuppoſe it of the* Tencteri, *according to what* Tacitus *ſays of their Love of Horſes and Exerciſes of that Kind.*

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE *ANCIENT GERMANS.*

BOOK III.

The HISTORY of the GERMANS to the Overthrow of QUINTILIUS VARUS.

SECT. I. GAUL *falls to the Share of* Cæsar Octavianus. Agrippa *leads the* Ubii *over the* Rhine. II. C. Carinas *drives the* Suevi, *who passed the* Rhine, *back again out of* Gaul. III. Nonius Gallus *is successful against the* Treviri. IV. Augustus *divides the Provinces with the Senat, and, among others, reserves* Gaul *for himself.* V. *The Partition of* Gallia Belgica *into* Belgica *and* Germania, *and of the latter into* Prima *and* Secunda. *Of the People who inhabited both.* VI. Melo, *a Prince of the* Sicambri, *is unsuccessful in his Attempts against the* Romans. VII. Agrippa *and* Tiberius *are sent to keep the* Germans *in Aw.* VIII. *The* Roman *General,* M. Lollius, *defeated by the* Sicambri. Augustus *lays hold of this Pretext to go himself into* Gaul. IX. *Makes Peace with the* Sicambri, *and plants* Roman *Colonies in that Country.* X. Noricum *becomes a* Roman *Province. The Confines and chief Cities of that Country.* XI. Rætia *and* Vindelicia *likewise conquered by the* Romans. *Their Division, Confines and chief Cities.* XII. *The* Gauls *erect an Altar at* Lyons, *in Honour to* Augustus. *Of the Altar raised by the* Ubii. XIII. Drusus *passeth the* Rhine. XIV. *The* Roman *Fleet convey'd by Means of the* Fossa Drusi, *a new Canal made for that End, from the* Rhine, *thro' the* Issel, *into the* Zuyder-Zee, *(or* South-Sea) *in* Holland, *and from thence, by the* North-Sea, *into the* Ems. *The Origin of the City of* Emden. XV.

Druſus *paſſes the* Rhine, *a ſecond Time, to attack the* Cheruſci, Sicambri *and* Suevi. *They ſurround him; he is obliged to fight his Way thro' them, and builds two Caſtles in* Germany. XVI. Druſus's *Expedition againſt the* Chatti. XVII. *He advances as far as the* Elb. *His Death. Medals ſtruck in Memory of his Victories in* Germany. *Whether his Monuments on the* Rhine *do yet ſubſiſt? The Fortreſſes built by him to keep the* Germans *in Subjection.* XVIII. Tiberius *commands on the* Rhine. *The* Sicambri *are obliged to ſubmit to the* German *Yoke: And moſt of them carried Captive over the* Rhine. *The* Tencteri *and* Uſipites *take Poſſeſſion of their Country.* XIX. Maroboduus *leads the* Marcomanni *into* Bojohemum, *(or* Bohemia.) *The Origin of the* Alemanni. XX. Tiberius *goes, a ſecond time, into* Germany. XXI. *The* Attuarii, Bructeri, *&c. foment a new War.* XXII. Tiberius's *third Expedition into* Germany. *He paſſes the* Weſer. *Several* German *Princes ſerve the Romans.* XXIII. *The* Chauci *ſubmit to the* Romans. Tiberius *invades the* Longobards. *A* Roman *Fleet appears on the* Elb. XXIV. *The Extent of the* Marcoman *Dominions.* Tiberius *marches to attack* Maraboduus: *But makes Peace with him.* XXV. *The Behaviour of* Quintilius Varus *among the* Germans. XXVI. Arminius *entirely defeats the Army under his Command.* XXVII. *What Advantage the* Germans *made of this Victory.* XXVIII. *The Conſternation which the Overthrow of* Varus *cauſed at* Rome. XXIX. Tiberius *goes into* Germany; *but returns without attempting any thing.* XXX. Germanicus *takes the Command againſt the* Germans. *The Death of* Auguſtus.

Gaul falls to the ſhare of *Cæſar Octavianus. M. Agrippa* leads the *Ubii* over the *Rhine.*

§. I. THE Publick was no ſooner acquainted with *Cæſar*'s Death, than they were apprehenſive of a Rebellion in *Gaul* (1): But *L. Munacius Plancus* kept it in Submiſſion (2), and at Length declared himſelf for *Anthony* and *Cæſar Octavianus*, in Oppoſition to the Senate, after which Time *Gaul* remained in the Hands of the *Triumviri*,

§. I. (1) CICERONIS *Epiſt. ad Attic. L.* XIV. *ep.* 1. & 4. *ſqq.*

(2) *See his Epiſtles to* Cicero, inter Epiſtolas ad famil. L. X. ep. 4. &. 8. *The* Germans *were likewiſe peaceable after* Cæſar's *Death, which the* 9. Ep. *of* Tully's 14th Book *to* Atticus *plainly evinces.* Idem Balbus meliora de Gallia: XI. die litteras habebat: Germanos, illasque nationes, re audita de Cæſare, legatos miſiſſe ad Aurelium, qui eſt propoſitus ab Hirtio, ſe, quod imperatum eſſet, eſſe facturos Quid quæris? Omnia plena pacis, aliter, ac mihi Calvena dixerat. Munatius Plancus *ſeems however to have had ſome Differences with the* Raeti *by the following Inſcription in* Gruterus CCCCXXXIX. 8. *by which he appears to have triumph'd over them.*

L. MUNATIUS. L. F. L. N. L. PRON. PLANCUS. COS. ACENS. IMP. ITER. VII. VIR. EPUL. TRIUMP. EX. RAETIS. AEDEM. SATURNI FECIT. DE. MANIBIS. AGROS. DIVISIT. IN. ITALIA. BENEVENTI. IN. GALLIA. COLONIAS. DEDUXIT. LUGDUNUM ET RAURICAM.

and

and first fell to the Share of *Anthony*, but afterwards to that of *Cæsar Octavianus*, who gained immense Advantages by it. He appointed *M. Vipsanius Agrippa*, to be his Vicegerent, whom the Concerns of this Province obliged to traverse the *Rhine*, which no *Roman* General had attempted after *Cæsar* (3). The History of the *German* Nations is particularly memorable on this Occasion. The *Ubii*, A. V. 715. who could no longer resist the *Suevi*, were carried over the *Rhine*, (4) by *Agrippa*, to defend the Banks on that Side. *Agrippina*, Grand Daughter to *Agrippa*, and Wife to the Emperor *Claudius*, who was born at the Place, where they built their City, * sent a *Roman* Colony thither, from whence this famous City was, by the Inhabitants, called *Cologn*, which Name it retains to this Day.

* *Oppidum Ubiorum.*

§. II. WHEN, afterwards, Differences arose between *Cæsar Octavianus* and *Anthony*, and they both prepared for a War, which was happily ended by the Battle of *Actium*, the *Morini* and other *Belgæ* endeavour'd to cast off the *Roman* Yoke; and the *Suevi*, who, after the Departure of the *Ubii* met with no Opposition, attempted, (probably by the Instigation of the *Belgæ*, who undertook nothing without the Assistance of the *Germans*,) to cross the *Rhine*. But they met with an immediate and vigorous Repulse from C. *Carinas*; and the Share he had in *Octavianus*'s Triumph shews the Importance of this Exploit (1).

C. Carinas drives the Suevi out of Gaul.

A. V. 725. In the Consulate of *Sosius*, *Cn. Domit.*

(3) DIO *L.* 48. *p.* 388. *ad. a. u. c.* 716. Agrippam item contra Gallos eos, qui res novas moliti erant, bellum gessisse, cujus caussa secundus ipse Romanorum, Rhenum transierit. *BUCHERIUS in Belgio Romano c.* 9. §. 5. *p.* 22. *proves this Expedition to have been in the Year of* Rome 715.

(4) STRABO *L.* IV. 194. Trans fluvium ad ista loca habitabant Ubii, quos non invitos Agrippa intra Rhenum traduxit. Supra totam hanc (*Rheni ulteriorem*) ripam degunt Suevi, Germanica natio, a quibus alii pulsi, in regionem interiorem Rheno nunc confugerunt. TACIT. *Annal. L.* XII. c. 27. *observes that* Agrippa *led them over*: Sed Agrippina, quo vim suam sociis quoque nationibus ostentaret, in oppidum Ubiorum, in quo genita erat, veteranos, coloniamque deduci impetrat; cui nomen inditum ex vocabulo ipsius. Ac forte acciderat, ut eam gentem, Rhenum transgressam, AVUS AGRIPPA in fidem acciperet. *Hence it is, that they assum'd the Name of* Agripinenses. *Idem de M. G. c.* 28. Libentius Agrippinenses, conditoris sui nomine, vocantur. *The Government of* Gaul *was indeed once more in* Agrippa's *Hands; but it is most probable that he carried the* Ubii *over the first Time.*

§. II. (1) DIO *ad A.U.* DCCXXV. p. 459. primo die, 8. idus Sextilis, Cæsar triumphum egit de Pannoniis, Dalmatis, Lapydis, eorumque finitimis, simul de nonnullis Galliæ, Germaniæque populis. Nam C. Carinas Morinos, aliosque rebellionis eorum socios, domuerat. Suevosque, Rhenum magno numero transgressos, profligaverat. Itaque & ipse, (quamvis pater ejus a Sylla interfectus, & ipse cum aliis proscriptis, sui similibus, magistratum gerere prohibitus fuerat) triumphum duxit, & Cæsar: quoniamvictoria ad summæ rei præfectum, imperatorem, referri solebat. *We meet with an elegant Description of this Triumph in* Virgil. *Æneid. L.* VIII. *v.* 722.

-- Incedunt victæ longo ordine gentes, Quam variæ linguis, habitu tam vestis, & armis.
Hic Nomadum genus. - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - Euphrates ibat jam mollior armis
Extremique hominum Morini, Rhenusque.

§. III. OCTA-

Nonius Gallus is successful against the *Treviri.*

§. III. OCTAVIANUS CÆSAR, having gain'd the Victory over *Anthony*, and held his Triumph, shut the Temple of *Janus*, tho' the *Treviri*, and other *Germans* in Alliance with them, were, at that Time, in Arms; who, however, were subdued by *Nonius Gallus* (1).

Augustus divides the Provinces with the Senat, and, among others, reserves *Gaul* for himself.

§. IV. BESIDES the Sovereign Power, with which *Octavianus* was entrusted, he was, at that Time, distinguished by the perpetual Title of *Imperator* (1), and, two years afterwards, the Administration was confirm'd to him with the Name of *Augustus*. The *Romans*, among other Tokens of the Regard they had for him, honour'd him with a Life-Guard, and we find that he afterwards had a *German* Guard of his own (2). With what Dexterity *Augustus* managed the Government, which he had acquired by so much Bloodshed; and how readily he allow'd the *Romans* some Shadow of their former Constitution, if he could but keep in Possession of the Substance, is too well known to need a Repetition. This he observed more particularly in his Disposition of the Provinces. The Direction of those that were in a quiet peaceable State he left to the Senat and People; but those on the Frontiers, that required a standing Army, to keep the turbulent Inhabitants in Aw, he retain'd to himself. By this Artifice he made himself Master of the whole Military State, and the most powerful Provinces. Among these was *Gaul* (3) and the *German* Nations that inhabited it, who, with their Countrymen, that dwelt on the other Side of the *Rhine*, were, under this Reign, involv'd in many bloody Actions.

The Partition of *Belgick Gaul*, into *Belgica*, and *Germania*, and of the latter into *Prima*, and *Secunda.*

§. V. AUGUSTUS open'd the Temple of *Janus*, the same Year, and departed afterwards into *Gaul*, designing to go from thence into *Britain*, and there to execute his Predecessor's Designs. But this Voyage was prevented by an Ambassy from *Britain* to sue for Peace. He granted their Petition, and staid at *Narbonne*, where he made several new Regu-

§. III. (1) *L. LI. p.* 457. *E.* Tametsi tum quoque in armis essent Treviri, Germanis sibi adjunctis, & Cantabri, Vaccæi, Asturesque. Verum Cantabros Statilius, Taurus, Germanos, Gallosque, Nonius Gallus domuit.

§. IV. (1) DIO *L. LII. p.* 473. *E.* Imperatoris primum nomen accepit: non quale propter victoriam tribui more vetusto solebat: id enim sæpius, & ante, & post reportavit, sed quo summa imperii demonstratur: quod patri quoque ejus Julio, filiis, ac nepotibus decretum fuerat.

(2) SUETONIUS *in Aug. c.* 79. Certum numerum militum, partim in urbis, partim in sui custodiam, allegit, dimissa Calagurritanorum manu, quam usque ad devictum Antonium; item Germanorum, quam usque ad Varianam cladem, inter armigeros secum habuerat.

(3) DIO *L. LIII.* p. 503. *D.* Senatui, populoque, obtigerunt Africa, Numidia, Asia, Græcia, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Sicilia, Creta, Libya, Cyrenaica, Bithynia, Sardinia, Bætica. Cæsari autem Hispania reliqua, *Gallia Omnis*, &c.

lations

lations in *Gaul*, divided the Provinces in a different Manner, and taxed the People (1). *Gallia Aquitanica* was divided into *Prima*, *Secunda* and *Tertia*: *Celtica* was divided into *Lugdunenſis* and *Rothomagenſis*, the former from its Metropolis *Lugdunum*, the latter from *Rothomagus*. But we are chiefly concerned in the Diviſion of *Gallia Belgica*, becauſe the *German* Nations, who laſt paſs'd the *Rhine*, either before or after *Julius Cæſar*'s Time, were included in it. That Part which was inhabited by the *Nervii*, *Atrebates*, and other ancient *Belgians*, was particularly denoted by the Name of *Belgica*; the other Part, that was in the Poſſeſſion of the *German* Nations, received the Appellation of *Germania*, from the Name of *Germani*, which the *Germans* firſt aſſumed here, as I have before obſerved (2). *Germany* was, beſides this, divided according to the Situation of the River, into the Upper and Lower, and the former, as it lay nearer to the *Alps*, call'd *Germania Prima*, the latter *Germania Secunda*. In *Germania Prima* dwelt the *Tribocci*, in the preſent *Alſatia*, and likewiſe the *Nemetes* and *Vangiones*, who lived in the Cities of *Worms*, *Spire*, and *Mentz* (3). We are ſtill in Doubt, whether, according to the Opinion of ſome Hiſtorians (4), the *Treviri*, who border'd on the *Rhine*, and boaſted of a *German* Extraction, were included in this *Germania Prima*; and it is much more probable, that they, with ſome other Nations, who obtain'd their Liberty (5), were excluded from this Diviſion. But in ſucceeding Times, we find the *Treviri* were the principal Nation of *Belgica Prima*. *Germania Secunda* reached as far as the *Maes* and lower *Rhine*, and was ſeparated from *Belgica* by the *Demer* and *Scheld*, which latter River has always divided the Sees of *Liege* and *Cambray*. In this Part of *Germany* dwelt the *Ubii*, whoſe Metropolis was the preſent City of *Cologn*; and the *Tungri*, by which Name I mean thoſe *German* Nations, whom *Cæſar* calls *Eburones* and *Condruſi*. Their Capital was *Atuatica*, which from them has ſince obtained the Appellation of *Tongres*. Their Magiſtrates were call'd *Præſides*, and they were oblig'd to ſubmit to

§. V. (1) Livius *epit.* 34. Cum Auguſtus Narbonæ conventum ageret, cenſus a tribus Galliis, quas Cæſar pater vicerat, actus *add.* Dio *L. L III. p.* 512. *A.* Auguſtus his peractis, cum exercitu ab urbe profectus eſt, ut in Britanniam bellum transferret: verum poſtquam in Galliam venit, quum Britanni oratores, petit umpac em, ad eum miſiſſent, componendis Gallicis rebus, quæ, quia ſubactis illis ſtatim bella civilia ſubſecutuerant, etiamnum fluctuabant, Gallorumque agendo cenſu; vitaque & republ. formanda, aliquid temporis extraxit.

(2) *See the* I. *Book*, §. 6.

(3) *See the* II *Book.* §. 6. not. 11.

(4) Ægidius Bueilerius. *l. c. L.* I. 12. §. 10.

(5) *See the following Note.*

the

the *Roman* Laws, excepting ſome few, who retain'd their Liberty ; (6) (7) tho' by Degrees, the *Roman* Cuſtoms wholly took Place among them. *Germany* was, in *Auguſtus*'s Time, generally guarded by eight Legions (8), and the Soldiers, according to the *Roman* Diſcipline, were, when they were not in the Field, employed in making Fortifications, and other neceſſary Works, of which we have very few or perhaps no Remains, but thoſe excellent Roads from one Town to another, of which *Bucherius* ſays they made eight in *Belgica*, (9) all beginning at *Bavais*, the Capital of the *Nervii*.

Melo, Prince of the *Sicambri*, is defeated by the *Romans*.

§. VI. AUGUSTUS went from *Gaul* to *Tarragona* in *Spain*, to quell ſome Commotions, that had been raiſed by the *Cantabri* and *Aſtures*. The *Sicambri*, who dwelt on the Banks of the *Rhine*, oppoſite to the *Ubii*, along the Rivers *Siege*, *Roer* and *Lippe*, and who had drawn the reſt of the *Tencteri* and *Uſipetes* over to their Party, took the Advantage of his Abſence, to moleſt the *Roman* Provinces. They were headed by *Melo*, Prince of the *Sicambri* (1), who was routed by *M. Vinicius*, and the Victory was thought ſo glorious, that *Auguſtus* was thereupon, the eighth Time, proclaimed *Imperator* (2). For

(6) Pliny, *in his* Nat. H: B. IV *calls the* Nervii, Sueſſiones, Sylvanectes, Leuci, Treviri, Liberæ Civitates, *but the* Lingones *and* Remi *he terms* Fœderata.

(7) *Conf.* BUCHERIUS *L. C.* §. 17.

(8) *Idem.* L. C. c. 12. §. 18. p. 31 Sed minime ſilendum, hoc quoque tempore, ſi non ante, binis iſtis, cis Rhenum, Germaniis, octo legiones ab Auguſto impoſitas; firmum contra tranſrhenanorum irruptiones, Gallorumque rebelliones, imperii præſidium.

(9) *Idem. p.* 31. §. 19. Vias quoque militares hac ordinatione, ſequentibuſve, ab eodem Auguſto, ſicut & paullo ante a M. Agrippa, ac deinceps ab aliis, per Galliam duci cœptas, nullus dubito. Hoc enim anno, priuſquam ex Italia in Gallias adveniret, vias extra urbem ipſe aliique reficiendas curaverant. Quanto magis in Galliis, ubi tanto pauciores? Eas etiamnum in Belgica noſtra ſuperſtites, & labore Herculeo rectiſſima procedentes, non ſine admiratione videmus & calcamus; a cujuſvis gentis capite, ad quodvis aliud, ſine ullo deviandi metu, ducentes. Bavaco quidem octo emanant: quarum una Coloniam Agrippinam, per Tungros; altera per Moſæ ſuperiora, propter Dionantum, & per Ardennam, Auguſtam uſque Trevirorum: Tertia Durocortorum Remorum: Quarta Auguſtam Veromanduorum: Quinta per Cameracum, læva quidem Bapalmas, & Samarobrivam Ambianorum, hodie Amiens; dextera Nemetacum Atrebatum, Tarvanam Morinorum, & Bononiam ad mare: Sexta Viroviacum, hodie Vervik ad Liſam; Caſtellum Morinorum, Caſſel; Marcis ad litus Saxonicum, hodie Flandricum, Mardyk; Septima Gandavum in Menapios: an & inde ad Oceanum? Octava denique per Enghien, Keyſter, Aſche, in Brabantiam, Rheno Trajectum, hodie Ultrajectum, tendebat.

§. VI. (1) STRABO *L.* VII. *p.* 291. Belli initium fecere Sicambri, Melone Duce, Rheno vicini: atque huic, alii poſt alios, ſucceſſerunt, potiti imperio, eoque deturbati poſtea.

(2) DIO *L. LIII. p.* 514. *E.* Fere hoc ipſo tempore, M. Vinicius Germanos quoſdam ultus eſt: qui homines Romanos, regionem ipſorum, commercii gratia, ingreſſos, obtruncaverant. Ex qua ipſe victoria nomen Imperatoris Auguſto conceſſit, cui & triumphi, propter hanc, aliaſque res tum geſtas, decreti ſunt, quas recuſavit. *The Year may be known by* Caſſiodorus's *Chronology*: C. Auguſto Cæſare VIII. (lege IX, & M. Silano Coſſ. Cantabros, Germanos, Salaſſos, Cæſar perdomuit.

tho'

tho' he and his Succeſſors conſtantly placed this Title before their Names, a Cuſtom was nevertheleſs retain'd of honouring them with it a-new, and expreſſing the Number of Times, when any ſignal Victory was gained. The Senat, hearing of *Auguſtus*'s Expedition againſt the *Cantabri* and *Aſtures*, and that of his Deputies againſt the *Salaſſi*, a Nation living on the *Alps*, and likewiſe againſt the *Getæ* and *Sarmatæ*, offer'd to meet and conduct him into the City in Triumph. But *Auguſtus*, ſatisfied with being thought to have merited ſo great an Honour, refus'd to accept of it, which occaſion'd the Senat, whoſe eager Deſire of exalting him ſeem'd to contend with his Modeſty, to ſet up a Triumphal Arch to his Memory on the *Alps* (3). *Auguſtus* hereupon ſhut the Temple of *Janus* a ſecond Time, and put off his intended Expedition againſt the *Britons*, (there being no Apprehenſions from that Quarter;) eſpecially as he found, upon Computation, that the Cuſtoms raiſed by permitting a free Commerce, between them and the *Gauls*, amounted to a greater Sum, than the Taxes would, if that Iſland was reduced to a Province, by Reaſon of the great Expence of keeping an Army there (4). He eſteem'd it in general more advantageous to put his new acquired Provinces upon a good Footing, than to project freſh Conqueſts, whereby the Strength of the State might be too much divided.

§. VII. Augustus was no ſooner ſet out on his Journy to the *Eaſt*, to regulate the Affairs of his Provinces there, than civil Diſcords aroſe among the *Gauls*, and the *Germans* once more paſs'd the *Rhine*, probably by the Inſtigation of theſe their Neighbours. *Auguſtus*, therefore, at his Return, ſent *Agrippa*, his Daughter *Julia*'s Husband, a ſecond Time into *Gaul*. *Agrippa*'s Endeavour to ſtifle theſe Broils might have been effectual, had not a Revolt among the *Cantabri* requir'd his Preſence in *Spain* the next Year (1). As *Gaul* was a Province

Agrippa and *Tiberius* are ſent to keep the *Germans* in Aw.

(3) Dio *l. c. p.* 515. *A.* Quos cum recuſaſſet, arcus triumphalis, cum tropæo, in alpibus ei poſitus eſt: dataque poteſtas omnibus Kal. Januar. coronæ & veſtis triumphalis geſtandæ. Et Auguſtus quidem iſtis bellis ea geſſit; & ſimul Jani templum, quod propter bella fuerat reſeratum, clauſit. *de arcu conf.* Suetonius *in Aug. c.* 26. Plinius *H. N. L. III. c.* 20 *adde* Gruterum *pag.* 226. *n.* 7.

(4) Strabo *L. II. p.* 115. Nam Britanniam, quum occupare poſſent Romani, ſpreverunt, quum viderent, neque ullum ab iis metum eſſe (non enim tantum iis eſt virium, ut in noſtras ditiones impreſſionem faciant) neque tantum utilitatis, ſi occnparent. Videtur enim nunc plus percipi ex vectigalibus quam tributum pendere poſſet, detracto in militem, præſidio inſulæ futurum, & ſtipendium exacturum, ſumtu: multumque videbatur incommodi, ab aliis inſulam circumjacentibus, oblatum iri.

§. VII. (1) Dio *L. LIV. p.* 528. *D.* Tumultuabantur enim invicem Galli, & a Keltis *(qui, ſtilo Dionis, tranſrhenani ſunt Germani)* infeſtabantur. Bis motibus ſedatis, in Hiſpaniam, adverſus Cantabros deficientes, tranſiit.

of Importance (2), and a powerful Army was kept up there, *Auguſtus* was unwilling to entruſt the Direction of it to any Perſon but of his own Family; he therefore ſent his eldeſt Son in Law *Tiberius* thither, who was then 24 Years of Age, and was the Year before honoured with the Prætorſhip. He purſued what *Agrippa* had begun, and was, in or about the Year following, ſucceeded by *M. Lollius*.

The *Roman* General, *M. Lollius*, routed by the *Sicambri*.

§. VIII. Lollius felt the Effects of thoſe Feuds, which *Agrippa* and *Tiberius* had in vain endeavour'd to mitigate. The *Sicambri*, *Tencteri* and *Uſipetes* impriſon'd ſome *Roman* Officers, who came to collect Tribute among them, and faſtened them to the Croſs (1). This ſerved inſtead of a Declaration of War, after which, paſſing the *Rhine*, they ravag'd *Germania Secunda*, and were ſo ſucceſsful againſt the *Romans*, that the fifth Legion loſt their Eagle (2), which they always eſteemed a very great Diſgrace. *M. Lollius* ſent a Detachment of Cavalry againſt them, who were by a Stratagem overpower'd and routed. They purſued the Fugitives as far as *Lollius*'s Head-Quarters, and put him to Flight (3). The Diſgrace affected the *Romans* more than the Loſs (4), and both ſerved *Auguſtus*, A.I.V. 738 †, for a Pretence to go to *Gaul*. But as he left his Wife *Livia* at *Rome*, and took with him *Terentia*, a Lady of great Beauty, and Wife to *Mæcenas*, this War was ſuſpected to ſerve him only for a Cloak, and Love was thought the chief Motive to this Journy. The paſſionate Regard *Auguſtus* had for *Terentia* did, indeed, come up to the Eſteem he ſhew'd for, and the Confidence he placed in, her Husband. *Mæcenas*, on the other Hand, was fond of his Wife, but obliged to ſtifle a Reſentment which might have ruin'd his Fortune: But *Livia*, *Auguſtus*'s Wife was not ſo paſſive, and *Auguſtus*, tho' at the Height of

† In the Conſulate of *L. Domitius Ænobarbus* and *P. Cornelius Scipio*.

(2) Sueton. *in Tiber.* 9. Et barbarorum incurſionibus, & Principum diſcordia, inquietam.

§. VIII. (1) Dio *L.* LIII. *p.* 534. *ſq. E.* Cæterum maximum ea tempeſtate bellum, quod ipſum adeo Auguſtum urbe extraxit, contra Celtas fuit. Sicambri, Uſipetæ, & Tenchteri, primum quidem Romanorum quoſdam, in territorio ſuo deprehenſo, in crucem egerant. Acron. *ad od.* Horatii *L. IV. c.* 2. *relates the Circumſtances, that the* Sicambri, *crucified twenty Officers, who were ſent to levy Money: Whether they demanded the uſual Tribute, or a new Impoſition, is uncertain; but the latter is moſt probable, from the Character* Vellejus *gives* L. II. c. 97. *of* Lollius. Accepta in Germania clades ſub legato, M. Lollio, homine in omnia, pecuniæ, quam recti faciendi cupidiore, & inter vitiorum diſſimulationem, vitioſiſſimo. Amiſſaque Legionis V. aquila revocavit, ab urbe in Gallias, Cæſarem.

(2) Velleius *l. c. in not.* 1.

(3) Dio, *in the laſt quoted Place, proceeds thus.* Mox equitatum Romanorum, contra ſe miſſum, per inſidias circumvenerant. Et a fugientibus, uſque ad Lollium præfectum, præter opinionem ſuam pertracti, hunc quoque vicerant.

(4) Suetonius *in Aug.* 23. Graves ignominias, cladeſque duas omnino, nec alibi, quam in Germania accepit, Lollianam, & Varianam. Sed Lollianam majoris infamiæ, quam detrimenti.

his

his Power, ſtrove as carefully to avoid the Obloquy of his Subjects, as if he was then to raiſe his Fortune, by a good Behaviour. But whatever Foundation this Report may have had, it is nevertheleſs certain, that this Journy prov'd highly beneficial to the State.

§. IX. The *Sicambri* no ſooner heard of *Auguſtus*'s Arrival, than they retreated and ſued for Peace, which, upon giving a certain Number of Hoſtages, they obtained (1): But as *Auguſtus* could not truſt the *Germans*, and the Avarice of the *Procurator Lucinius* had caus'd a general Diſcontent in *Gaul*, he remained there that and the following Year, to make better Regulations in the State of the Provinces; to enter into a firm Alliance with thoſe Nations who were free, and to make all neceſſary Preparations againſt thoſe *Germans*, who dwelt on the other Side of the *Rhine*. Among other Means he made Uſe of to eſtabliſh Peace in *Roman Gaul*, one was that of eſtabliſhing Colonies here and there (2), and *Bucherius* is of Opinion, that as *Triers*, in *Gaul* †, ſo likewiſe the preſent *Spire* and *Worms*, in *Germany*, at that Time, received their Appellations of *Auguſta Nemetum*, and *Auguſta Vangionum*, from the Name of *Auguſtus*. This Conjecture is, at leaſt, ſupported by the Authority of *Tacitus*, who ſays, that whenever *Auguſtus* was in *Gaul*, he viſited *Germany* (3). The new eſtabliſh'd Colonies were, in a Manner, Images of the City of *Rome*, and obtain'd Part of the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens (4). They not only protected the *Romans*, againſt foreign Irruptions, but ſerved alſo to make the *Roman* Cuſtoms and Manners known and agreable to their Friends and Allies. *Strabo* ſays, in the Times of *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*, moſt of the *Gauls* had embraced the Language and Manners, and ſome even the Civil Government of the *Romans* (5). And, therefore, we have the leſs Reaſon to wonder if we find ſome among the *Gauls*, and eſpecially the *Treviri*, honour'd by the *Romans* with the greateſt Employments, and even in the Adminiſtration of the Government of thoſe Provinces. (6).

Auguſtus makes Peace with the *Sicambri*.

† *Auguſta Trevirorum.*

§. IX. (1) Dio *p.* 535. *B.* Barbari enim, quum Lollium arma parare, Auguſtum exercitum adducere, audirent; in ſuam terram regreſſi, obſidibus datis, pacem acceperunt.

(2) *Of this Time, ſays* Dio *p.* 537, *D.* Multas Auguſtus in Galliam, multas in Hiſpaniam colonias, deduxit.

(3) Tacit. *Ann. L.* 1. *c.* 46. Auguſtum, feſſa etiam ætate, toties in Germaniam commeare potuiſſe. Tiberium vigentem annis, ſedere in Senatu, verba patrum cavillantem.

(4) Paulus *l.* 8. *D.* de Cenſibus, Coloniam Agrippinam juris Italici fuiſſe notat.

(5) Strabo *L.* IV. *p.* 186. Plerique jam omnes Romanam formam, linguamque, & vitæ rationem, quidam etiam civitatem adepti.

(6) *This is plain from* Tacitus. H. L. IV. c. 55. *See below the Fourth Book.* §. 43.

Noricum becomes a *Roman* Province: About the Year 720.

§. X. The *Roman* Empire was, about the ſame Time, enlarged by the Addition of two new Provinces, which ſerv'd afterwards, a long Time, for a Theater of War to the *Romans* and *Germans*, till, at laſt, it fell to the Share of the latter, and is to this Day, no inconſiderable Part of the *German* Empire. The Inhabitants of *Pannonia*, whom *Auguſtus* had before ſubdued (1), rebelled, and prevail'd upon their Neighbours, the *Norici*, to join with them in making an Invaſion into *Iſtria*. But they were repulſed by *Silius* and his Deputies (2), and by this Means *Noricum* became a Province (3). The *Romans* gave the Name of *Noricum* to that Country, which reached from the *Noric Alps* as far as the *Danube*. It borders on the *Montes Cetici* towards *Pannonia*, and on the River *Inn* towards *Rætia*. It was formerly govern'd by its own Kings (4), one of whom is mentioned above, in the Hiſtory of *Arioviſtus* (5). The *Romans* found their Iron Mines very ſerviceable in their Wars. This Province was afterwards, probably under *Diocleſian*, divided into *Noricum Ripenſe* and *Mediterraneum*. The Capital of the former ſeems to have been *Laureacum*, which, together with *Ovilia*, were Colonies eſtabliſhed there by the Emperor *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. *Lentia* was the preſent *Lintz*. *Juvavia*, the preſent *Saltzburg*, ſeems to have been the Capital of *Noricum Mediterraneum*. Among others of its Cities, mention'd by *Roman* Writers, *Celeja*, now call'd *Cilley*, is ſtill remaining.

Rætia and *Vindelicia* become Provinces. A. V. C. 739.

§. XI. Soon after, whilſt *Auguſtus* was in *Gaul*, *Tiberius* and *Druſus*, his Sons in Law, were ſucceſsful againſt the *Ræti* and *Vindelicii*, who attempted to paſs the *Alps* near *Trent*, and make an Irruption into *Italy*. They were firſt defeated by *Druſus* near *Trent*. But as they commited Acts of Hoſtility, at the ſame Time, on the other Side, in *Gaul*, *Auguſtus* ſent *Tiberius* upon them, from thence. *Tiberius* fitted out a Fleet, on the *Rhine*, in *Helvetia*, and ſailing thro' the *Lake* of *Conſtance*, fell unexpectedly upon the *Vin-*

§. X. (1) Pannonia *reached from* Dalmatia, *as far as the* Danube, *and was ſituate towards the Weſt, on the Borders of* Noricum, *from which it was ſeparated by the* Mons Ceticus, *and towards the Eaſt it border'd on* Moeſia. *The Province was afterwards divided; and the Mouth of the River* Raab *made the Separation. The Weſtern Part was call'd* Pannonia Superior, *and the Eaſtern* Pannonia Inferior.

(2) Dio *l. LIV.* p. 534. *D.* Pannonii, cum Noricis, in Hiſtriam incurſiones fecerunt, & a Silio, ejuſque legatis, incommodis affecti, rurſus pacem acceperunt, Noriciſque etiam cauſſam ſervitutis præbuerunt.

(3) *Idem. l. c.* Paterculus *attributes it to* Tiberius. L. II. c. 39.

(4) Paterculus *L. II. c.* 109. Ipſe a Carnunto, qui locus Norici regni proximus ab hac parte erat, exercitum, qui in Illyrico merebat, ducere in Marcomannos orſus eſt;

(5) *See the ſecond Book.* §. 6.

delicii,

delicii; And they found it no hard Matter to ſubdue them, by Degrees, diſperſed, as they were, in ſmall Bodies; whereupon their Country became a Province (1). But, as it was imagined ſo warlike a Nation might ſoon attempt to caſt off their Yoke, all the young Men were carried away, and only a ſufficient Number of Inhabitants was left to cultivate the Ground (2). The Province of *Rætia* was before divided into two Parts; one, call'd *Rætia Proper*, was ſituate neareſt the *Alps*, and extended itſelf, at the Foot of them, along the *Rhine*, the *Inn* and the *Adige*, which likewiſe, in after Times, was called *Rætia Prima*; the moſt memorable of whoſe ancient Inhabitants were the *Breuni* and *Brixentes* (3). The other was call'd *Vindelicia*, or, as it was Part of *Rætia*, *Rætia Secunda*. It extended from *Rætia Prima* to the *Danube*, and was

§. XI. (1) Dio *L. LIV. p.* 536. *B. ſq.* Eo tempore a Druſo & Tiberio hæ res ſunt geſtæ. Ræti, inter Noricum & Galliam, ad Alpes Italiæ finitimas, quas Tridentinas nominant, ſedes ſuas habent. Hi vicinam Galliam frequenter populati, etiam ex Italiæ finibus prædas egerunt, Romanoſque, & eorum ſocios, iter per ipſorum terras facientes, infeſtaverant. Id quidem conſuetudine jam receptum erat, ut in eos, qui nullo ipſis eſſent fœdere juncti, ita ſtatuerent. Sed præter hoc, omnes maſculos, quos comprehendiſſent, etiam in utero adhuc matrum (id enim quibuſdam divinationibus inveſtigabant) morantes necabant. Ea propter Auguſtus principio Druſum contra eos cum exercitu miſit, iſque Rætos apud Alpes Tridentinas obviam ſibi factos prœlio congreſſus, haud magno certamine fudit: ejuſque victoriæ ergo prætorios honores adeptus eſt. Deinde, cum ab Italia rejecti Ræti, nihilominus Galliam urgerent, Tiberium quoque contra eos miſit. Proinde Druſus, ac Tiberius, ſimul multis locis in Rætiam irrumpentes, legatorum opera, ac ipſe etiam Tiberius per lacum navigiis ſubvectus, exteruerunt ea re barbaros diſſipatoſque aggreſſi, haud difficulter, multis exiguis prœliis, diſperſas eorum copias, deleverunt: relinquoſque, infirmiores exinde, ac animis collapſos, in ſuam poteſtatem redegerunt. Horace *has perpetuated the Memory of this Siege.* IV. Od. 4 de laudibus Druſi. v. 15--20.

Videre Rætis bella ſub Alpibus
Druſum gerentem Vindelici; quibus
Mos unde deductus, per omnē
Tempus Amazonia ſecuri
Dextras obarmet, quærere diſtuli:
Nec ſcire fas eſt omnia: ſed diu
Lateque victrices catervæ
Conſiliis juvenis repreſſre.

Idem L. IV. Od. XIV. v. 5. *ſq.*

O, qua ſol habitabilis
Inluſtrat oras, maxime principum,
Quem legis expertes Latinæ
Vindilici didicere nuper,
Quid Marte poſſes, milite nam tuo
Druſus Genaunos, implacidum genus,
Breunoſque veloces, & arces,
Alpibus impoſitas tremendis,
Dejecit acer, plus vice ſimplici.
Major Neronum mox grave prœlium
Commiſit, immaniſque Rætos
Auſpiciis pepulit ſecundis:

(2) Dio *p.* 536. *E.* Quia vero populoſa erat gens Rætorum, videbanturque bellum denuo tentaturi, maximam ejus & ætate validiſſimam partem inde abduxerunt: iis relictis, qui & colendæ regioni ſufficerent, & ab bellandum non ſatis virium haberent.

(3) *The former dwelt near the* Brenner Mountains, *and the latter gave Name to a Town ſtill called* Brixen. *We have many more Towns remaining, which were known in the* Roman *Times; as on the* Rhine, Chur *or* Coire, *the preſent Capital of the Country of the* Griſons, *and* Chiavenna, *not far diſtant from the* Lake of Como. *On the* Adige *is* Botzen, Trent, *and even the Caſtle of* Tyrol. *The Capital ſeems to have been* Veldidena, *whoſe Appellation is ſtill retained by a Village called* Wilten, *ſince the preſent* Inſpruck *rais'd itſelf out of the other's Ruins.*

bounded,

bounded, on the Left, by the *Rhine*, and by the *Inn*, on the Right. Several fine Cities were afterwards built there, ſome of which are ſtill remaining, or have left their Names to thoſe that were built in the Room of them. *Regina Caſtra*, for Inſtance, ſtood where *Ratisbon*, now is, and *Batava Caſtra*, in the ſame Situation with *Paſſau*. The Capital of this Country was the yet famous City of *Augsburg*, *Auguſta Vindelicorum*, which *Tacitus* ſo early diſtinguiſhed by the Epithet of *Splendidiſſima Colonia* (4).

The *Gauls* build an Altar in Honour to *Auguſtus*. In the Conſulate of *Tib. Claud. Nero* and *Quintil. Varus*. V. C. 741.

§. XII. Augustus returned to *Rome*, where *Varus* exhibited the Theatrical Entertainments he had vowed to the Gods, upon *Auguſtus*'s happy Return. *Horace* compoſed an Ode on this Occaſion, in which he mentions the *Sicambri* not much to their Advantage (1). *Auguſtus* was ſo well beloved by the *Gauls*, that they offer'd him a Kind of Divine Worſhip at *Lions*, and conſecrated an Altar to him, on which were engraven the Names of ſixty Nations (2). *Druſus* afterwards dedicated another Altar of that Kind to him, near *Langres*. But it is Matter of Doubt, whether the Altar erected by the *Ubii* was to the Memory of *Auguſtus* or *Druſus*.

Druſus paſſes the *Rhine* A. V. C. 742.

§. XIII. Augustus left *Druſus*, his younger Son in Law, in *Gaul*, who raiſed a Tax, that would have ſeemed more oppreſſive to the Inhabitants, had not his affable Deportment, in ſome Meaſure, allay'd their Diſcontent. This however, or perhaps only a Suſpicion of it, gave Occaſion to the *Sicambri*, *Tencteri* and *Uſipetes*, once more to croſs the *Rhine*, which cauſed a long and bloody War. *Druſus* was twenty-five Years of Age, a Prince of an uncommon Spirit, and a Capacity ſufficient to perform the greateſt Actions (1).

(4) *Conf.* M. Velſeri *res Auguſtanæ.*

§. XII. (1) Horatius *Odar. L.* IV. *v.* 33.

Concines majore poeta plectro
Cæſarem, quandoque trahet feroces
Per ſacrum clivum, merita decorus
Fronde, Sicambros: & *v.* 41.
Concines lætoſque dies, & urbis
Publicum ludum ſuper impetrato
Fortis Auguſti reditu, forumque
Litibus orbum.

Propertius *L.* IV. *eleg.* 6. *v.* 77. *Likewiſe mentions the Victory over the* Sicambri.

Ille paludoſos memoret ſervire Sicambros.

(2) Strabo *L.* IV. *p.* 192. Templum ab omnibus, communi ſententia, Gallis decretum Cæſari Auguſto, ad hanc urbem, ad concurſum fluviorum, eſt poſitum. Aram habet hoc memorabilem, cum inſcriptione gentium, LX numero, & imagine ſingularum, item aliam magnam. Bucherius *ſeems to think, that this happened about the ſame Time. l. c. p.* 38. §. 5.

§. XIII. (1) Paterculus *L.* II. *c.* 97. *ſays of him:* Cura deinde belli, atque onus delegata Druſo Claudio, fratri Neronis, adoleſcenti tot tantarumque virtutum, quot & quantas natura mortalis recipit, vel induſtria perficit. Cujus ingenium, utrum bellicis magis operibus, an civilibus ſuffecerit artibus, in incerto eſt: morum certe dulcedo, ac ſuavitas, & adverſus amicos æqua, ac par ſui, æſtimatio, inimitabilis fuiſſe dicitur.

He

He was not satisfied with sending the *Germans* back with broken Heads, but form'd the grand Resolution, to attempt the Conquest of *Germany*. *Augustus*, who was not very eager of extending his Dominions, gave Ear to the Proposal, either out of a Desire to accomplish what *Julius Cæsar* had begun (2), or a Love of *Drusus*, who, indeed, pass'd for his Son in Law, but was generally thought to be the first Fruits of his Passion for *Livia* (3). *Drusus*, hereupon, pass'd the River above the Island of *Batavia*, and first fell upon the *Usipetes* (4); he afterwards cross'd the *Lippe*, and ravag'd the whole Country of the *Tenchteri*. *Florus* and *Orosius* (5), who undoubtedly had their Information from those Books of *Livy*, which are lost, say, he even visited the *Catti* and *Marcomanni* (6), which latter then dwelt beyond the *Mayn*, in the present *Franconia* and *Suabia*.

§. XIV. IN the mean Time, a Fleet was equip'd on the *Rhine*, that transported him to *Friesland*, which then extended from that Arm of the *Rhine*, which runs through *Leyden*, as far as the *Ems*, along the *North-Sea*. The *Batavi*, a Colony of the *Catti* (1), who inhabited the upper Part of the Island which is made by both Arms of the *Rhine*, were already in Alliance with the *Romans*, or enter'd into it with *Drusus* on this Occasion. He seems also to have been in Confederacy with the *Frisii*, for they contributed whatever they could to the Com-

The *Roman* Fleet sails thro' the *South-Sea* into the *Ems*.

(2) FLORUS *L.* IV. *c. ult.* Germaniam Augustus utinam vincere tanti non putasset, magis turpiter amissa est, quam gloriose acquisita. Sed quatenus sciebat, patrem suum, Cæsarem, bis, trajecto ponte Rheno, quæsisse bellum, in illius honorem concupivit facere provinciam.

(3) SUETONIUS *in Claud. c.* 1.

(4) DIO 544. Atque ipse deinde in Usipetarum regionem, secundum insulam Batavorum, trajecit. Inde in Sicambrorum terram trasgressus, magnam agri partem vastavit.

(5) FLORUS *L.* IV. *c.* 12. Missus in Germaniam Drusus, primos domuit Usipetas, inde Tenchteros percurrit, & Cattos. *Orosius L.* VI. *p.* 479. Drusus in Germania, primo Usipetes, deinde Tenchteros, & Cattos, perdomuit. Marcomannos pene ad internecionem cæcidit.

(6) FLORUS *c. l.* Marcomannorum spoliis insignibus quendam editum tumulum, in tropæi modum, excoluit. Bucherius *l. c. p.* 38. §. 8. *supposes this* Tumulus *to be the Hill near the* Mayn, *on which the present Castle of* Wurtzburg *is built*.

§. XIV. (1) TACIT. *de M. G. c.* 29. Omnium harum gentium virtute præcipui, Batavi, non multum ex ripa, sed insulam Rheni, amnis, colunt. Cattorum quondam populus, ex seditione domestica in eas sedes transgressus, in quibus pars Romani imperii fierent. Manet honos, & antiquæ societatis insigne. Nam nec tributis contemnuntur, nec publicanus atterit. Exempti oneribus & collationibus, & tantum in usum prœliorum sepositi, velut tela, atque arma, bellis reservantur. *To prove this Extraction of the* Batavi, *a particular Treatise has been written by* Adrianus Paars, *entitled* Catti Aborigines Batavorum. *But the Time when they took Possession of this Island is uncertain. Ia. Gronovius* in orat. de tempore immigrationis Batavorum in insulam suam, *supposes it to have been not long before* Cæsar's *Wars in* Gaul, *and that the* Batavi *had now made a League with the* Romans, *that they might the better be revenged of the* Catti, *who had expelled them.*

pletion

pletion of his Design; which was to fall upon some *German* Nations by Sea, whom he could not come at by Land, and to convince them, that the boisterous Waves were as little able to secure them from the *Roman* Power, as the *Rhine* was to be a Barrier to the *Sicambri* and their Neighbours. To execute his Purpose, he open'd a Channel between the *Rhine* and the *Yssel*, from the present *Doesburg* as far as *Ysselort*, to make a Passage for his Fleet into the *South-Sea*, (*Zuyder Zee.*) This Channel from thence received the Name of *Fossa Drusi*, and serves to this Day, as a Monument, to shew, that the *Romans*, to extend their Power, could move the Boundaries which Nature had set to the Land and to the Water. The *Bructeri*, who dwelt above the *Frisii*, on the left Banks of the *Ems*, and bordered landwards, on the one Side, with the *Sicambri*, were the first who felt the Weight of the *Roman* Power. *Drusus* sailed through the *South-Sea*, into the Ocean (2), and made himself Master of those Islands that lay on the Sea-Coast, *North-Eastwards*, among which *Strabo* particularly mentions *Borckum* (3), and at Length he turned into the *Ems*. The *Frisii*, who were at Variance with those their Neighbours, and in Alliance with *Drusus*, fell upon them, in the mean while, from the Continent, which prov'd highly advantageous to the *Romans*: For the Ebb came once so suddenly, that their Fleet was almost left on dry Ground, of which Accident, the *Bructeri* would certainly have taken Advantage, had not the *Frisii* given them a Diversion on the other Side. The *Bructeri* were not, however, unexperienc'd in Naval Matters, and *Strabo* even relates an Engagement between their Ships and those of *Drusus* upon the *Ems* (4), tho' the *Romans* got the better. The approaching Winter obliged *Drusus* to hasten his return: But, before his Departure, he built a Fort at the Mouth of the *Ems*, to serve not only for a Terror to the *Bructeri* and *Chauci*, who dwelt

(2) Dio *L.* LIV. *p.* 544 *A* Inde secundo Rheno in Oceanum devectus, Frisios subegit, ac per paludem in Chaucorum fines profectus, in periculo fuit, navibus propter defluxum maris in sicco destitutis: tamen Frisiorum opera, qui pedestri milite se ei junxerant, superato discrimine, inde digressus, jam enim hyems appetebat, Romam pervenit. Tacitus *must likewise be understood of this Expedition, when he says of the* Frisii: de mor. Germ. c. 34. Usque ad Oceanum Rheno præteguntur, ambiuntque immensos insuper lacus, & Romanis classibus navigatos.

(3) Strabo *L.* VII. *p.* 291. Hic non gentes modo plurimas subegit, sed & insulas, in legendo litore obvias: inter quas est Byrchanis, ab eo tunc expugnata. *Pliny likewise mentions it*: Insularum, infra Cimbrorum Promontorium, quæ Romanorum armis cognitæ, nobilissima est Burchana, fabaria a nostris dicta, a frugis similitudine sponte provenientis.

(4) Strabo *L.* VII. *p.* 290. Inter hos & alia sunt navigabilia flumina, de quibus est Amasia, in quo Bructeros Drusus navali prœlio vicit.

On

on the right Side of the *Ems*, about the *Weſer*, and as far as the Mouth of the River *Elb*, but alſo to ſecure a Harbour for the future Reception of the *Roman* Fleet. Some have ſuppos'd it to be the firſt Foundation of the famous City of *Emden* (5), but this we find refuted by *Altingius*, who proves the *Roman* Fort to have been built on the left Side of the *Ems*.

§. XV. DRUSUS, at his Return to *Rome*, was created *Prætor Urbanus*: But the peaceable Diſtribution of Juſtice, was an Office not ſuiting his aſpiring Genius. He therefore ſet out again, the Beginning of the enſuing Year, for *Gaul*, and went from thence to *Germany*. He travers'd the *Rhine*, in the ſame Place he had done the Year before, ravag'd the Country of the *Uſipetes*, laid a Bridge over the *Lippe*, and invaded the Country of the *Sicambri*. Theſe happen'd to be from Home; and had endeavour'd to draw all their Neighbours into a League againſt the *Romans*, to which the *Tencteri*, *Bructeri*, *Cheruſci* and *Suevi* had given their Conſent; but the *Catti*, whoſe Borders were towards the *South*, and who, the Year before, had probably reconciled themſelves to the *Romans*, would not join in this War. They were therefore gone on an Expedition againſt theſe People, when *Druſus* invaded their Country, and as he met with no Reſiſtance, proceeded farther into the Dominions of the *Cheruſci*, and as far as the *Weſer* (1); But, fearing, leſt he might fall ſhort of Proviſions, he would not venture over that River. It juſt happen'd, that a Swarm of Bees alighted in the *Roman* Camp (2), which he either actually look'd on as a bad Omen, or at leaſt pretended ſo, that his Soldiers might not think, any thing could have been an Obſtruction to his Deſigns, but the Will of the Gods. But by endeavouring to avoid,

Druſus's ſecond Expedition againſt the *Sicambri* and *Cheruſci*. In the Conſulate of Q. *Ælius Tubero*, and *Paulus Fabius Maximus*. A.V.C. 743.

(5) BUCHERIUS *l. c. p.* 39. §. 3. Igitur, quod reliquum erat, quo eos, juxta & Bructeros, frænaret in poſterum, caſtrum in utrorumque, ut & Friſiorum confinio, ad ipſum fere Amiſiæ oſtium, munimentum amni cognomine (hodie Embden) erexit.

§. XV. (1) *l. c. p.* 544. *B.* Initio veris rurſus ad Bellum profectus, Rhenum tranſiit, Uſipetas ſubjugavit: Lupiæque fluminis ripis, ponte junctis, in Sicambros irrupit, perque eos in Cheruſcorum regionem, uſque ad Viſurgim proceſſit. Id, ut ei liceret, Sicambrorum in Chattos, qui ſoli finitimorum auxilia negaverant, totius populi viribus facta expeditio effecerat. Quo tempore Druſus, iis imprudentibus, regionem peragravit. Viſurgim etiam tranſiturus, ni eum inopia alimentorum, ac hyemis propinquitas, præterea examen apum, in caſtris viſum, deterruiſſent. Dio *does not name the other Neighbours. But* Livy's epit. Florus *and* Oroſius, *prove them to have been the* Tencteri, Cheruſci, Chauci, Bructeri *and* Suevi.

(2) DIO *l. c.* JULIUS OBSEQUENS *de prodigiis L.* I. *c.* 132. *deſcribes it probably from* Livy. In Germania, in caſtris Druſi, examen opum in tabernaculo Hoſtilii Rutilii, caſtrorum præfecti, conſedit: ita, ut funem prætendentem, præfixamque tentorio lanceam, amplecteretur. Multitudo Romanorum per inſidias ſubacta eſt. *See* Scheffer us *ad h. l.*

he had almoſt run Headlong, into the Completion of his Prophecy. The *Cheruſci*, *Sicambri* and *Suevi*, had beſet all the Paſſes, and ſurrounded him, in ſuch Manner, that nothing could have ſaved him, but the too great Security of his Enemies, whoſe Thoughts were ſo bent on dividing their Booty, that they did not think a regular Attack neceſſary (3); This the *Romans* took Advantage of, and fought their Way thro', tho' with great Loſs. In this Campaign, he built two ſtrong Caſtles, one at the Conflux of the *Elſe* with the *Lippe* (4), the other on the *Rhine*, in the Dominions of the *Catti* (5). The Senat of *Rome* honour'd him, for this Succeſs, with the Ovation, or leſſer Triumph; and would have him accept the Rank and Authority of *Proconſul*, as ſoon as his *Prætorſhip* was at an End. His Soldiers had indeed given him the Title of *Imperator*, but *Auguſtus* oppoſed it, in Hopes a new Opportunity might offer where this Delay might be an Addition to the Honour.

Druſus's Expedition againſt the *Chatti*. A.V.C. 744.

§. XVI. Augustus undertook, in the Year 744, another Journy to *Gaul*, accompanied by *Tiberius* and *Druſus*. The latter continued his War with the *Germans*, and particularly againſt the *Catti*, who now had revolted from the *Romans*, and aſſociated themſelves to the *Sicambri* (1). *Tiberius* went to quell a Rebellion in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*, and both, having thus met with Succeſs, conducted the Emperor back to *Rome*.

Druſus advances to the *Elb*. His Death. His Memory perpetuated in *Germany*. In the Conſulate of *Nero Claudius*, *Druſus* and T. *Quintus Criſpinus*. A.V.C. 745.

§. XVII. The next Year, *Druſus* was honoured with the Conſulate, notwithſtanding which, he continued his Wars in *Germany*. He begun with the *Catti*, fell afterwards upon the Frontiers of the *Suevi*, who dwelt along the *Upper Rhine*, from the *Mayn*, to the *Danube*, turned into the Dominions of the *Cheruſci*, where he paſſed the *Weſer*, and continued his March even to the *Elb*. On the Banks of this River, he erected a *Roman* Trophy, as a Monument of this Expedi-

(3) Dio *l. c. C.* Ingreſſus in ſociorum terram, in ſummum devenit periculum, inſidiis hoſtium frequenter læſus, & aliquando in loco angusto, concavoque circumcluſus, haud procul abſuit, quin cum toto exercitu periret. A qua eum pernicie nihil aliud eripuit, quam hoſtium temeritas. Qui, cum contemtis Romanis, quaſi jam captis, & uno velut ictu concidendis, nullo ordine eos aggreſſi eſſent: victi inde, ferociaque ſua fracta, diſceſſere. Ex eo namque barbari, propius adire veriti, eminus tantum hoſtem infeſtavere. Ita, ut Druſus, iis viciſſim contemtis, caſtellum contra eos ad Lupiæ, & Eliſonis, fluviorum confluentes, aliudque in Chattis ad ipſum Rhenum exſtruxerit.

(4) Caſtrum Aliſonis ad Lupiæ, & Aliſonis, confluentes: *Now* Elſen, *in the Biſhoprick of* Paderborn.

(5) Bucherius *p.* 40. §. 9. In monte Tauno, ubi poſtea Trajani monumentum, Moguntiam inter, & amnem Lonam.

§. XVI. (1) Dio *L.* LIV. *circ. finem*: Chatti quippe, relicto eo, quem iis aſſignarant Romani, agro, Sicambris ſe conjunxerant. *The* Romans *had, perhaps, after having carried the* Ubii *over the* Rhine, *aſſign'd their Country to the* Catti.

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tion (1); but little thought it would prove his *Cenotaph*. He had frequently expoſed his Perſon in Battles, and gather'd the Heads of his Enemies himſelf, that he might one Day offer to *Jupiter* the *Spolia opima* (2): This being eſteemed, by the ancient *Roman* Heroes, the greateſt Honour a General could arrive to. But he was deſtined to dy in his Bed. On his Return, his Horſe threw him (3), and he received ſo much Harm, that he expired (4), 30 Days afterwards, in the 30th Year of his Age, in the Arms of *Tiberius* his Brother, who was no ſooner acquainted with the Accident, than he haſten'd to him. *Tiberius* conducted the Corpſe to *Italy*, with great Solemnity, where *Auguſtus* met it at *Pavia*, and attended it to *Rome*. *Auguſtus* himſelf ſpoke a Funeral Oration in Praiſe of the Deceaſed, in the *Flaminian Circus*, as *Tiberius* did in the *Forum*, and the Senat ſtrove, after his Death, to pay him the Honours he had merited when living. He and his Poſterity were diſtinguiſhed by the perpetual Surname of *Germanicus*, which was afterwards much more enobled by his Son's Succeſs againſt the *Germanus*. *Druſus* had a Triumphal Arch (5) erected to his Memory in the *Via Appia*, which may yet be ſeen on thoſe Medals (6) that were ſtruck to his Memory, and a Monument was ordered to be raiſed to his Glory on the *Rhine* (7). This laſt Honour was ſhewn

§. XVII. (1) Dio *L.* V. *init.* Inde in Chattorum terram irrumpens, obvia quæque, non ſine magno labore, ſubigendo, congreſſoſque prœliis haud incruentis ſuperando, ad Sueviam uſque pervenit. Inde converſo in Cheruſcos itinere, Viſurgim tranſgreſſus eſt. Omnia populando ad Albim uſque perexit: qui ex Vandalicis montibus profluens, in Oceanum ſeptentrionalem, magnus admodum factus, effluit. Hunc, quum fruſtra conatus eſſet tranſire, tropæis conſtitutis, receſſit.

(2) Sueton ius *in Claud. c.* 1. Ex hoſte, ſuper victorias, opima quoque ſpolia captaſſe, ſummoque ſæpius diſcrimine, duces Germanorum tota acie inſectatus.

(3) Livius *epit. poſtr.* Ex fractura, equo ſuper crus ejus collapſo, triceſimo, quam id acciderat, die, mortuus. *Strabo L.* VII. *p.* 201. Eſt & Sala fluvius, inter quem, & Rhenum, bellum felliciter gerens, Druſus Germanicus obiit. Io. Iſ. Pontanus *in Chorograph. diſcept.*. 31. *ſeems indeed, to think, that this was the* Yſſel. Valeſius *takes it for that* Saal, *which falls into the* Mayn. *But* Cluverius *and* Menſo Altingius *have, with much more Probability, prov'd it to be the* Saal, *which falls into the* Elb. *conf.* Cellarii *Orb. Ant. T.* I. *p.* 452.

(4) Valerius Maximus *L.* V. *c.* 5. *Of the Day of his Death; ſee* Tillemont. *in Auguſto* P. I. *p.* 40.

(5) Gruterus *mentions the Remains of a Marble Stone, which belonged to this Arch, upon which, among others, are theſe Words:*

AP. DIVORTIA. RHENI. PERVASI
HOSTILES. DEPOPULATOR. AGR--

(6) *Some Coins are ſtill extant, which were ſtruck to the Memory of his* German *Victories, on the Reverſe of which are the Words* Rhenus, *or* de Germanis; *ſome of theſe were renewed by* Titus Veſpaſianus *and* Domitian. *His Son* Claudius, *when he was Emperor, had ſome other Coins ſtruck to preſerve the Remembrance of his* German *Conqueſts. v.* Mezzab. *p.* 59, 60.

(7) Dio *p.* 544. *A.* Germanici cognomen ei, ac filiis, datum: honoreſque ſtatuarum, arcus triumphalis, & Cenotaphii ad ipſum Rhenum dati. Suetonius *in Claudio c.* 1. Præterea Senatus, inter alia complura, marmoreum arcum, cum tropæis, via Appia decrevit: & Germanici cognomen ipſi, poſteriſque ejus.

him by thoſe Legions, which he commanded in *Germany*, and they not only erected this Monument, ſome Remains of which are yet ſhewn near *Mentz*, at which the Soldiers were obliged to celebrate annually certain Tournaments (8), but likewiſe built Altars and dedicated them to his Memory (9). The *German* Nations had other Monuments to preſerve his Fame. He had not been ſatisfied with gaining a Victory, or laying a Country waſte, but, when he had done this, endeavour'd to eſtabliſh his Poſſeſſions, by building Forts, to keep the People in Aw. Of this the two Forts, which, as is obſerv'd above, he built in *Germania Magna*, are Evidences. *Florus* ſays, that he raiſed ſuch Edifices on the *Maeſe*, the *Elb*, the *Weſer*, and the *Rhine*; and on the latter alone near fifty. According to this Account, hardly any Forts are mentioned as famous, in ancient Hiſtory, on the left Side of the *Rhine*, that had not *Druſus* for their Founder (10). In particular, he fortified *Mentz* and *Bonn*, built a Bridge at both Places over the *Rhine*, and for their Security had always a Fleet in

(8) Suetonius *in Claud. c.* 1. Exercitus honorarium ei tumulum excitavit, circa quem deinceps, ſtato die, quotannis miles decurreret, Galliarumque civitates publice ſupplicarent. EUTROPIUS *ſays*: Monumentum apud Moguntiacum. *Upon his Words depends the Conjecture, that it is the particular Stone call'd* Eichelſtein *near* Mentz. *At leaſt that Stone paſs'd for* Druſus's *Monument in ancient Times; for* Otto Friſingenſis, *who finiſh'd his Chronicle in the Year* 1146, *mentions it as ſuch. He ſays:* L. III. *c.* 4. Monſtratur adhuc monumentum Druſi Moguntiæ, per modum pyræ. Serarius *has confirm'd this Suppoſition in* rerum Moguntiacarum *L.* I. *c.* 15. ex editione Cl. Johannis *p.* 65. *which* Tentzel, *in his Monthly Dialogue for* Auguſt 1698, *thinks nevertheleſs inſufficient to prove ſo dubious a Point. The Figure of the Stone may be ſeen in* Johannis Hutichii Collectaneis antiquitatum, in urbe atque agro Moguntino, repertarum, *which was publiſh'd at* Mentz, *in the Year* 1520, in ædibus Johannis Schoeffer, *and in the aforecited Paſſages of* Serarius *and* Tentzel. c. I.

(9) *In* Tacitus, *we likewiſe find ſome Footſteps, that Altars were erected to his Honour.* L. 2. Ann. 7. Tumulum tamen nuper Varianis legionibus ſtructum, & veterem aram, Druſo ſitam, disjecerant. Reſtituit aram, honorique patris princeps ipſe cum Legionibus decurrit. *Tho'* Freinſheimius, *in his Annotations on this Paſſage, ſays this is meant of an Altar built by Order of* Druſus, *and at his Expence. We might likewiſe conjecture, that the* Ara Ubiorum *was dedicated to him, at which* German *Princes have performed the Office of Prieſts. But* Bucherius *ſeems to think that it was ſacred to the Memory of* Auguſtus, *in Imitation of the Altar, which was conſecrated to him at* Lions, *and in the Dominions of* Langres.

(10) Bucherius *L.* I. *c.* 17. §. 12. *p.* 43. Si 50 cuſtellis, oppidiſve Rhenum Druſus prætexuit, ſane vix ulla ad Rhenum loca, veteribus Romanis ſcriptoribus celebrata, ab Druſinis excludi poterunt. Ita Druſenheim paulo infra Argentoratum, quaſi Druſi domicilium: ita tabernæ Rhenanæ, Vicus Julius, Alba ripa, adhuc hodie Altrip, paullo infra Spiram, Moguntiacum, Bingium, Veſalia, Bodobriga, Confluentia, Antennacum, Rigomagis, Ara Ubiorum, Noveſium, Gelduba, Aſciburgium, Vetera, Arenacum, Vada, Grines, Trajectus inferior, Lugdunum Batavorum, a Druſo vel condita, vel auctæ fuerint: ad Moſam vero etiam Trajectus ſuperior, ponte ibi muniendo. *But we muſt here obſerve, that when both* Germanies *were, ſeveral times after that, left deſolate by their Inhabitants, theſe Caſtles were alſo deſtroyed, which muſt conſequently render it very difficult to point out thoſe that were founded by* Druſus.

Readineſs

Readineſs (11). All theſe great Advantages proved ſo much eaſier to him, as his Prudence, and engaging Deportment, had ſo gain'd the Affection, of the *Gauls*, that they not only ſuffer'd him, without Interruption, to carry on his Conqueſts on the other Side of the *Rhine*, but employed their Lives and Fortunes to deſtroy thoſe *German* Nations (12), whoſe Aſſiſtance they had formerly ſo often implored, and ſo concur'd to their own Ruin, and that of their Friends, by adding to the Encreaſe of the *Roman* Power (13).

§. XVIII. The Year following, *Auguſtus* made another Expedition againſt the *Germans*, and *Tiberius* ſucceeded *Druſus* in the Command of the Army. *Tiberius* paſs'd the *Rhine*, and the *Germans* ſued for Peace, which ſome of them, at Length, obtained: But the *Sicambri* were forced to give themſelves wholly up to *Romans* (1); becauſe they had hitherto, notwithſtanding their Sons and Daughters were deliver'd up as Hoſtages, laid hold of every Opportunity of revolting; *Tiberius* therefore made Uſe of the ſame Means, which had already been applied to the *Ræti*, and ſent this Year many Thouſands of them over the *Rhine*, to be there diſperſed in the *Roman* Dominions (2). This ſo ſenſibly affected ſome of the Chiefs of this Nation, that

Tiberius takes the Command of the Army on the *Rhine*. The *Sicambri* are forc'd to ſubmit.

(11) Florus *L.* IV. *c. ult.* Præterea in tutelam provinciarum, præſidia, atque cuſtodias, ubique diſpoſuit: per Moſam flumen, per Albim, per Viſurgim. Nam per Rheni ripam quinquaginta amplius caſtella direxit. Bonnam, & Moguntiacum, pontibus junxit, claſſibuſque firmavit. Golzius *gives an Account of a Coin of* Auguſtus, *with this Inſcription.*

COL. IVLIA BONNA,

which Bucherius *L.* I. *c.* 17. §. 4 *interprets of the City of* Bonn.

(12) *Thus, for Inſtance, did the* Nervii, *in the Engagement of* 744, *againſt the* Germans, *particularly excell.* Livii *epit.* 139. *alias* 141. Bellum contra tranſrhenanas gentes a Druſo geſtum refertur. In quo inter primores pugnaverunt Senectius, & Anectius, tribuni civitatis Nerviorum.

(13) *Hence, the Provincials ſaid afterwards according to* Tacitus, *A. L.* III. *c.* 40. Nihil validum in exercitibus Romanis, niſi quod externum.

§. XVIII. (1) Dio *p.* 551. *E.* Poſt hæc Auguſtus, quum principatum depoſuiſſet, (hoc enim præ ſe ferebat) decennio altero, invitus iterum ſuſcepit, & in Germanos bellum molitus, ipſe domi (ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ) ſubſtitit. Tiberius autem Rhenum tranſiit. Eorum vim metuentes barbari omnes, exceptis Cantabris, legatos miſerunt, pacem petentes. *The* Cantabri *are here miſtaken for the* Sicambri. *Tiberius writes to Germanicus* Tacitus. *Ann. L.* II. *c.* 26. Se novies a D. Auguſto in Germaniam miſſum, plura conſilio, quam vi perfeciſſe. Sic Sigambros in deditionem acceptos, ſic Suevos, Regemque Maraboduum, pace obſtrictum. Horace *hints at this Peace L.* IV. *od. pen.*

Te cæde gaudentes Sicambri
Compoſitis venerantur armis.

(2) Sueton. *in Auguſto c.* 21. Suevos ac Sigambros, dedentes ſe, traduxit in Galliam, atque, in proximis Rheno agris, collocavit. Idem *in Tiberio c.* 9. Bello hoc Germanico patrato, XLM. (alii XCM) deditiorum trajecit in Galliam, juxtaque ripam Rheni, in ſedibus aſſignatis collocavit. Bucherius *l. c.* 20. §. 5. *p.* 49. *thinks to find Traces of thoſe* Suevi, *who were at that Time diſperſed, in* Flanders, *about* Courtray. *But we are ſtill in Doubt, whether, according to* Caſaubon *and* Gruterus, *we are not to read* Ubii, *in* Suetonius in

that they chose rather to dy by their own Hands, than to live in that doleful State (3): And thus the whole Nation of the *Sicambri* became extinct (4). We find nothing what came of *Melo*, the first Author of this War, or his Brother *Baitoritus*; but a Son of the latter, named *Theodorix*, was, 24 Years after, led by *Germanicus* in a Triumph (5). The *Tencteri* and *Usipetes* seem afterwards to have extended their Dominions, and to have inhabited, together with their own, the Country of the *Sicambri*, whose Name remained so famous, that the new Inhabitants of that Province are, by *Martial*, *Claudian*, *Sidonius*, &c. called *Sicambri*. *Tiberius* return'd with *Augustus* to *Rome*, the next Autumn: And *Augustus*, on Account of this fortunate Expedition, took once more the Title of *Imperator*, and likewise honour'd *Tiberius* with the same. He nominated him, besides, *Consul* for the ensuing Year, left him the Honour of a separate Triumph, and shut the Temple of *Janus* a third Time (6).

Maraboduus leads the *Marcomanni* into *Bojohemum*.. The Original of the *Alamanni*.

§. XIX. The unhappy Fate of the *Sicambri* serv'd as a Warning to the other *German* Nations, to remove into the inward Parts of *Germany* (1). And it was very probable, that about this Time happened the famous Migration of the *Marcomanni*, and other Nations of *Suevia* (2). *Maraboduus*, their Leader, was descended from a noble Family among the *Marcomanni*; he came to *Rome*, on what Occasion is unknown, in his younger Years, where the Emperor shew'd him peculiar Favours. An excellent Judgment, improved by an exact Observation of the *Roman* State, taught him how to institute and support a Government: But Ambition excited in him à Desire of putting those Rules in Practice, in his own Country; and a vigorous Constitution, which enabled him to undergo any military Fatigues, made the Dan-

in Aug. c. 21. *instead of* Suevi. *In* Augustus's *Life he speaks of the* Ubii *and* Sicambri *promiscuously. In the Life of* Tiberius *he only speaks of the latter.*

(3) *Of this we are to understand the Passage of* Dio *p.* 552. *A. l. ult.* Nam licet Sigambri quoque ipsi legatos miserunt, pacem petentes, nihil tamen profecerunt. Prorsus ut & ipsorum plerique iique præstantiores, interierint. Illos quippe, simul collectos, Augustus, cum inquasdam urbes disposuisset, ipse id ægerrime ferentes, manus sibe violentas intulerunt. *Many Observations may be made on this Passage, of which see* Bucherius. L. I. *c.* 18. §. 3. *p.* 44.

(4) Tacitus *Ann. L.* XII. *c.* 39. Ut quondam Sigambri excisi, & in Gallias tra-jecti, florent, ita Silurum nomen penitus extinguendum. *add.* Strabo *l. mox citando.*

(5) *See* Bucherius *L.* I. *c.* 20. §. 3.

(6) *Which* Bucherius *endeavours to prove* L. I. *c.* 18, & 19.

§. XIX. (1) Strabo *L.* VII. *p.* 290. Prima Germaniæ regio ad Rhenum, a fontibus ejus, usque ad ostia: atque hic fluminis tractus, latus est Germaniæ occiduum. Hujus partis populos Romani partim in Galliam traduxerunt: reliqui migraverunt in penitiores Germaniæ partes, ut Marsi.

(2) Bucherius *has made it very probable, that the Migration of* Maroboduus *was about this Time.* I. c. L. I. c. 25. p. 50.

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gers as well as the Labour eaſy to him. Fortune was ſo favourable to him, that, on his Return, the *Marcomanni* made him their Chief (3). But as he conſidered, that no great Undertaking could ſucceed, in the Neighbourhood of the *Romans*, he led the *Marcomanni*, together with the *Harudi*, and *Seduſii*, at leaſt the youngeſt and moſt valiant among them, into the Country that had hitherto been inhabited by the *Boji*, and from them received the Appellation of *Bojohemum*(4). He expell'd the *Boji*, of whom we find no Account afterwards, and ſo extended his Power, that it ſoon raiſed a Jealouſy in the *Romans* themſelves (5). The greateſt Part of the Diſtrict along the *Rhine*, to the River *Mayn*, being thus become almoſt uninhabited, a mixt People came from the neighbouring *Gaul*, moſt of whom were probably *Helvetii* and *Sequani*, whoſe Borders were thereabouts, with many others of different Nations of *Germany*, and ſettled themſelves there (6). Theſe became afterwards one Nation, and were known by the Name of *Alamanni*, with which, however, that of the *Suevi* continued in Vogue.

§. XX. TIBERIUS had another Triumph, the Beginning of the enſuing Year, and then went again to *Germany*, to put a final Stop *Tiberius* goes a ſecond time into *Germany*.

(3) STRABO *l. c.* In quem locum (*ſcil. Bojohemum*) is cum alios plures tranſtulit, tum Marcomannos, gentiles ſuos. Is enim Roma reverſus, (ubi juvenis fuit, & ab Auguſto beneficiis affectus) e privato ſtatu ad occupandam dominationem ſe contulit, ac, præter Marcomannos, ſibi etiam ſubjecit Luros, magnam gentem, Zumos, Butones, Mugilones, Sibinos, & de ipſis Suevis magnam nationem Semnonas. CLUVERIUS *has made a very good Emendation of this Paſſage, and reads it:* Lugios, magnam gentem, & Lemovios, Gutones, Burgundiones, Sibinos. PATERCULUS *gives a beautiful Character of him.* L. II. c. 105. Maraboduus, genere nobilis, corpore prævalens, animo ferox, natione magis, quam ratione barbarus, non tumultuarium, neque fortuitum, neque mobilem & ex voluntate parentium conſtantem inter ſuos occupavit principatum; ſed certum imperium, vimque regiam complexus animo, ſtatuit avocata procul a Romanis gente ſua, eo progredi, ubi, cum propter potentiora arma refugiſſet, ſua faceret potentiſſima, &c.

(4) TACIT. *de M. G. c.* 42. Præcipua Marcomannorum gloria, vireſque, atque ipſa etiam ſedes, pulſis olim Bojis, virtute parta.

(5) *I ſhall below conſider whether the* Bavarians *are deſcended from them.*

(6) TACIT. *de M. G. c.* 29. Non numeraverim inter Germaniæ populos, quanquam trans Rhenum Danubiumque conſiderint, eos, qui decumates agros exercent. Leviſſimus quiſque Gallorum, & inopia audax, dubiæ poſſeſſionis locum, occupavere, Mox limite aucto, promotiſque præſidiis, ſinus imperii, & pars Provinciæ habentur, ultra hos Chatti, &c. *The Derivation of the Name of* Alamanni *has been formerly taken from thence.* AGATHIAS SCHOLASTICUS *writes lib.* I. *hiſtor.* Alemanni, ſi Aſinio Quadrato fides, viro Italo, & Germanicarum rerum exacto ſcriptori convenæ ſunt, ex variis nationibus collecti, id ipſum apud eos ſignificante vocabulo. *Some have derived* Alamanni *from* Alle, *all, or* Allerley Manner, *all ſorts of Men:* v. HERTIUS Not. vet. Germ. pop. S. III. c. 1. §. 2. Wachter *in his* Origines Alamannicæ *deduces it from the Word* Al-myn, *which, in the Ancient Language of* Gaul, *ſignifies a Foreigner.*

to thoſe Commotions, which ſtill appeared dangerous (1): But no Matters of Moment were tranſacted this Year; for the Example of the *Sicambri*, which had very much intimidated the *Germans*, was too freſh in their Memory. *Tiberius* was, nevertheleſs, no ſooner retired to the Iſland of *Rhodes* the following Year, than the *Germans* begun to rebel (2).

The *Bructeri* foment a new War.

§. XXI. IN the Year 754, *Germany* was again in Arms. As *Tiberius*, to whom the Conduct of this War was afterwards entruſted, acted chiefly againſt the *Caninafates*, *Attuarii* and *Bructeri*, theſe, together with their Neighbours, ſeem to have been the Authors of it. *M. Vinicius* firſt commanded againſt them (1): And *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, Grandfather to *Nero*, the Emperor, ſeems likewiſe to have been employed in this War. It is certain at leaſt, that thoſe ſucceſsful Battles, which he is ſaid to have fought againſt the *Germans*, cannot be aſcribed to a more probable Time, eſpecially as the Theatre of theſe Wars agree (2).

Tiberius's third Expedition into *Germany*.

§. XXII. BUT *Auguſtus*, in the Year 757, ſent *Tiberius*, whom he had juſt before, upon the Death of both his Nephews, *Caius* and *Lucius*, adopted his Son, to carry on the War in *Germany*. *Velleius Paterculus*, who ſerv'd him, at that Time, as *Præfectus Equitum*, ſays, that the *Caninafates*, the *Attuarii*, and *Bructeri* were ſubdued in this War, and that *Tiberius* thereupon paſs'd over the *Weſer*, and made Peace

§. XX. (1) DIO *c. l. p.* 553. Tiberius Kalend. Januarii, quibus conſulatum inivit cum Cn. Piſone, in Octavii curiam (hæc enim erat extra Pomerium) convocato Senatu, fanum concordiæ ſibi parari juſſit, ac deinde triumphavit: - - - Paulo poſt Tiberius, coortis in Germania motibus, ad bellum profectus eſt.

(2) PATERCULUS *L. II. c.* 100. Senſit terrarum orbis, digreſſum a cuſtodia Neronem urbis. Nam & Parthus, deſciſcens a Societate Romana, adjecit Armeniæ manum, Germania, averſis domitoris ſui oculis, rebellavit. *But this was probably the War which is mentioned in the following Paragraph.*

§. XXI. (1) PATERCULUS *L. II. c.* 104. *ad ſue. c.* 757. Non diu vindicem, cuſtodemque imperii ſui, morata in urbe patria, protinus in Germaniam miſit, ubi ante triennium ſub M. Vinicio avo tuo, clariſſimo viro, immenſum exarſerat bellum. Erat & ab eo quibuſdam in locis geſtum, quibuſdam ſuſtentatum feliciter, eoque nomine decreta ei cum ſpecioſiſſima inſcriptione operum ornamenta triumphalia.

(2) TACIT. *ſays of him,* Ann. L. IV. c. 44. Eum exercitu flumen Albim tranſcendiſſe, longius penetrata Germania, quam quiſquam priorum: eaſque ob res, inſignia triumphi adeptum. SUETONIUS *in Nerone c.* 14. ornamantis e Germanico bello triumphalibus clarum. TACIT. *ſays moreover of him,* A. L. I. c. 63. *that he raiſed a long artificial Bank, on the other ſide of the* Rhine. Cluverius *imagines, that the Road from* Vetera Caſtra *to* Elſen, *was likewiſe of his making, and that thoſe Pieces of ſuch Banks, which lead thro' the Towns of* Ham, Alen *and* Lurighuſen, *in the Biſhoprick of* Munſter, *are Remains of it.* Lipſius ad l. Taciti, *chuſes rather to place them between* Lingen, Weide *and* Coevorden. Bucherius, L. 1. c. 24. §. 6. p. 57. *Submits it to the Learned, whether* Domitz, *on the* Elbe, *had not its Name from this* Domitius. Sane ad Albim, quem ille longius, quam cæteri

Peace with the *Cheruſci*, and admitted them into an Alliance with the *Romans*. This Campaign laſted till *December*, when *Tiberius* put his Soldiers into Winter-Quarters, near the Source of the *Lippe*, and went himſelf to *Rome* (1). The *Cheruſci* and *Romans* ſeem, after this, to have lived in a mutual Intercourſe of Friendſhip; for the two Sons of Prince *Segimer*, *Arminius* and *Flavius* took Service in the *Roman* Armies: And another Prince of the *Cheruſci*, call'd *Segeſtes*, boaſts, according to *Tacitus*, of his having been naturaliz'd by *Auguſtus*, and conſtantly adviſed his Subjects to Peace (2). His Son *Sigiſmundus* even embraced the Religion of the *Romans*, and officiated as Prieſt at the Altar of the *Ubii* (3).

§. XXIII. TIBERIUS went early, in the following Year, 758, to his Army in *Germany*, which had quarter'd, during Winter, among the *Cheruſci*, and employ'd it againſt the neighbouring Nations. He begun with the *Chauci*, who bordered towards the *North*, and inhabited all the Shore from the *Ems* to the *Elb*. The Fleet, which he had in the North-Sea, appeared at the ſame Time on theſe Coaſts, which probably was the chief Inducement to the *Chauci* to ſubmit, on certain Conditions, to the *Romans* (1). After this he invaded the *Longobards*, who dwelt

The *Chauci* ſubmit to the *Romans*. *Tiberius* invades the *Longabards*. A *Roman* Fleet appears on the *Elb*.

teri tranſcendiſſe memoratur, urbs, etiamnum celebris, ſupereſt in ditione Daneburgica, Domitz appellata, an a Domitio, conicere poſſunt ſagaciores.

§. XXII. (1) PATERCULUS *L. II. c.* 105. Intrata protinus Germania, ſubacti Caninefates, Attuarii, Bructeri, recepti Cheruſci, gentes: & amnis, mox noſtra clade nobilis, tranſitus Viſurgis, penetrata ulteriora. Cum omnem partem aſperimi & periculoſiſſimi belli Cæſar vindicaret; in iis, quæ minoris erant diſcriminis, Sentium Saturninum, qui tum legatus patris ejus in Germania fuerat, præfeciſſet: virum multiplicem, virtutibus navum, agilem, providum, militariumque officiorum patientem, ac peritum pariter, ſed eundem, ubi negotia feciſſent locum otio, liberaliter lauteque eo abutentum: ita tamen, ut eum ſplendidum, ac hilarem potius, quam luxurioſum, aut deſidem, diceres. De cujus viri claro, celebrique conſulatu, prædiximus. Anni ejus æſtiva, uſque in menſem Decembrem, perducta, immanis emolumentum fecere victoriæ. Pietas ſua Cæſarem, pæne obſtrictis hieme Alpibus, in urbem traxit: at tutela imperii eum veris initio reduxit in Germaniam; in cujus mediis finibus, ad caput Lupiæ fluminis, hiberna digrediens princeps locaverat.

(2) TACIT. *An. L. I.* c. 58. Pacem ſe quam bellum probaſſe, & tunc a D. Auguſto civitate Romana donatum.

(3) *Idem. Annal. L. I. c.* 57. Addiderat Segeſtes legatis filium, nomine Segimundum. Sed juvenis conſcientia cunctabatur, quippe anno, quo Germaniæ defecère, ſacerdos apud aram Ubiorum creatus, ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles.

§. XXIII. (1) PATERCULUS *L. II c.* 106. Pro Dii boni, quanti voluminis opera inſequenti æſtate, ſub Duce Tiberio Cæſare, geſſimus. Perluſtrata armis tota Germania eſt. Victæ gentes pene nominibusincognitæ. Recepte Cauchorum nationes. Omnis eorum juventus, infinita numero, immenſa corporibus, ſitu locorum tutiſſima, traditis armis, una cum ducibus ſuis, ſepta fulgenti, armatoque militum noſtrorum agmine, ante imperatoris procubuit tribunal. Fracti Langobardi, gens etiam Germana feritate ferocior: denique

dwelt near the *Elb*, and bordered South-Eaſtwards on the *Chauci*. Thus the *Roman* Eagle diſplay'd his Wings, on the Banks of the *Elb*, a ſecond Time, a March, ſays *Paterculus*, of 400 *Roman* Miles. *Tiberius* form'd his Camp near the River, which intimidated the bordering Nations ſo much the more, as his Fleet appeared there at the ſame Time. On the Right ſide of the *Elb* were ſeveral Thouſands of *Semnones*, *Hermunduri*, and other *Germans*, to oppoſe the Enemy's Paſſage: Theſe were ſurprized when they ſaw the *Roman* Fleet; they having been accuſtomed only to Canoes, or Boats made of hollow'd Trees (2). *Tiberius* however thought it not adviſeable to croſs the *Elb*, either becauſe he eſteem'd it ſufficient to have caſt a Terror into the Nations on the other Side, or becauſe the Seaſon was too far advanc'd. He therefore led his Army back again into Winter-Quarters, and, if we may believe *Paterculus*, there was, in this Campaign, but only one Engagement, in which the *Germans*, who attack'd the *Romans*, ſuſtained a conſiderable Loſs. *Tiberius* returned to *Rome*, where he was, the fourth, and *Auguſtus* the fifteenth Time, dignified with the Title of *Imperator*; and *Sentius Saturninus*, his Lieutenant in *Germany*, who commanded next under *Tiberius*, was honour'd with a Triumph (3).

Tiberius's Expedition againſt *Maraboduus*.

He makes Peace with him.

XXIV. The *Romans* now thought it Time to cruſh the riſing Power of *Maraboduus*, who begun to be formidable. He rul'd over not only ſeveral valiant *Servian* Nations, whom he had lead into *Bojohemum*, but had alſo ſubdued ſome of the Neighbouring People, and brought others ſo ſecurely over to his Party, by Treaties,

denique, quod nunquam antea ſpe conceptum, nedum opere tentatum erat, ad quadrigenteſimum miliarium a Rheno uſque ad flumen Albim, qui Semnonum, Hermundorumque fines præterfluit, Romanus cum ſignis perductus exercitus: ex eodem, mira felicitate, & cura ducis, temporum quoque obſervantia, claſſis, quæ Oceani circumnavigaverat ſinus, ab inaudito, atque incognito ante mari, flumine Albi ſubvecta, plurimarum gentium victoria, cum abundantiſſima rerum omnium copia, exercitui, Cæſarique, ſe junxit. Dio *p.* 567. *D.* In Germanos expeditionem, quum alii tum Tiberius fecit; progreſſuſque eſt primo ad *VESURGUM*, deinde ad Albim.

(2) Paterculus *l. c.* Cum citeriorem ripam prædicti fluminis caſtris occupaſſemus, & ulterior, armata hoſtium juventute, fulgeret, ſub omnem motum noſtrarum navium protinus refugientium, unus e barbaris, ætate ſenior, corpore excellens, dignitate, quantum oſtendebat cultus, eminens, cavatum, ut illis mos eſt, ex materia conſcendit alveum, ſoluſque navigii genus temperans, ad medium proceſſit fluminis, &c. Plinius *ſays*, *L. XVI. c.* 40. Germaniæ prædones, ſingulis arboribus cavatis navigant, quarum quædam & 30. homines ferunt. *The* Ubii *ſeem however, when they dwelt on the right Side of the* Rhine, *and likewiſe the* Bructeri, *to have been provided with better Veſſels; and* Tacitus *ſays in Honour of the* Suiones, *that they had a Fleet of their own.*

(3) Dio *c.* 1. *E.* De Germanis imperatoris nomen non Auguſtus modo, ſed Tiberius etiam invenerit: honoreſque triumphales, C. Sentius, Germaniæ præfectus, quod horum metu, bis Germani pacem accepiſſent.

that

that he could as ſafely depend on them, as his own Subjects. His Country border'd on *Pannonia* and *Noricum*, and the *Romans* thought his Neighbourhood the more dangerous, as he was cover'd towards the *Weſt*, by impaſſable Foreſts, and Northwards by the *German* Nations, who reach'd to the *Eaſt*-Sea, and were not yet known to the *Romans*. The arbitrary Power, which he aſſumed, contrary to the Cuſtom of the *Germans*, enabled him to make a better Uſe of his Forces. He kept up an Army of 70,000 Veteran Soldiers, and no one could conceive to what End. He had indeed been hitherto very cautious of giving Umbrage to the *Romans*, but it was eaſy to conceive what were his diſtant Views, when he had eſtabliſh'd himſelf. *Maraboduus* was the common Refuge of all who ſhew'd any Diſaffection to the *Romans*, and his Ambaſſadors had already ſometimes hinted, that he expected to be treated by *Auguſtus*, as a Prince, in every Reſpect his equal; *Tiberius* therefore undertook to humble him. *Sentius Saturninus*, then Deputy in *Germany*, march'd thro' the Dominions of the *Catti*, and was to cut a Paſſage thro' the *Hercynian* Foreſt. *Tiberius* himſelf went to *Carnuntum*, which was the principal Fort of the *Romans*, in *Pannonia*, ſituate oppoſite to the *Marcomanni*, near the Conflux of the *Mahr* with the *Danube*, where *Haimburg* is at preſent, on the Borders between *Hungary* and *Auſtria*. From thence he march'd with the Army, which had till then been in *Illyricum*, to meet *Maraboduus*, and both Armies, which together conſiſted of 12 Legions, were but five Days Journy from each other (1). But the *Roman* Troops

§. XXIV. (1) Paterculus, *whoſe Relation of* Maraboduus *is mention'd above, goes on*, c. 108. Occupatis igitur, quos prædiximus, locis, finitimos omnes, aut bello domuit, aut condicionibus, juris ſui fecit. Corpus ſuum cuſtoditum, imperium perpetuis exercitiis pæne ad Romanæ diſciplinæ formam redactum, brevi in eminens, & noſtro quoque imperio timendum, perduxit faſtigium; gerebatque ſe ita adverſus Romanos, ut neque bello nos laceſſeret, & ſi laceſſeretur, ſupereſſe ſibi vim, ac voluntatem reſiſtendi, declararet. Legati, quos mittebat ad Cæſares, interdum ut ſupplicem commendabant, interdum ut pari loquebantur. Gentibus, hominibuſque a nobis deſciſcentibus, erat apud eum perfugium, totumque ex male diſſimulato agebat æmulum: exercitumque, quem LXX millium peditum, quatuor equitum fecerat, aſſiduis adverſus finitimos bellis exercendo, majori, quam quod habebat operi, præparabat. Eratque etiam eo timendus, quod, cum Germaniam ad lævam, & in fronte, Pannoniam ad dextram, a tergo ſedium ſuarum haberet Noricos, tamquam in omnes ſemper venturus, ab omnibus timebatur. Nec ſecuram incrementi ſui patiebatur eſſe Italiam: quippe cum a ſummis Alpium jugis, quæ finem Italiæ terminant, initium ejus finium haud multo plus CC. millibus paſſuum abeſſet. Hunc virum, & hanc regionem, proximo anno, diverſis e partibus, Tib. Cæſar aggredi ſtatuit. Sentio Saturnino mandatum, ut per Cattos, exciſis continentibus Hercyniæ ſilvis, legiones Bojohoemum (id regioni, quam incolebat Maroboduus, nomen eſt) duceret: ipſe a Carnunto, qui locus Norici regni proximus ab hac parte erat, exercitum, qui in Illyrico merebat, ducere in Marcomannos orſus

Troops had no ſooner left *Illyricum*, than the *Pannonians* and *Dalmatians* endeavour'd to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke, and, together with all the neighbouring Nations, took up Arms. *Tiberius*, whoſe Concern for the preſerving of theſe Provinces was greater than all the Advantages he could propoſe to gain of *Maraboduus*, haſten'd a Peace with him (2), and went to *Pannoni* where, ſucceſſively for the Space of three Years, he carried on a War, of the Importance of which we may eaſily judge, ſince the *Romans* employ'd fifteen Legions, and as many auxiliary Troops, in it 'till they had entirely ſubdued all *Illyricum*, that is, all the Countries that lay between *Noricum* and *Thracia*, from the *Danube* to the *Adriatick* Sea (3). He happen'd fortunately to have finiſh'd this War, when he received an Account that all the *German* Nations, who dwelt between the *Rhine* and the *Weſer*, had revolted, and the Deputy *Quintilius Varus* ſuffered a ſignal Overthrow.

Behaviour of *Quintilius Varus* among the *Germans*

§. XXV. *Quintilius Varus*, who had ſucceeded *Saturninus* in the Government of *Germany*, knew better how to enrich himſelf as a General, than to keep ſo unpoliſh'd a Nation, as the *Germans* were, within Bounds. He had before amaſſed vaſt Sums in *Syria*, and the few Opportunities he now had of gratifying his Avarice, made him but the more inſatiable. He prefer'd Peace to War, and when he found, that the *Romans* had built Caſtles in the Midſt of the *Germans*, and there begun to be an Intercourſe between them, he reſolved, to accuſtom them imperceptibly to the *Roman* Laws and Manners, and, under the ſpecious Pretence and Denomination of Juſtice, to impoſe a heavier Yoke upon them, than he could have done by Force of Arms (1). With this

ſus eſt. Rumpit, interdum moratur propoſita hominum fortuna. Præparaverat jam hiberna Cæſar ad Danubium, admotoq; exercitu non plus, quam V. dierum iter a primis hoſtium, Saturninum admoveri placuerat, [cui 9 copiæ] pæne æquali diviſæ intervallo ab hoſte, intra paucos dies in prædicto loco cum Cæſare junctura erant; cum univerſa Pannonia inſolens longæ pacis bonis, & adulta viribus Dalmatia, omnibus tractus ejus gentibus in ſocietatem adductis, ex conſtituto arma corripuit.

(2) Paterculus *L. II. c.* 110. Tum neceſſaria glorioſis præpoſita: neque tutum viſum abdito in interiora exercitu, vacuam, tam vicino hoſti, relinquere Italiam. Tiberius *mentions this Reconciliation himſelf, as in* Tacitus: *Ann. L. II. c.* 26. Suevos, Regemque Maraboduum, pace obſtrictum. *And* Maraboduus *himſelf boaſts*, L. II. c. 47. Mox conditionibus æquis diſceſſum.

(3) Sueton. *in Tib. c.* 16. Toto Illyrico, quod inter Italiam, regnumque Noricum, & Thraciam, & Macedoniam, interque Danubium flumen, & ſinum maris Adriatici patet, perdomito, & in deditionem redacto.

§. XXV. (1) Dio *L. LVI. p.* 582. Loca quædam Germaniæ Romani tenebant, non ſimul, ſed ut forte ſubacta fuerant, hinc inde: quam ob cauſam in hiſtoriis nulla fit eorum mentio. Iis in locis hiberna Romani milites habebant, urbes condebant, mores eorum jam barbari accipiebant, in forum conveniebant, congreſſuſque cum iis pacatos habebant. Neque tamen patriarum conſuetudinum, morum innatorum, liberatis, armorumque

this View he croſs'd the *Rhine*, and ſtruck his Camp in the Midſt of thoſe *German* Nations, who had been laſt conquer'd, againſt whom he employ'd all the ſecret Intriegues of the *Roman Forum*. The *Germans*, who were accuſtomed to ſhort Pleadings, and could ſcarce have believed, that their Deſcendants would ever become ſo fond of, and ſo well acquainted with the *Roman* Laws, thought it very injurious, to have their Lives and Effects, dependent on Proceedings, in a Language unknown to them. Their Chiefs ſaw beſides, with Regret, the Loſs of their former Dignity; but, notwithſtanding their Native Sincerity, knew perfectly well how to conceal their Diſcontent, whenever they were obliged to appear before the *Roman* Judges. Some of the principal, and particularly *Segimer* and *Arminius*, who were frequently admitted to his Table, made a Shew ſometimes of being grateful to him, for having ſo happily found the Means to introduce the *Roman* Cuſtoms among them, and made him ſo ſecure, that he behaved in their Camp as if he had been acting the *Prætor* in *Rome*, diſperſing his Soldiers, here and there, on the moſt trivial Occaſions given him even by the *Germans* themſelves (2). *Arminius*, the Son of *Segimer*, a valiant Prince of the *Cheruſci*, ſought, in the mean Time, an Opportunity of deli-

morumque potentiæ, obliti penitus fuerant. Itaque dum paullatim, & via quadam, in cuſtodia habiti, ea dediſcerent, mutationem vitæ ſuæ adeo non gravate ferebant, ut ne ſentirent quidem eam. Ubi vero Quintilius Varus, Germaniæ, poſt adminiſtratam Syriam præfectus, rebus ibi gubernandis ſuſceptis, inſtituit eam gentem ſubito transformare, tanquam ſervituti ſubjectis imperare, pecuniaſque, ut a ſubditis, exigere: Germani ejus inceptum non tulerunt, primoribus ipſorum amiſſum principatum deſiderantibus, vulgo conſuetam rerum rationem peregrinæ dominationi anteferente. Florus *L. IV. c.* 12. Poſtquam ille (*Druſus*) defunctus, Vari Quintilii libidinem, ac ſuperbiam haud ſecus, quam ſævitiam odiſſe cœperunt. Auſus ille agere conventum, & in caſtris jus dicebat, quaſi violentiam barbarorum & lictoris virgis, & præconis voce poſſet inhibere: at illi, qui jam pridem rubigine obſitos enſes, inerteſque mœrerent equos, ut primum togas, & *SAEVIORA* armis *JURA* viderunt, duce Arminio arma corripiunt.

(2) Paterculus's *Relation is this*: *L. II. c.* 117. *ſq.* Varus Quintilius, illuſtri magis, quam nobili ortus familia, vir ingenio mitis, moribus quietus, ut corpore, & animo immobilior, otio magis caſtrorum, quam bellicæ aſſuetus militiæ; pecuniæ vero, quam non contemtor, Syria, cui præfuerat, declaravit; quam pauper divitem ingreſſus, dives pauperem reliquit. Is, cum exercitui, qui erat in Germania, præeſſet, concepit eſſe homines, qui nihil præter vocem, membraque haberent hominum; quique gladiis domari non poterant, poſſe jure mulceri. Quo propoſito, mediam ingreſſus Germaniam, velut inter viros, pacis gaudentes dulcedine, juriſdictionibus, agendoque pro tribunali ordine, trahebat æſtiva. At illi, quod niſi expertus vix credebat, in ſumma feritate verſutiſſimi, natumque mendacio genus, ſimulantes fictas litium ſeries, & nunc provocantes alter alterum injuria, nunc agentes gratias, quod eas Romana juſtitia finiret, feritaſque ſua novitate incognitæ diſciplinæ miteſceret, & ſolita armis diſcerni, jure terminarentur, in ſummam ſocordiam perduxere Quintilium, uſque eo, ut ſe prætorem urbanum in foro jus dicere, non in mediis Germaniæ finibus exercitui præeſſe, crederet,

vering

vering his Country from Slavery, and this he hoped to find in the Indolence of *Varus*; for whom he, and the other *Germans*, who esteem'd nothing more in a General, than Valour and Strength, had otherwise but little Regard. *Arminius* was, at that Time, a young Prince, not much above 20 Years of Age. His promising Aspect, and Vivacity of Mind, discover'd his Magnanimity and Understanding. He had made several Campaigns under the *Romans*, (probably under *Tiberius*, in his Expedition against the *Chauci* and *Longobards*, or against *Marabodus* and the *Pannonii*,) and there distinguish'd himself in such Manner, that he was created a *Roman* Knight. But all the *Roman* Grandeur could not, with him, come in Competition with the Love of his Country, and he esteemed the Honour of being an independent Prince, preferable to any thing he could hope at *Rome* (3).

Arminius defeats the Army under his Command.

§. XXVI. ARMINIUS proceeded with the greatest Caution. Some of the *Germans* on the utmost Borders began, by his Instigation, to raise a Commotion, and he was one of the most zealous, to persuade *Varus* to go against them in Person. *Segestes*, another Prince of the *Cherusci*, admonish'd, and at Length entreated him, when once he, with *Arminius* and others, of the first Rank, were at his Table, to imprison the whole Company; as a sure Means to keep the People

A. Chr. 9.

to their Duty (1): But *Varus* was averse to his Proposal, either because he thought *Segestes* spoke out of Enmity, or because he did not expect so much Deceit in the *Germans*. He therefore set out with three Legions, and march'd towards the *Weser*, near which the Disturbance began. *Arminius*, and the other *German* Princes, whose Counsels he follow'd, staid behind, and gathered together all their Subjects, under Pretence of sending them to *Varus*'s Assistance. By this Means, all the neighbouring Nations soon appeared in Arms, of the real Cause of which *Quintilius Varus* had no Suspicion: But, believing himself to be in the Country of his Friends, made slow and irregular Marches. When *Arminius* found a proper Time, he publish'd a Command, throughout the whole Country, to kill all the *Romans* who should be met

(3) PATERCULUS *L. II. c.* 118. Tum juvenis, genere nobilis, manu fortis, sensu celer, ultra barbarum promtus ingenio, nomine Arminius, Sigimeri, Principis gentis ejus, filius, ardorem animi vultu, oculisque præferens, assiduus militiæ nostræ prioris comes, & jam civitatis Romanæ jus, equestremque consecutus gradum, segnitia ducis, in occasionem sceleris usus est; haud imprudenter speculatus, neminem celerius opprimi, quam qui nihil timeret, & frequentissimum initium esse calamitatis, securitatem.

§. XXVI. (1) TACIT. *Annal L. I. c.* 55. Segestes parari rebellionem, sæpe alias, & supremo convivio, post quod in arma itum, aperuit. Suasitque Varo, ut se, & Arminium, & cæteros principes, vinciret, nihil ausuram plebem principibus amotis, atque ipsi tempus fore, quo crimina, & innoxios, discerneret.

with,

with, either in their Quarters or out upon Forage: He himſelf haſten'd after *Varus*, overtook him and his Army, in the greateſt Diſorder, in the Foreſt of *Teutenburg*, encompaſs'd with Mountains and impaſſable Woods, where he immediately attack'd him on every Side. *Varus* drew all his Men together, as well as he could in haſte, order'd moſt of his Carriages, and all the Ammunition, which could be ſpared, to be burnt, and march'd more regularly the next Day. But the *Germans*, who knew every Foot-path, and who, upon the firſt Report of their Countrymen's Deſigns, and fortunate Beginning, had haſten'd to their Aſſiſtance from all Parts, ſo ſurrounded him, that *Varus* reſolv'd upon making a ſecond Stand (2). Here Heaven itſelf ſeem'd to conſpire, to deliver him into the Enemy's Hands. A ſudden Shower of Rain ſo moiſtned the Ground, that the *Romans* could neither ſtand to fight, nor march to eſcape; and a high Wind hinder'd them from uſing their Spears, Arrows and Shields: But the *Germans*, who were moſt of them lightly armed, did not find ſo great Impediment. *Quintilius Varus*, and ſome of his principal Officers, being, at Length, wounded, gave all for loſt, and, in Deſpair, fell on their own Swords: Which at once bereſt the Remainder of the Army of the little Courage they had left. The *Romans*, who, as Conquerors, were wont to ſacrifice the *Germans*, to their brutal Fury, were now ſerved in their own Kind. *Vala Numonius* (3) endeavour'd to ſave the Cavalry by a Flight, but was likewiſe overtaken and defeated. Some offer'd to ſurrender, but did not all ſave their Lives by that Means. The *Germans* offer'd

(2) Tacit. *diſtinguiſhes theſe two Camps very well*, *An. L. I. c.* 61. Ductum inde agmen ad altimos Bructerorum: quantumque Amiſiam & Luppiam, amnes inter, vaſtatum: haud procul Teutoburgienſi ſaltu, in quo reliquiæ Vari, legionumque inſepultæ dicebantur. Igitur cupido Cæſarem invadit ſolvendi ſuprema militibus, ducique; permoto ad miſerationem omni, qui aderat, exercitu, ob propinquos, amicos, denique ob caſus bellorum, & ſortem hominum. Præmiſſo Cæcina, ut occulta ſaltuum ſcrutaretur, ponteſque, & aggeres, humido paludum & fallacibus campis imponeret. Incedunt mœſtos locos, viſuque ac memoria, deformes. Prima Vari caſtra, lato ambitu, & dimenſis principiis trium legionum manus oſtentabat: dein ſemiruto vallo, humili foſſa, acciſæ jam reliquiæ conſediſſe intelligebantur: medio campi albentia oſſa, ut fugerant, ut reſtiterant, disjecta vell aggerata: adjacebant fragmina telorum, equorumque artus, ſimul truncis arborum antefixa ora; lucis propinquis barbaræ aræ, apud quas tribunos, ac primorum ordinum centuriones, mactaverant. Et cladis ejus ſuperſtites, pugnam, aut vincula, elapſi, referebant, hic cecidiſſe legatos, illic raptas aquilas; primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum; ubi infelici dextra, ex ſuo ictu mortem invenerit; quo tribunali concionatus Arminius; quot patibula captivis, quæ ſcrobes: utque ſignis & aquilis per ſuperbiam inluſerit.

(3) *This* Vala *is by ſome thought to have been the ſame to whom* Horace *addreſſed his* 15*th Epiſtle of the firſt Book.*

Quæ ſit hiems Veliæ, quod cœlum Vala Salerni.

ſeveral

ſeveral of the moſt eminent among them a Sacrifice to their Deities (4), others were diſpatch'd in a different Manner, and their Heads fix'd on the neighbouring Trees (5), as ſo many Trophies (6), which horrid Monument of their Victory remained 'till *Germanicus* afterwards cauſed the Bones of the *Romans* to be interr'd. In ſhort, the *Germans* omitted nothing, that could ſatiate their Rage. The *Romans* had attempted to burn *Varus*'s Corpſe, but when their Time fell ſhort, they buried it half burnt, that it might not fall into the Hands of their Enemy. But the *Germans* dug it up, and made their Sport of it (7). His Head was ſent to King *Maraboduus* as a Token of their Victory, who was ſo polite to ſend it to *Rome* to be inter'd in the Burying Place of his Family. Among thoſe who ſurrender'd, or were taken Priſoners, thoſe met with the hardeſt Fate, who had ſerv'd in the *Roman* Courts of Judicature againſt any *German* (8). The other Priſoners were divided, and many a *Roman* Nobleman, who thought he had already one Foot in the Senat, was reduc'd to ſerve a *German* Huſbandman, as Shepherd, or in ſome Domeſtick Employment (9). Some were afterwards redeemed by their Friends, but by the Rigour of the *Roman* Military Diſcipline, could never return to *Rome*, or even appear in *Italy* again (10).

What Advantage the *Germans* made of this Victory.

§. XXVII. But the *Germans* did not take all the Advantage, the *Romans* fear'd they would have done, of this Victory. For inſtead of paſſing the *Rhine*, where Opporunities and Inclinations to a Revolt, were never wanting; they miſpent their Time, in the Deſtruction of the *Roman* Fortreſſes, on their Side of the River, and whatever Forts

(4) Tacit. *l. c.*

(5) *Idem.*

(6) *The Place is moſt probably not far from the preſent little City of* Horn, *in the Dioceſe of* Paderborn, *where a Place called* Winfeld *is ſaid to have received its Name from this Victory. See the celebrated Biſhop of* Paderborn's Ferdinandus Furstenberg *Monumenta Paderbornenſia*, p. 22. & 34.

(7) Florus *L. IV. c.* 12. *n.* 38. Ipſius quoque Conſulis corpus, quod militum pietas humi ſemiuſtum abdiderat, effoſſum. Vellejus Paterculus: Vari corpus, ſemiuſtum, hoſtilis laceraverat feritas, caput ejus abſciſſum, latumque ad Maroboduum, & ab eo miſſum ad Cæſarem, gentilitii tandem tumuli ſepultura honoratum eſt. Tacit. *L. I. An. I. c.* 71. *ſays of* Seſithacus, Segimer's *Son*, quod corpus Vari illuſerit.

(8) Florus: *L. IV. c.* 12. Nihil inſultatione Barbarorum intolerabilius: præcipue tamen in cauſarum patronos: aliis oculos, aliis manus amputabant. Unius os ſutum, reciſa prius lingua, quam in manu tenens barbarus: Tandem, inquit, vipra ſibilare deſiſte.

(9) Seneca *ep.* 47. Varianaclade quam multos ſplendidiſſime natos, ſenatorium, per militiam auſpicantes gradum, fortuna depreſſit, alium ex illis paſtorem, alium cuſtodem caſulæ fecit.

(10) Dio. *l. c. p.* 585. *B.* Poſtea temporis nonnulli quoque captorum redempti ſunt, conceſſo hoc ipſorum neceſſariis, ea conditione, ut extra Italiam manerent.

Druſus

Druſus and *Tiberius* may have erected on the *Ems*, the *Weſer*, and the *Saal*, fell at that Time into the Hands of the *Germans*. The Caſtle of *Elſen* made the longeſt Reſiſtance, the *Germans* being little experienced in Sieges, and deſtitute of the Materials requiſite for that End. They reſolved therefore to reduce it by Famine: But *L. Cæditius*, the Governor, ventur'd, in a dark Night, to fight his Way thro', tho' with great Loſs. He order'd his Trumpeters to blow a *Roman* March, which made the *Germans* think, that *L. Aſprenas* was coming to their Relief; and thereby kept them from purſuing him (1). *L. Aſprenas*, *Quintilius Varus*'s Siſter's Son, had ſtaid behind with two Legions, with which, upon the News of his Uncle's Overthrow, he croſs'd the *Rhine*, into Winter Quarters, and thereby not only ſaved theſe Legions, but alſo curb'd the Minds of the *Gauls*, who were prone to a Revolt (2.) The *Germans* were however thus far obliged to *Arminius*, that he fix'd the *Rhine* for the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire, which extended before to the *Weſer*, if not farther, the Countries of the *Chatti*, *Tencteri*, *Bructeri*, *Chauci* and *Cheruſci*, having been reduced into a Province (3).

§. XXVIII. THE *Romans*, in the mean while, imagined the Loſs at firſt to be far greater than it really was, and *Auguſtus*, whom great Age had render'd timorous, thought all *Germany* and *Gaul* were in Arms, and that even *Italy* lay expos'd to the Conqueror. The Legions could not, without Danger, be drawn out of *Illyricum*; and in *Rome*, none cared to enliſt, the extraordinary Preparations magnifying the Danger in the Eyes of the Populace: For a new Guard was order'd to mount in the City (1); All *Germans*, who were at *Rome*, either as Travellers, or in the Life-Guard, were oblig'd to depart (2), and

The Conſternation *Varus*'s overthrew cauſed at *Rome*.

§. XXVII. (1) DIO *L.* LVI. *p.* 585. *A.* Quo factum eſt, ut robuſtiſſimus quiſque evaderet, ac Tibicines, qui cum iis erant, ſignum curſus incinentes, ſe ab Aſprena ſuis auxilio miſſos, opinionem hoſtibus injecerunt, quia videri (jam enim tenebræ ſe intenderant) non poterant. Ea res inhibuit ab inſequendo Germanos, & Aſprenas, cognita re, vere auxilium ſuis tulit.

(2) PATERCULUS *L.* II. *c.* 120. Qui legatus ſub avunculo ſuo Varo militans, nava, virilique opera duarum legionum quibus præerat, exercitum, immunem tanta calamitate ſervavit; matureque ad inferiora hiberna deſcendendo, vacillantium, etiam cis Rhenum ſitarum gentium, animos confirmavit.

(3) FLORUS *L.* V. *c.* Hac clade factum, ut imperium, quod in litore Oceani non ſteterat, in ripa Rheni fluminis ſtaret. Tacitus, *in the ſame Senſe, afterwards allows* Arminius *the Title of* Liberator Germaniæ.

§. XXVIII. (1) SUETONIUS *in Auguſto. c.* 23. Hæc nuntiata excubias per urbem indixit, ne quis tumultus exiſteret.

(2) DIO *l. c. p.* 585. *D.* Et quia complures Galli, ac Germani, Romæ obverſabantur, partim peregrinantes, partim inter ſtipatores recipiendi; veritus, ne quid novi molirentur, in inſulas armatos amandavit, inermes urbe exire juſſit.

Augustus vowed solemn Festivals to *Jupiter*; a Thing not customary but in Times of the most imminent Danger (3). The Domestick Misfortune which befel him, this Year, in the Person of his Grand-Daughter *Julia*, perplexed him still more, and as, with these, his Mind was tormented with a Tincture of Superstition, he imagined, that some adverse Deity had undertook to stop the Torrent of his good Fortune (4). This Complication of Evils so disheartned *Augustus*, that, if all be true, what Historians say of his Behaviour, it is surprizing how a single unexpected Blow could thus shake the *Roman* Power (5).

Tiberius goes to *Germany*.

§. XXIX. It was certainly very fortunate for the *Romans*, that *Tiberius* had just finish'd the War in *Illyricum*, the *Germans* had perhaps otherwise been seduc'd to countenance that Rebellion (1). He no sooner heard the ill News, than he hasten'd to *Rome*, and tho' he had fully merited a Triumph in *Illyricum*, his private Honour was obliged to give Way to the universal Distress of his Country. Notwithstanding the Intelligence they now had, that *Asprenas* had saved two Legions, that *Gaul* and *Germany* were quiet, and that the *Germans* had not ventur'd to pass the *Rhine*, yet the Levies at *Rome* went on but slowly; insomuch, that the *Veterans* and Freed-Men were compell'd to enroll (2). *Tiberius* set out with these Troops for *Gaul*, and the Year follow-
† A.Chr. 10. ing † passed the *Rhine* (3). As *Varus*'s Indolence had contributed very much to his Ruin, *Tiberius* endeavour'd to renew the strict Discipline of ancient Times. He was besides unwilling to venture far into the Country,

(3) *See* Suetonius's *Words in the* I. *Book*, §. XVII. *nota* 1.

(4) Dio *L. c. E.* Videbatur enim ei tantum hoc, ac subitum malum, non sine Dæmonii cujusdam ira accidisse. Suspectumque præterea voluntatem, propter prodigia quæ ante, & post eam cladem evenerant, magnopere habebat. *That a Comet appeared about this Time, which was interpreted to forebode the Fatality of this War, appears by* Manelius's Descr. Astronom. L. I. v. 826. sqq.

Extremas modo per gentes, ut fœdere rupto
Cum fera ductorem rapuit Germania Varum,
Infecitque trium Legionum sanguine campos,
Arserunt toto passim minitantia mundo
Lumina, & ipsa tulit bellum natura per ignes,
Oppositque suas vires, finemque minata est.

(5) Suetonius *in Aug. c.* 23. Adeo namque consternatum ferunt, ut per continuos menses, barba, capilloque summisso, caput interdum foribus illideret, vociferans: Quintili Vare, legiones redde.

§. XXIX. (1) Suetonius *in Tiberio c.* 17. Sub idem fere tempus Quintilius Varus, cum tribus legionibus, in Germania periit, nemine dubitante, quin victores Germani, juncturi se Pannoniis fuerint, nisi debellatum prius Illyricum esset.

(2) Suetonius *in Augusto* 23. Libertino milite, præterquam Romæ incendiorum caussa, & si tumultus in graviore annona metueretur, bis usus est: semel ad præsidium coloniarum, Illyricum contingentium: iterum ad tutelam ripæ Rheni, fluminis.

(3) Suetonius *c.* 17. Proximo anno repetita Germania. *By* Dio's *Computation, this happen'd* A.V.C. 763. Ovid *seems to mean this Campaign, in the following Passage,* Tristium L. III. el. 12. v. 45. &c.

Is

Country, and as the *Germans* did not appear in the Field, he was ſatisfied with being able, without Loſs, to put his Army into Winter-Quarters (4). *Tiberius* croſs'd the *Rhine* again, the following Year, accompanied by *Germanicus*, the eldeſt Son of *Druſus*, whom he had, at *Auguſtus*'s Deſire, adopted as his Son. They returned towards Winter to *Rome*, where *Tiberius* was honoured with a magnificent Triumph, for his Succeſs in *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia* (5). *Auguſtus* admitted him as Aſſiſtant in the Adminiſtration (6); and *Germanicus* was the next Year created *Conſul*. A. Chr. 13.

§. XXX. THE *Rhine* continued, in the mean Time, pretty peaceable (1); for the *Germans* could not, by reaſon of the *Roman* Garriſons on their Borders, make any Attempt upon them, and the *Romans* were, by the great Age of their Emperor, hinder'd from aiming at any new Conqueſts. When *Germanicus*'s Conſulſhip was ended, he was entruſted with the chief Command in *Gaul*, and the Conduct of the War againſt the *Germans* (2). He firſt laid a Tax on all the *Gauls*, and was buſied in the Collection of it, when he received the News of the Death of the Emperor *Auguſtus*, who died the ſame Year, on the 19th of *Auguſt*, at *Nola* in *Campania*. *Germanicus* takes the Command againſt the *Germans*. The Death of *Auguſtus*. A. Chr. 14.

Is, precor, auditos poſſit narrare triumphos
Cæſaris, & Latio reddita vota Jovi.
Teque rebellatrix tandem Germania magni
Triſte caput pedibus ſuppoſuiſſe ducis.

(4) PATERCULUS *L.* II. *c.* 120. Mittitur ad Germaniam, Gallias confirmat, diſponit exercitus, præſidia munit; ſe magnitudine ſua, non fiducia hoſtium, metiens, qui Cimbricam, Teutonicamque militiam, Italiæ minabantur; ultro Rhenum, cum exercitu, tranſgreditur. Arminio territo, quem arcuiſſe pater, & patria, contenti erant, penetrat interius, aperit limites, vaſtat agros, urit domos, fundit obvios; maximaque cum gloria, incolumi omnium, quos tranſduxerat, numero, in hiberna revertitur.

(5) BUCHERIUS *ſeems to think, that* Tiberius *commanded the Army in* Germany A.V.C. 765, *and defers his Triumph to the next Year, but the Proof is not very evident.*

(6) SUETONIUS *in Tib. c.* 21. Non multo poſt *(triumphum)* lex per Conſules lata, ut provincias cum Auguſto communiter adminiſtraret, ſimulque cenſum ageret. *Tacitus ſays An. L.* I. *c.* 3. Ut Agrippa vita conceſſit L. Cæſarem euntem ad Hiſpanienſes exercitus, Cajum remeantem Armenia, & vulnere invalidum, mors fato propera, vel novercæ, Liviæ, dolus abſtulit: Druſoque pridem extincto, Tiberius Nero, ſolus e privignis, erat. Illic cuncta vergere, filius, collega imperii, conſors tribunitiæ poteſtatis adſumitur: omneſque per exercitus oſtentatur: non obſcuris, ut antea matris artibus, ſed palam hortatu. *Some, among whom is* Bucherius, L. III. c. 3. *begin to reckon the Years of* Tiberius's *Reign from this Time. But this Computation is attended with too many Difficulties, as* Tillemont *has demonſtrated* in not. IV. ſur l'Empereur Auguſte. *We retain the common Account, by which the Years of* Tiberius's *Reign begin not 'till* Auguſtus's *Death.*

§. XXX. (1) TACITUS *Annal. L.* I. *c.* 4. Bellum ea tempeſtate nullum, niſi adverſus Germanos ſupererat; abolendæ magis infamiæ, ob amiſſum cum Varo exercitum, quam cupidine proferendi imperii, aut dignum ob præmium.

(2) SUETONIUS *in Caligula. c.* 8. Qui res Auguſti memoriæ mandarunt, Germanicum, exacto conſulatu, in Galliam miſſum conſentiunt.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ANCIENT GERMANS.

BOOK IV.

The HISTORY of the GERMANS to the Concluſion of the BATAVIAN WAR.

SECT. I. *THE* Roman *Legions in* Lower Germany *mutiny.* II. Germanicus *ſurpriſes and defeats the* Marſi. *The* Bructeri *and* Tubantes *lay wait for him at his Return.* III. *Diſſentions between* Arminius *and* Segeſtes. Germanicus *ſurpriſes the* Catti. Cæcina *defeats the* Marſi. IV. Segeſtes *calls* Germanicus *to his Aſſiſtance, and is relieved by him.* V. Germanicus *marches againſt* Arminius, *and viſits the Field of Battle where* Q. Varus *was overthrown.* VI. Cæcina *is obliged to fight his Way thro' the* Cheruſci. VII. Germanicus *returns. Some Princes of the* Cheruſci *ſubmit to the* Romans. VIII. Germanicus *equips a Fleet, and relieves the Caſtle of* Aliſo. IX. *Of the* Roman *Lines, Palanks, and* Agri Decumates. X. *The* Roman *Fleet ſails up the* Ems. *The* Romans *encamp on the* Weſer. *A Conference between* Arminius *and his Brother* Flavius. XI. *An Engagement between the* Batavi *and the* Cheruſci. XII. *A pitch'd Battle between* Germanicus *and* Arminius. XIII. *A ſecond Battle. Trophies erected by the* Romans. XIV. *The* Roman *Fleet ſhipwreck'd in the* Northern-Sea. XV. *The* Romans *attack the* Catti *and the* Marſi; XVI. *And lay aſide their War with the* Germans.

Germans. *Triumph of* Germanicus. XVII. *His Death. A Monument erected to his Memory on the* Rhine. *Medals ſtruck in Honour to his Victories in* Germany. XVIII. *The War between* Arminius *and* Maraboduus. XIX. Gotwalda *(or* Catualda) *a* Gothick *Prince, drives* Maraboduus *out of his Dominions.* XX. *Continuation of both their Hiſtories. A Kingdom fonnded by* Vannius. XXI. *The Death of* Arminius. *Whether the* Irmensäule *had its Name from him?* XXII. *Tranquility in* Germany. XXIII. *Succeſsful Revolt of the* Friſii. XXIV. *The Tranſactions of* C. Caligula *with the* Germans. XXV. Galba *ſucceſsful againſt the* Catti, *and* Gabinius *againſt the* Marſi, *in the Reign of* Claudius. XXVI. *The* Germans *ſerviceable to the* Romans *in* Britain. XXVII. Italus, *the Son of* Flavius, *made King of the* Cheruſci. XXVIII. Carbulo *endeavours to ſubdue the* Chauci, *and to reduce the* Friſii *to Obedience. The Northern Boundaries between the Dominions of the* Romans *and the* Germans. XXIX. Argrippina *eſtabliſhes a* Roman *Colony among the* Ubii. XXX. *The* Catti *pillage* Upper Germany. XXXI. Vannius *driven out of his Kingdom, by* Vangio *and* Sido, *who divide it between them.* XXXII. Pomponius Paullinus *cauſes a Dam to be raiſed on the Banks of the* Rhine. XXXIII. *Differences with the* Friſii. Verritus *and* Malorix, *two Princes of that Country, go to* Rome. XXXIV. *The* Anſivarii *exterminated.* XXXV. *A bloody Battle between the* Chatti *and the* Hermanduri. XXXVI. Julius Vindex *attempts to deliver* Gaul *from Bondage; but is defeated near* Beſançon. XXXVII. Sulpitius Galba *aſſumes the Imperial Dignity in* Spain. XXXVIII. *And is acknowledged after* Nero's *Death.* XXXIX. *The Army on the* Rhine *deſerts* Galba. Vitellius *proclaim'd Emperour at* Cologn. XL. *His Army defeats* Otto. XLI. Claudius Civilis *excites his* Batavi *to a Rebellion againſt the* Romans: *But declares ſeemingly for* Veſpaſian. XLII. *Draws the* Caninafati *over to his Party.* XLIII. *His Battle with the* Romans. *The* Batavian *Cavalry deſert the* Romans, *and join with* Civilis. XLIV. Civilis *beſieges* Caſtra Vetera. *The* Romans *prepare to raiſe the Siege.* XLV. Veſpaſian *is victorious in* Italy. *A Battle on the* Rhine, *near* Gelduba *and* Vetera. XLVI. *The* Gauls, *after the Death of* Vitellius, *enter into a League with* Civilis, *and throw off the* Roman *Yoke.* XLVII. *The* Roman *Legions, at* Vetera, *ſubmit to* Civilis. *Of* Velleda, *a Prophetes.* XLVIII. *The Deſtruction of the* Roman *Forts and Camps along the* Rhine. XLIX. *The Intention of* Civilis. *The* Ubii *come into the* German *League.* L. Julius Sabinus *aſpires to the Imperial Dignity: But is defeated by the* Sequani. LI. Mucianus *ſends freſh Supplies to the* Rhine. Tutor *is defeated near* Bingen. LII. Petilius Cerialis *beats the* Treviri *near* Regola. LIII. *A Battle near* Triers. *The* Ubii *join the* Romans *again.* LIV. *A Battle*

near

near Vetera. Civilis *retreats over the* Rhine, *into the Island of* Batavia. LV. *The* Romans *follow him thither.* LVI. *A Sea-Fight between the* Roman *and* Batavian *Fleets.* *A Peace enſues.*

Four *Roman* Legions mutiny in *Lower Germany.*

§. I. WHILST *Tiberius* was employed in ſecuring his Succeſſion in the Empire, a Mutiny aroſe among the Legions on the *Rhine*, which, had not *Germanicus*'s Fidelity, Prudence and excellent Deportment quell'd it in Time, might have afforded the *Germans* the wiſh'd for Opportunity of invading *Gaul*. Four Legions lay in *Upper*, and four in *Lower Germany*. The four latter, which conſiſted chiefly of new-levied Men, who could not agree with the rigid military Diſcipline, after the luxurious Life they had led at *Rome*, and in *Italy*, openly rebelled, complaining of the Length of Time they were to ſerve, the Smallneſs of their Pay, and the unmerciful Treatment of their Officers. Thoſe in *Upper Germany* waited only the Event of this Affair, and all depended upon *Germanicus*'s Conduct. This Prince poſſeſs'd the Love and Eſteem of the *Roman* People, not only in Regard to the Memory of his Father, who was thought a Friend to their Liberty; but likewiſe becauſe they entertained the ſame Hopes of him: And were well aſſured, that his Humanity and Benevolence were rather the Effects of his natural Temper, than of a conceal'd Ambition. He knew, indeed, that he was neither in Favour with *Tiberius* nor *Livia*, and his Wife *Agrippina*, the only remaining Branch of *Auguſtus*'s Family, was the leſs capable of concealing her Hatred of her Step-Grand-mother, for the Perſecution and Diſgrace their Family had undergone, the more ſhe had inherited of her Father's Magnanimity. But *Germanicus* was one of thoſe noble Genius's, who eſteem nothing more glorious than the Honour of having acquitted themſelves of their Duty. And beſides, he did not perhaps apprehend, that *Tiberius* would carry on his Intriegues againſt him ſo far as he afterwards experienced, or he thought them not yet ripe. He was juſt employed in receiving for *Tiberius* the Homages of the *Sequani* and *Belgæ*, when he heard of the Rebellion of the Legions in *Lower Germany*. He haſtened

§. I. (1) THIS *Sedition even reach'd the Camp near the* Ems, *among the* Chauci. TACITUS Annal. L. I. c. 38. At in Chaucis cœptavere ſeditionem præſidium agitantes vexillarii diſcordium legionum, præſenti duorum militum ſupplicio paulum repreſſi ſunt. Juſſerat id Mannius, caſtrorum præfectus, bono magis exemplo, quam conceſſo jure. Deinde intumeſcente motu profugus repertuſque, poſtquam intutæ latebræ præſidium ab audacia mutuatur: Non præfectum ab iis, ſed Germanicum ducem, ſed Tiberium Imperatorem, violari. Simul exterritis, qui obſtiterant, raptum vexillum ad ripam vertit, & ſi quis agmine deceſſiſſet, pro deſertore fore clamitans, reduxit in hiberna turbidos, & nihil auſos.

there-

thereupon inſtantly to the Army, and the Danger was ſo great, that *Germanicus* was obliged to ſend his Wife and Son to *Triers* (2). However, partly by his Lenity, and partly by his Severity, he ſoon brought back the Soldiers to their Duty (3).

§. II. THE Means of keeping them in Subjection, he imagined would be, to give them ſome other Employment, to occupy their Thoughts (1). He therefore led the four (2) Legions over the *Rhine*, marched thro' the *Cæſian* Foreſt (3), repaired the Lines, which *Tiberius* had thrown up to keep the *Germans* at a farther Diſtance from the *Rhine*, and pitch'd his Tents on theſe Borders (4). He was informed, by his Spies, that the neighbouring *Marſi* were celebrating a great Feſtival, and thought of nothing leſs than the *Romans*; He thereupon took the Advantage of a Star-light Night, ſurprized them, and found them all overwhelm'd with Sleep and Drunkenneſs. They were all cut in Pieces, without any Reſiſtance, and *Germanicus* divided the Army into four Bodies, that it might extend itſelf the quicker, and they then lay'd all the Country waſte, 50 *Roman* Miles round them, without Mercy, ſparing neither Age nor Sex, and laying all their Buildings,

Germanicus ſurpriſes the *Marſi*. Engages with the *Bructeri*, &c.

(2) *Idem. Annal. L. I. c.* 40. Incedebat muliebre, & miſerabile agmen, profuga ducis uxor, parvulum ſinu filium gerens, lamentantes circum amicorum conjuges, quæ ſimul trahebantur, nec minus triſtes, qui manebant. Non florentis Cæſaris, neque ſuis in caſtris, ſed velut in urbe victa facies, gemituſque, ac planctus, etiam militum aures, oraque ad vertere. Progrediuntur contuberniis: quis ille flebilis ſonus? quod tam triſte? feminas inluſtres, non centurionem ad tutelam, non militem, nihil imperatoriæ uxoris, aut comitatus ſoliti, *Pergere ad Treveros, et externæ fidei.* Pudor inde, & miſeratio, & patris Agrippæ, Auguſti avi memoria, ſocer Druſus; ipſa inſigni fecunditate, præclara pudicitia: jam infans in caſtris genitus, in contubernio legionum eductus, quem militari vocabulo, Caligulam, appellabant, quia plerumque ad concilianda vulgi ſtudia, eo tegmine pedum induebatur. *Sed nihil æque flexit, quam invidia in Treveros.* orant, obſiſtunt, rediret, maneret: pars Agrippinæ occurſantes, plurimi ad Germanicum regreſſi. & c. 44. Supplices ad hæc, & vera exprobrari fatentes, orabant, puniret noxios, ignoſceret lapſis, & duceret in hoſtem; *revocaretur conjunx, rediret Legionum alumnus, neve obſes Gallis traderetur.*

(3) TACIT. *relates all this circumſtantially*; Annal. L. I. cap. 31-39.

§. II. (1) *He had, with that View, a little while before ſent a Part of the* Veteran *Troops, to* Rætia: Tacitus Ann L. I. c. 44. Haud multo poſt in Rætiam mittuntur, ſpecie defendendæ provinciæ, ob imminentes Suevos; cæterum, ut avellerentur caſtris, trucibus adhuc non minus aſperitate remedii, quam ſceleris memoria.

(2) TACIT. *c.* 49. Duodecim millia e legionibus, ſex & viginti ſocias cohortes, octo equitum alas.

(3) Lipſius in Tac. c. 50. *reads* Silva Heſia, *and ſuppoſes it to be the* Heſian *Foreſt in the Ducby of* Cleves. Cluverius *retains* Cæſia, *and imagines it to be the Foreſt which reaches, in that Country and* Weſtphalia, *between the* Weſer *and the City of* Cösfeld.

(4) TACIT. *An. L. I. c.* 50. At Romanus, agmine propero ſilvam Cæſiam, limitemque a Tiberio cœptum, ſcindit; caſtra in limite locat, frontem ac tergum vallo, latera concædibus munitus.

not

not excepting the famous Temple of *Tanfana* (5), even with the Ground. This rouzed the neareſt Neighbours, the *Bructeri*, *Tubantes*, and *Uſipetes* who reſolved to way-lay *Germanicus* on his Return. But he march'd ſo regularly, that, if requiſite, he could inſtantly be in Order for Battle (6). The *Germans* therefore ſuffer'd him to paſs unmoleſted at firſt. But he was no ſooner among the Woods, than they fell upon him on every Side, and eſpecially on his Rear-Guard, with great Fury. The foreign light Horſe were almoſt in Confuſion, when *Germanicus* rode up to the 20th Legion, and exhorted them, to ſhew their Courage now, to blot out the Memory of their late Rebellion. This Legion hereupon faced about, drove the *Germans*, with Precipitation, into the Plain, and diſperſed them. The Van was, in the mean while, got out of the Woods, on the other Side, into the Plain, where they intrench'd their Camp, and waited for thoſe, who were left behind. After which *Germanicus* led them all, without any farther Obſtruction, over the *Rhine*. *

Germanicus ſurprizes the *Catti*. *Cæcina* defeats the *Marſi*. † A. V. 769 Chr. 15. *In the Conſulate of* Druſus Cæſar and C. Norbanus.

§. III. The next Year proved more fatal †. *Segeſtes* and *Arminius*, Princes of the *Cheruſci*, were in open Enmity. *Segeſtes* had been always a Partizan of the *Romans*, and warned *Q. Varus* againſt the *Germans*, the very Night before his Decampment. Though he was then obliged to ſwim with the Stream, and join his Aſſiſtance: However, he always

(5) Tacit. *An. L. I. c.* 51: Cæſar avidas legiones, quo latior populatio foret, quatuor in cuneos diſperſit: quinquaginta milium ſpatium ferro flammiſque pervaſtat: non ſexus, non ætas miſerationem attulit, profana ſimul, & ſacra, & celeberrimum illis gentibus templum, quod Tanfanæ vocabant, ſolo æquantur. *What is meant by* Tanfana *is uncertain.* Loccenius *derives it from the* German *Word* Than, *and* Fana *or* Fan *which in the* Gotho-Teutonick *Tongue, ſignifies a Lord.* Tanfana, *therefore, ſignified the God of ſome Foreſt of Fir-Trees.* Reineſius, *in his* Ant. Inſcrip. p. 188. *mentions an Ancient Stone, erected in Honour to the* Matres Aufaniæ, *and ſuppoſes* Tanfana *to have been a Deity of that Claſs.* Cluverius, Germ. antiqu. *L.* I. c. 11. *and* 47. *places the Foreſt, in which was the* Templum Tanfanæ, *between the* Lippe *and the* Ems, *in* Weſtphalia. Ia. Gronovius *diſapproves of this Conjecture, and fancies the City and Province of* Zutphen, (Zutſania) *to have received the latter Part of its Name from* Tanfana.

(6) Tacit. *An. L. I. c.* 51. Excivit ea cædes Bructeros, Tubantes, Uſipetes, ſaltuſque, per quos exercitui regreſſus, inſedere: quod gnarum duci, ineſſitque itineri, & prælio. Pars equitum, & auxiliariæ cohortes, ducebant; mox prima legio: & mediis impedimentis, ſiniſtrum latus unetviceſimani, dextrum quintani clauſere. Viceſima legio terga firmavit, poſt cæteri ſociorum. Sed hoſtes, donec agmen per ſaltus porrigeretur, immoti; dein latera, & frontem, modice adſultantes, tota vi noviſſimos incurrere; turbabanturque denſis germanorum catervis leves cohortes, cum Cæſar advectus ad viceſimanos, voce magna: hoc illud tempus oblitterandæ ſeditionis clamitabat: pergerent, properarent culpam in decus vertere. Exarſere animis, unoque impetu perruptum hoſtem redigunt in aperta, cæduntque: ſimul primi agminis copiæ evaſere ſilvas, caſtraque communivere. Quietum inde iter. Fidenſque recentibus, ac priorum oblitus miles, in hibernis locatur.

* Tacit. Ann. L. I. c. 49-52.

always bore an ill Will to *Arminius*; And he was the more exaſperated, when the latter forcibly carry'd off his Daughter *Thuſnelda*, who had been promiſed in Marriage to another, whereupon it came to an open Rupture. *Germanicus*, to take Advantage of theſe Differences, open'd the Campaign very early. *Cæcina* was ſent, with the four Legions from *Lower-Germany*, over the *Rhine*, and had, beſides theſe, five thouſand auxiliary Troops, and ſome Bodies of *Germans* that had been levied on the left Side of the *Rhine*. *Germanicus* himſelf led the four Legions, that lay in *Upper-Germany*, and 10,000 Auxiliaries, over the *Upper-Rhine*. He firſt rebuilt thoſe Forts, which his Father *Druſus* had raiſed near Mount *Taurus*, and had been demoliſh'd by the *Germans*, after *Q. Varus*'s Overthrow, left *L. Apronius* behind him to guard the Roads and Rivers, and march'd with the choiceſt of his Men, againſt the *Catti*, who either did not expect him at all, or at leaſt not ſo ſoon. The Troops ſaved themſelves by ſwimming over the *Eder*, and retired deeper into the Country; but were obliged to leave their ancient Parents, together with their Wives and Children, a Prey to their Enemy. The *Romans* laid a Bridge over the *Eder*, burnt *Mattium* (1), the Capital of the *Catti*, and ravaged the whole Country. The *Cheruſci*, in the mean Time, would gladly have gone to the Aſſiſtance of the *Catti*, but were afraid to venture beyond their own Borders; becauſe *Cæcina*, who lay in their Neigbourhood, threatened them with an Invaſion, ſometimes on one Side, and ſometimes on the other: And the *Marſi*, who attempted to revenge the Damages they had ſuffer'd the Year before, were repell'd by him, with Loſs.*

§. I. GERMANICUS was leading his Army home very quietly, when *Segeſtes*, who was ſurrounded by his Antagoniſts, implored his Aſſiſtance. *Sigiſmundus*, his Son, was in this Ambaſſy, tho' he at firſt was very uneaſy, becauſe having been a Prieſt of the *Ubii*, when his Countrymen rebelled againſt *Varus*, he had quitted his Office to aſſiſt them in that War (1); But *Germanicus*, to ſhew his Humanity to the *Germanicus* relieves *Segeſtes*:

Friends

§. III. (1) *Some Learned Men affirm* Mattium *to be the preſent* Marpurg: *But they are confuted by* MENSO ALTINGIUS in Notit. Germ. inferior. P. l. p. 122. TACITUS *ſays of the* Mattiaci, *according to the State of thoſe Times, in which he wrote:* de M. G. c. 29. Eſt in eodem, obſequio & Mattiacorum gens. Protulit enim magnitudo populi Romani, ultra Rhenum, ultraque veteres terminos, imperii reverentiam. Ita ſede, finibuſque in ſua ripa; mente, animoque nobiſcum agunt: Cætera ſimiles Batavis, niſi quod ipſo adhuc terræ ſuæ ſolo, & cœlo, acrius animantur. ALTINGIUS *proves, in the quoted Paſſage, that they inhabited Part of the* Wetterau, *The* Aquæ Mattiacæ *will be mention'd below in the 7 Book.*

* TACIT. Annal. L. I. c. 55-56.

§. IV. (1) TACITUS *An. L. I. c.* 57. Addiderat Segeſtes legatis filium, nomine Segimundum. Sed juvenis conſcientia cunctabatur. Quippe anno, quo Germaniæ deſcivire, ſacerdos apud aram Ubiorum creatus,

Friends of *Rome* was equal to the Reſentment he bore to its Enemies, ſent him a previous Aſſurance, that he had forgot all that was paſt, received him kindly, and order'd a ſtrong Guard to accompany him to the oppoſite Banks of the *Rhine*. He relieved *Segeſtes*, who, with all that were with him, ſubmitted to the *Romans*. Among theſe was *Thuſnelda* his Daughter, the Wife of *Arminius*, who was then far advanced in her Pregnancy, and ſufficiently ſhew'd ſhe was diſpleas'd with this Relief, and choſe rather to adhere to the Views of her Huſband, than to thoſe of her Father. During her Captivity, ſhe was deliver'd of a young Prince, who was afterwards educated at *Ravenna*, and expoſed to various Adventures, the Memory of which was loſt, with the Books, wherein *Tacitus* recorded them. *Segeſtes* himſelf met with a kind Reception, and interceeded only for his Children. *Germanicus* aſſign'd him a convenient Habitation, at *Vetera*, in *Lower Germany* (2); and now led his Army, with the greater Satisfaction, and Honour, back again over the *Rhine*, as, by the Surrender of *Segeſtes*, he recover'd many Things of Importance, which, the *Germans* had, upon the Overthrow of *Q. Varus*, made themſelves Maſters of, and were fallen to the Share of *Segeſtes*, or of his Adherents. Theſe Actions were likewiſe eſteemed ſo glorious at *Rome*, that *Tiberius* dignified him with the Title of *Imperator*. *

His Expedition againſt *Arminius*.

§. V. Arminius, on the other Hand, made vaſt Preparations againſt the *Romans*, and his Couſin *Inguiomarus*, who was eſteemed by the *Romans* themſelves a valiant and experienc'd Warriour, ſeconded his Undertaking. *Germanicus* ſtrove to prevent them, and appointed the *Ems* a Rendezvous for his Men. *Cæcina* march'd, with his four Legions, thro' the Country of the *Bructeri*; and *Pedo* (1), with the Cavalry, thro' *Frieſland*. But *Germanicus* ſail'd, with his four Legions, down the *Rhine*, and over the *South-Sea*. The whole Army arriv'd ſafely at the appointed Place, and the *Chauci* offer'd the *Romans* their Aſſiſtance. The *Bructeri*, on the other Hand, burnt and deſtroyed their own Country, that the *Romans* might find no Suſtenance there. *Germanicus*, at laſt, ſent *L. Stertinius* againſt them, by whom they were ſubdued, and among the Booty was found the Eagle of the nineteenth Legion. The *Romans* hereupon ravaged all the Country of the

tus, ruperat vittas, profugus ad rebelles. Adductus tamen in ſpem clementiæ Romanæ, pertulit patris mandata, benigneque exceptus, cum præſidio Gallicam in ripam miſſus eſt.

(2) Tacit. *C. L. c.* 58. Cæſar clementi reſponſo liberis, propinquiſque ejus incolumitatem, ipſi ſedem Vetera, in provincia pollicetur. Vetera, ſc. caſtra, *lay near the* Lower Rhine, *where* Zanten, *or, as others affirm,* Byrthen *now is.*

* Tacitus *Ann. L.* I. *c.* 57, 58.

§. V. (1) *This is perhaps the ſame* Pedo *of whom we ſtill retain a* fragmentum de navigatione Oceani. *See below* §. XIV.

Bructeri

Bructeri, between the *Lippe* and the *Ems*, to their utmoſt Borders. Being now not far from the Foreſt of *Teutoburgium*, the Place where *Q. Varus* was defeated, and where the Bones of the *Roman* Soldiers lay ſtill unburied, *Germanicus* reſolv'd to go thither, to pay, not only to the Remains of *Varus*, who was greatly eſteem'd by *Auguſtus*, but to thoſe of all the Soldiers, thoſe laſt Honours, which even the meaneſt *Roman* was fond of. *Cæcina* was ſent before, to inform himſelf of the Roads, and, when requiſite, to lay Dams and Bridges. *Germanicus*, who on his arrival there, found a doleful Spectacle, in the diſperſed Remains of the *Romans*, cauſed them to be gather'd together, and interr'd, and a Mount to be raiſed in Memory of them, the firſt Turf of which he laid himſelf (2). He then continued to purſue *Arminius*, and at laſt overtook him; tho' not much to his Advantage: Since *Tacitus* could find nothing to ſay of the Battle, to the Honour of the *Romans*, but that the *Germans* could not boaſt of the Victory. *Germanicus* immediately returned to the *Ems*, and there ſeparated the Army. *

§. VI. CÆCINA was to march with his Legions, to the *Rhine*, and to take the common Road, which *L. Domitius* (1) had formerly made thro' the Marſhes. But this Dam was broken in at ſeveral Places, ſo that the *Romans*, with their heavy Arms, could neither get forward themſelves, thro' the ſoft Ground, and numerous Marſhes, nor carry their Ammunition. *Cæcina* therefore ſet about to repair the Ways; but *Arminius*, who knew every Foot-path, and could eaſily go on with his light arm'd Cavalry, had fill'd the neighbouring Hills and Woods with his Men. As the *Cheruſci* were beſides accuſtom'd to fight in marſhy Grounds, and, by their large Stature and long Spears, out-reach'd the *Romans*, they were far ſuperior to them in this Place. *Cæcina* might have undergone the ſame Fate with *Varus*, had not the *Germans* been too eager in Purſuit of their Booty, whereby the *Romans* gain'd ſome Reſpite, and, at Length, reach'd a dry and firm Spot of Ground, where they intrench'd themſelves, and thereby ſaved the *Roman* Army. *Cæcina*, who had been forty Years in the Service, ſpent the Night in making all poſſible Preparations for a ſtout Reſiſtance. The *German* Generals differ'd, the mean Time, in their Opinions about the Attack. *Arminius* adviſed them to defer it till the *Romans* were march'd farther, and then they might attack them on the March, with the ſame Advantage they had done before: But this was rejected by a Majority.

Cæcina is forc'd, on his Return, to fight his Way thro' the *Cheruſci*.

(2) TACITUS *L.* I. *c.* 61. Primum, extruendo tumulo, ceſpitem Cæſar poſuit.

* TACITUS *Annal. L.* I. *c.* 59-63.

§. VI. (1) *See above the* III *Book* §. 21. *not.* 2. *conf.* Menſo Altingius *l. c. Tab.* II.

Inguiomarus, who was for ſtorming the Intrenchments, repreſented the Conqueſt as eaſy, and particularly obſerved, that by this Means, more Priſoners and a larger Booty might be gained. This Propoſal was ſuitable to the Avarice as well as the then Diſpoſition of the *Germans*, whom the late Succeſs had made elate. They attack'd the Camp the next Morning, fill'd the Ditches, laid Bridges over them, and began here and there to ſcale the Works with little Oppoſition: For *Cæcina* kept his Men together, and ſuffer'd them not to fall upon the *Germans*, 'till they were diſperſed round the whole Camp. The *Romans* generally excell'd the *Germans* in open Field, and had the greater Advantage here, as the latter were not join'd in a Body. *Inguiomarus* was himſelf dangerouſly wounded, and forc'd to retreat as well as *Arminius*, who, in the Event of this unfortunate Attempt, had the ſecret Comfort of having oppoſed it. *Cæcina* now continued his March unmoleſted to the *Rhine*: But a Report having been ſpread, on the other Side of the River, that *Cæcina* was defeated, and the *Germans* were on their March to croſs the *Rhine*, whoſe Banks were then unguarded, this cauſed ſo great a Conſternation, that they almoſt reſolv'd to break down the Bridge: But the heroick *Agrippina* put a Stop to it, and, at the Return of the Legions, in a Manner, ſupplied the Want of her Conſort. She received them in Perſon, at their Entrance upon the Bridge (2), praiſed their Valour, and provided Neceſſaries for thoſe who had ſuffer'd moſt. *

Germanicus's Return.

§. VII. GERMANICUS would have convey'd the other four Legions home by Sea, but as the Water was very ſhallow on thoſe Coaſts, *P. Vitellius* was ſent with the 2d and 14th Legion, to march along the Sands: But a North-wind overtook him, whereby the Sea, which, beſides, uſually ſwells about the Autumnal Æquinox, was rais'd ſo high (1), that it overflow'd the whole Country, and the two Legions were near being drowned, before they could reach the Eminences. There they ſpent the Night in Fear and Diſtreſs, 'till at Day-break the Water fell, and

(2) LIPSIUS *ad* TAC. *c.* 69. *writes*: Qua parte Rheni ipſe pons? ne trabant ad ſe Agrippinenſes: falluntur, apud Treveros fuit. Nam Agrippina, diſcedens a marito, tumultu militari, in Treveros iit, ut ſupra lectum nobis, ibique manſit. *But all Circumſtances prove this to have been the Bridge over the lower* Rhine, *near* Bonn: Agrippina *had retired the Year before, to the* Treviri, *but might be return'd, as the Legions had deſir'd, and* Germanicus *promiſed.*

* TACITUS L. C. cap. 69. *where he quotes* Plinius's Libri Bellorum Germanicorum, *which were afterwards loſt.*

§. VII. (1) TACITUS *An. L.* I. *c.* 70. Vitellius primum iter ſicca humo, aut modice adlabente æſtu, quietum habuit: mox impulſu aquilonis ſimul ſidere æquinoctii, quo maxime intumeſcit Oceanus, rapi, agique agmen: & opplebantur terræ &c *This Opinion of the Ancients, that the Sea ſwells about this Time, is treated of at large by* Poſſidonius *in* Strabo L. XIII. fin.

open'd

open'd them the Way to the River (2), where *Germanicus* waited for them with the Fleet. A Report had, in the mean Time, reach'd *Germany*, that they all periſh'd in the Water, and the Contrary would not gain Credit, 'till they were convinced by ocular Demonſtration. *Germanicus*, on his Return, was compaſſionate to his Soldiers, as his Conſort had been before: He reliev'd the poor Men out of his own Revenue, viſited the wounded, view'd and enquired into their Wounds, commended their Valour, and promis'd them Promotion; inſomuch that his Humanity comforted them more, than even his Beneſactions. *Segimer*, *Segeſtes*'s Brother, and *Seſithacus*, his Son (3), ſurrender'd themſelves about this Time to the *Romans*, as *Segeſtes* had done the Year before. *Stertinius* received and conducted them to the *Oppidum Ubiorum*. The Injuries the *Romans* had received from *Segimer* were ſoon forgot; But his Son met with a Treatment more ſevere, becauſe he was accuſed of having inſulted the Corpſe of *Varus*. In *Rome*, the good Services of *Aulus Cæcina*, *Lucius Apronius*, and *Caius Silius* were rewarded with the *Inſignia Triumphalia*: But *Arminius*, and *Inguiomarus*, by whom the *Romans* had ſuffer'd equally as much as they gain'd, had the Praiſes and Fidelity of their Subjects, as a Reward for their Valour.

Some Princes of the *Cherusci* ſubmit to the *Romans*.

§. VIII. GERMANICUS knew the Succeſs of his Arms was not ſo agreable to the Emperor, as he pretended: And reſolv'd, therefore, to puſh the War with the *Germans*, and bring it to an End, before he ſhould be recall'd. The Land-War was too laborious and expenſive, ſince the long Marches were more dangerous and deſtructive to the Soldiers, than Battles in the open Field. He therefore attempted to find a Way by Sea (1): *Silius*, *Anteius* and *Cæcina* were order'd to build

Germanicus equips a Fleet and relieves the Caſtle of *Aliſo*.

(2) TACIT. *ol.* Lux reddidit terram, penetratumque ad amnem Viſurgim, quo Cæſar claſſe contenderat. Impoſitæ deinde legiones, vagante fama ſubmerſas, nec fides ſalutis, antequam Cæſarem, exercitumque reducem videre. *It is evident, that this cannot be the* Weſer, *ſince* Germanicus *ſailed into the* Ems, *and directed his Courſe to the* South-Sea. Lipſius *therefore reads* ad amnem Vidrum, *which is the* Vecht, *that falls, near* Genemuyden, *into the* Zuyder Zee, *and is met with by this Name in* Ptolœmeus. Menſo Altingius *goes nearer ſtill, and reads* fl. Unſingim, *which is the Name of the River that flows by* Groningen, *into the Sea.* in notitia German. inferior. P. I. p. 129.

(3) STRABO *L.* VII. p. 292.

§. VIII. (1) TACITUS *Ann. L. II. c.* 5. Cæterum Tiberio haud ingratum accidit, turbari res orientis, ut ea ſpecie Germanicum ſueti legionibus abſtraheret, noviſque provinciis impoſitum, dolo ſimul, & caſibus, objectaret. At ille, quanto acriora in eum ſtudia militum, & averſa patrui voluntas, celerandæ victoriæ intentior, tractare prœliorum vias, & quæ ſibi, tertium jam annum belligeranti, ſæva vel proſpera eveniſſent, fundi Germanos acie, & juſtis locis: juvari ſilvis, paludibus, brevi æſtate, & præmatura hieme, ſuum millitem perinde vulneribus, quam ſpatiis itinerum, damno armorum adfici: feſſas Gallias miniſtrandis equis: longum impedimentorum agmen, opportunum ad inſidias, defenſantibus iniquum,

In the Conſulate of *Statilius Siſenna Taurus*, and *L. Libor.* V. C. 769. An. Ch. 16.

build a Thouſand Ships on the *Rhine*, *Maes*, *Scheld*, and other Rivers, which fall into the *Rhine* (2), and to bring them together to the Iſland of *Batavia*. *Silius* was, in the mean Time, to invade the Country of the *Catti*: But *Germanicus* himſelf march'd, with ſix Legions, to relieve the Caſtle of *Aliſo*, which the *Germans* had beſieged. By Reaſon of the frequent and violent Rains, *Silius* could not make any Attempt, but was forc'd to return with a ſmall Booty. The Conſort and Daughter of *Arpus*, a Prince of the *Catti*, fell, however, into the Hands of the *Romans*. The *Germans*, who beſieged the Caſtle of *Aliſo*, did not wait the Arrival of *Germanicus*; but, before they drew off, demoliſh'd the Mount, which *Germanicus* had before raiſed over the Bones of the *Romans*, who were ſlain with *Varus*; and the Altar, which had been erected in Honour of *Druſus*. *Germanicus* rebuilt the the Altar, and, in Honour to his Father, celebrated, with his Legions, a Turnament round it. He did not renew the Sepulchral Monument, probably becauſe he call'd to Mind how ill the Emperor had taken that Ceremony the firſt Time (3). But the whole Tract of Land, from the Caſtle of *Aliſo*, was again ſecured with ſtrong Lines and Intrenchments (4).

Of the *Roman* Lines.

§. IX. It may not be improper, at the Mention of theſe Lines, to obſerve, that the *Romans* ſecured their Frontiers with Intrenchments and Ditches (1). A Diſtrict, on the Confines, thus environ'd, is, by the *Roman* Hiſtorians, term'd *Limes*. We have ſtill ſeveral conſiderable Remains of them. I ſhall elſewhere mention thoſe near the *Danube* (2). Of thoſe along the *Rhine*, the Wall and Ditch are ſtill remaining, which run along the lower County of *Catzen-Ellenbogen*, in the *Wetterau*, and in *Upper Heſſe*; near which many Stones, Coins, and other *Roman* Antiquities are often found. It is generally termed

quum, at ſi mare intretur, promtam ipſis poſſeſſionem, & hoſtibus ignotam; ſimul bellum maturius incipi, legioneſque, & commeatus pariter vehi, integrum equitem, equoſque, per ora & alveos fluminum, media in Germania fore.

(2) *The Fleet is deſcribed by* Tacitus *L. C. c.* 6. Mille naves ſufficere viſæ, properatæque aliæ breves, anguſta puppi, proraque, & lato utero, quo facilius fluctus tolerarent: quædam planæ carinis, ut ſine noxa ſederent: plures appoſitis utrimque gubernaculis, converſo ut repente remigio, hinc vel illinc ,adpellerent. Multæ pontibus ſtratæ, ſuper quas tormenta veherentur, ſimul aptæ ferendis equis, aut commeatui, velis habiles, citæ remis, augebantur alacritate militum in ſpeciem, ac terrorem.

(3) Tacitus *L. C. c.* 7. Reſtituit aram, honorique patris princeps ipſe, cum legionibus, decurrit: tumulum iterare haud viſum. *conf. ad. h. l. nota* Aurelii.

(4) Tacitus *An. L.* II. *c.* 5, 6, 7. Cuncta inter Caſtellum Aliſonem ac Rhenum, novis limitibus, ageribuſque permunita.

§. IX. (1) *See* Hyginus *and* Polybius de caſtris Romanorum.

(2) *See* Lib. V. §. 10.

the

the *Pfahl-Graben* (or palliſado'd Ditch) (3): But whether theſe are the ſame Lines which *Germanicus* cauſed to be caſt up, is uncertain; the Sequel of this Hiſtory will ſhew, that Lines of that Kind were rais'd at different Places; which were frequently ſcal'd, and ſometimes even razed by the *Germans*. The Diſtrict, which lay within theſe Land-Marks, were ſometimes diſpoſed of to private Perſons, of which ſee a memorable Paſſage of *Paulus*, the famous *Roman* Civilian (4). They were generally taxed a tenth Part of their Produce, whence thoſe Lands were termed *Agri Decumates* (5). They were ſometimes divided among the ſuperannuated Soldiers, and we find, in ſucceeding Times, a particular Claſs of Soldiers, who from thence were called *Milites Limitanei*. Their Frontiers towards *Germany* were ſometimes guarded even by other *Germans*, who perhaps had been obliged to ſubmit to them.

§. X. The Fleet being, in the mean Time, aſſembled, *Germanicus*, on his Return, embarked with his Troops, and ſail'd down the *Rhine*, thro' the *Foſſa Druſi*, into the *Zuyder Zee*, and thence into the North-Sea. He ſail'd up the *Ems*, and landed on the left Banks of that River, probably, becauſe he thought the Fleet would ly more ſecurely there, than on the other Side. But then he was obliged, with much Labour, to ſend his Men over the River, and ſpent ſeveral Days upon building a Bridge, which might, at ſo late a Seaſon of the Year, have been better employed. The *Roman* Army paſs'd thro' the Country of the *Chauci*, who were themſelves Auxiliaries to the *Romans*, along the Sea-Coaſt, to the *Weſer*, in Search of the *Cheruſci*. *Germanicus* was upon the Point of pitching his Tents near the *Weſer*, when News was brought, that the *Angrivarii*, who dwelt below the *Lippe*, between the *Ems* and the *Weſer*, had taken up Arms behind him. He therefore ſent *Stertinius*, with a Body of Horſe, and light armed Infantry, againſt them, who was ſo expeditious in ſubduing them, that he returned to *Germanicus* before he came to a Battle with the *Cheruſci*. Theſe being encamped on the other Side of the River, *Arminius* begg'd an Interview with his Brother *Flavius*; who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the *Roman* Service, by his Love, as much as his Brother did, among the *Germans*, by his

The *Roman* Fleet ſails into the *Ems*.

The *Romans* encamp near the *Weſer*.

(3) *The* Pfahl-Graben *is deſcribed by* Winckelman, *in his Account of the Garter*, p. 129. *and* Nicolaus Perſona *has deſcribed it in a Map, entitled*: Locorum Rheno adjacentium pars inferior.

(4) Paulus *l.* 11. *ff. de Evict.* Lucius prædia in Germania trans Rhennm emit, & partem pretii intulit; cum in reſiduam qnantitatem heres emtoris conveniretur, quæſtionem retulit, dicens, has poſſeſſiones ex præcepto principali partim diſtractas, partim veteranis in præmia adſignatas: Quæro an hujus rei periculum ad venditorem pertinere poſſit? Paulus reſpondet, futuros caſus evictionis, poſt contractam emtionem, ad venditorem non pertinere.

(5) *See* Lib. III. §. 10. n. 4.

Enemies

Enmity to the *Romans*. *Flavius* had formerly loſt one Eye, in a Campaign he made under *Tiberius*. *Arminius* ask'd him firſt, how he loſt that Eye? *Flavius* related the Circumſtances; whereupon *Arminius* enquired what Reward he had met with for it? *Flavius* reply'd, that his Salary was augmented, that he had been preſented with a golden Chain, a Crown, and other military Tokens of Honour. Theſe *Arminius* turn'd into Ridicule, and when *Flavius* adviſed him to enter into the *Roman* Service, and boaſted of the Entertainment *Arminius*'s Wife and Son, tho' Captives, had met with: *Arminius*, on the other Hand, reminded him of the Duty he owed to his Country, to their ancient Liberty and Religion, to their Mother, who was yet living, and their Kindred. The two Princes became, at Length, ſo warm, that they proceeded to Invectives, and, had not the River ſeparated them, would have come to Blows. *Flavius* demanded his Horſe and Arms, and would have croſs'd the Stream, had not *Stertinius* haſten'd to him, and prevented it. *Arminius* nevertheleſs continued his Threats on the oppoſite Banks, chiefly in *Latin*, which Language he had learned during his Service under the *Romans*, and which was, beſides, not unknown to thoſe *German* Potentates, who had many Concerns with that Nation. *

A Battle between the *Batavi* and *Cheruſci*.

§. XI. A German Army appeared, the next Day, purſuant to *Arminius*'s Threats, in Battle-Array. But *Germanicus* had not yet finiſhed his Bridge, and therefore order'd *Stertinius* and *Æmilius*, one of the *Primipilares*, to croſs the River, with the Cavalry, in ſeveral Places, where it was ſhallow. The *Batavi*, to ſhew their Experience in the Water, ventur'd through the moſt rapid Part of the Stream; but they were the more unfortunate on Shore. The *Cheruſci* feigned a Retreat, and thereby decoy'd them into a Plain, which was environ'd with Woods, where they fell upon them on every Side, and drove them together into the Middle. Their General *Cariovaldus* excited them indeed to force their way thro', and rode himſelf into the thickeſt of the Enemy, but his Horſe was ſtabbed under him, and himſelf was wounded by ſo many Arrows, that he died on the Spot. Many of the principal *Batavi* met with the ſame Fate, and few would have eſcaped, had not *Æmilius* and *Stertinius* come up, and diſperſed the *Germans*. *

A pitch'd Battle betwixt *Germanicus* and *Arminius*.

§. XII. Germanicus, having, in the mean Time, led his Army over the River, was informed by ſeveral Deſerters, that *Arminius* had already pitch'd upon a Place for the Battle, and intended, the next Night, to attack the *Roman* Camp. The ſame Night a *German* rode up to the Intrenchment, and proclaimed, that *Arminius* offer'd to pay

§. X. * Tacitus *Ann. L.* II. *c.* 8. 9. 10. §. XI. * Tacitus *Ann. L.* II. *c.* 11.

every

every one who would come over to him an hundred *Seſtertii per Diem*, during the Campaign, and afterwards to aſſign them Lands and Tenements (1). The *Germans* ſoon after made an Attempt upon the *Roman* Camp, but immediately retreated, finding the Poſts better beſet than they expected. Both Parties, therefore, waited impatiently for the Day, which was to determine their Fate. *Arminius* reproached *Germanicus* with Cowardice, for not venturing to come by Land, and thought the *Romans* were already in his Power. He drew out his Army near the *Weſer*, in a Plain (2), incloſed with Woods and Hillocks, in ſuch a Manner, that the other *German* Nations remained in the open Field, but the *Cheruſci* were on the Hills and behind the Buſhes, as a Reſerve, to attack the *Romans* on the Flank, and in the Rear, when their Van was engaged (3). *Germanicus* hoped, on his Part, by this ſingle Victory, to ſubdue all the Country to the *Elb*, which appeared the more glorious to him, as his Father *Druſus*, and his Uncle *Tiberius*, had gained ſo much Honour by only venturing one Expedition thither. He made Uſe of all the Arts, whereby he could encourage his Soldiers; told them the Dream he had, or pretended to have had, the preceding Night, and mentioned, at the ſame Time, the Omens foreboded by the ſacred Fowls (4), whoſe Motions and Appetite he might interpret, as he pleaſed, ſince he, as *Imperator*, was likewiſe Maſter of the *Auſpicia*. The March was ſo diſpoſed, that, in Caſe of Neceſſity, he could bring all his Forces to engage at the ſame Time. The *Gallick* and *German* Auxilaries led the Van: Theſe were followed by the Archers on Foot; next to them were four Legions, whom *Germanicus* himſelf followed with the Choiceſt of his Cavalry; Then came four other Legions, who were covered by the light Horſe, with the Archers on Horſeback; and laſt of all came the Remainder of the Confederate Troops. The Fury of the *Cheruſci* cauſed their own Deſtruction; They could not refrain from advancing before their Time. They were no ſooner within Sight, than *Germanicus* order'd ſome ſelect *Coherts* to attack them in Flank, and *Stertinius* with the reſt, to march round and fall

§. XII. (1) TACIT. *Ann. L. II. c.* 13. Conjuges, & agros, & ſtipendia indies, donec bellaretur, ſeſtertios centenos.

(2) TACIT. *C. L. c.* 16. In campum, cui Idiſtaviſo nomen. Lipſius, *who, the better to underſtand* Tacitus, *travelled thro' this Country, in his Notes on this Paſſage, imagines the Plain near* Vegeſack, *two Miles below* Bremen, *to be here meant. But* Cluverius *fancies it to have been much farther, near* Eyſtorp, *between* Minden *and* Oldendorp.

(3) TACIT. *c. l.* Campum, & prima ſilvarum, barbara acies tenuit: ſoli Cheruſci juga inſedere, ut prœliantibus Romanis deſuper incurrerent.

(4) *Ibid. c.* 14. Nox eadem lætam Germanico quietem tulit, viditque ſe operatum, & ſanguine ſacro reſperſa prætexta, pulchriorem aliam, manibus aviæ Auguſtæ accepiſſe. Auctus omine, addicentibus auſpiciis, vocat concionem, & quæ ſapientia præviſa, aptaque imminenti pugnæ, differit &c.

upon their Rear. Eight Eagles were ſeen, at the ſame Time, flying, as it were, before the *Romans*, into the Foreſt, and furniſh'd the General with an excellent Argument, to ſpirit up his Soldiers (5). The Enemy's Reſerve were firſt brought into Diſorder, and when the *Romans*, in the mean while, had defeated the *German* Infantry, thoſe, who were in the Field, flying towards the Woods, were met by thoſe in the Woods, whom *Stertinius* purſued into the Plain. *Arminius*, tho' already wounded, endeavour'd to rally them, and the *Roman* Archers begun to retreat: But ſome Squadrons of *Ræti*, *Vindelicii* and *Gauls*, came in Time to ſupport them, and now *Arminius* had Reaſon to think himſelf happy that he eſcaped in Perſon. His Horſe prov'd, on this Occaſion, his beſt Friend; and he had ſmear'd his Face with Blood, that he might not be known. Some ſay, nevertheleſs, that the *Chauci* who ſerv'd under the *Romans* knew him, and ſuffer'd him to paſs by unmoleſted. *Inguiomarus* likewiſe eſcaped, with his Life: But for the Reſt of the Army, the Slaughter of them continued till the Night, inſomuch, that within the Space of ten *Roman* Miles, nothing was ſeen but the dead Bodies of the *Germans*, or their ſcatter'd Arms. Many, who threw themſelves into the *Weſer*, to ſave their Lives by Swimming, were either killed by the *Roman* Arrows, or ſunk under the Weight of other Fugitives, or that of the falling Banks. Some climb'd up to the higheſt Trees, who fell by the Hands of the Archers, or elſe the Trees were were cut down, and cruſh'd thoſe who fled to them for Refuge. Among the Booty was found a great Quantity of Cords and Chains, deſtin'd to bind the *Roman* Captives with. The *Roman* Army proclaimed *Tiberius*, *Imperator*, in the Field of Battle, and raiſed a ſmall Mount, upon which they erected a Trophy, of the Arms of the Enemy, and, at the Bottom of it, the Names of the Nations they had conquer'd were carv'd in Stone. (*)

A ſecond Engagement.

§. XIII. This Trophy mortified the *Germans* more than their Overthrow, and tho' they had before fully reſolved to retreat over the

(5) *Idem. c.* 17. Interea pulcherrimum augurium, octo aquilæ petere ſilvas, & intrare viſæ, Imperatorem advertere. Exclamat, irent, ſequerentur Romanas aves, propria legionum numina. *The Learned differ in their Opinions about theſe Eagles.* Colerus *ſuppoſes them to have been real Eagles, which, at that Time, were to be met with in the* Hercynian *Foreſt.* Aurelius *fancies them to have been of that kind, which are in Latin called* Pygargi, *and in the Language of the* Low Countries, Aren. *But as the* Romans *were accuſtomed to believe their Augurs, that it lightened, tho' no one ſaw it, ſo they probably gave eaſy Credit to their Generals, that he ſaw Eagles, when perhaps he ſaw other Birds of Prey, or none at all, eſpecially at a Time when their Eyes were otherwiſe ſufficiently employ'd.*

* Tacit. *Anal* L. II. *c.* 12-18.

Elb,

Elb, yet now they agreed to attack the *Romans* once more. *Inguiomarus* commanded alone, probably becauſe *Arminius* was prevented by his Wounds. The *Romans* themſelves confeſs the Valour of the *Germans*, in this Battle: But as it was fought in a Place, where the *Romans* could better uſe their Arms, than the *Germans* their long Spears, the latter were again obliged to quit the Field (1). *Germanicus* call'd his Soldiers together, commended their Courage, and erected another Trophy, with this Inſcription, *that the Emperor TIBERIUS's Army, after having ſubdued all the Nations between the* Rhine *and the* Elb, *had conſecrated that Monument to JUPITER, MARS, and AUGUSTUS* (2). He then ſent *Stertinius* a ſecond Time againſt the *Angrivarii*, who could not avert their total Extirpation, by any other Means, than a Surrender on Diſcretion. Trophies erected by the *Romans*.

§. XIV. GERMANICUS would not, however, venture farther into the Country, perhaps becauſe he was obliged to croſs the Sea again. The greateſt Part of his Men embarked upon the *Ems*: But the Fleet had ſcarce reached the open Sea, when the Pleaſure they had reap'd from their *German* Victories was dearly paid for. The Air was ſuddenly thicken'd, and a Storm of Wind, intermix'd with violent Showers of Hail and Rain, was the doleful Prelude to an impending Tempeſt. It was immediately ſucceeded by a raging South-wind, which, with ſo much Impetuoſity, diſperſed the Fleet, that their Anchors were of no Service to them, and the flat Veſſels, notwithſtanding the Horſes, Cattle, Ammunition and Arms were thrown over Board, could not reſiſt the Force of the Waves. The *Roman* Sailors were beſides timorous, not being ſo well acquainted with the wide Ocean, which they look'd upon to be the Bounds of Nature, as with their Mid-land Waters; and they were yet more diſturb'd by the Soldiers, who were as fearful of being thrown upon the *German* Coaſts, as of periſhing in the Sea, and hinder'd the Sailors moſt, when they ſtrove to aſſiſt them. The Ships were partly ſunk, and partly caſt on Rocks, Sands, or uninhabited Iſlands, where Hunger compleated that Miſery, which Fear had begun. The Gally, in which *Germanicus* was, arrived, with great Diffi- Shipwrack of the *Roman* Fleet in the *North-Sea*.

§. XIII. (1) TACIT. *An.* L. II. *c.* 21. Hoſtem a tergo palus, Romanos flumen, aut montes, claudebant: utriſque neceſſitas in loco, ſpes in virtute, ſalus ex victoria. Nec minor Germanis animus; ſed genere pugnæ, & armorum, ſuperabantur: cum ingens multitudo, artis locis, prælongas haſtas nonprotenderet, non colligeret, neque adſultibus & velocitate corporum uteretur, coacta ſtabile ad prœlium: contra miles, cui ſcutum pectori adpreſſum, & inſidens capulo manus, latos barbarorum artus, nuda ora foderet, viamque ſtrage hoſtium aperiret.

(2) TACIT. *Annal.* L. II. *c.* 22. Debellatis inter Rhenum, Albimque nationibus, exercitum Tiberii Cæſaris, ea monimenta Marti, Jovi, & Auguſto conſecraviſſe.

culty and Danger, on the Coasts of the *Chauci*, where, in Despair, he could scarce be prevented from precipitating himself into the Sea, because their All was thought to have been Lost, and he imputed the Cause of this Misfortune wholly to himself. When at last the Tempest ceased, the Remains of the Fleet put in by Degrees at the same Place. In some Ships, several of their Benches were divested of their Rowers. Others had supply'd the Loss of their Sails, by botching their Cloaths together, and many knew no Way of saving themselves, but by being tow'd by those, which happen'd to be in a much better Condition. *Germanicus*'s first Care was to repair some Vessels, in all possible Haste, which were sent back to Sea, to search on all the Isles and Sands, for those who had been thrown on Shoar. This Caution saved many. Others, who were, by Stress of Weather, drove to the *German* Coasts, were redeem'd by the *Angrivarii*. Some, who even reach'd the *British* Shoar, were sent back to *Germanicus* by the Princes of that Island, who were in a good Harmony with the *Romans*, and to magnify their Adventures, they boasted to their Comrades of the Sea-Monsters, in the Shape of Men, and other Wonders, which they had seen. *

The *Romans* invade the Country of the *Catti* and *Marsi*.

§. XV. But lest the Report of the Shipwrack of the *Romans* might encourage those *Germans*, who dwelt near to the *Rhine*, to any Attempt, *C. Silius* was sent, with 30,000 Foot, and 3,000 Horse, to invade the Country of the *Catti*, and *Germanicus* himself fell upon the *Marsi*, with a greater Force. Their General, *Malovendus*, who had, not long

§. XIV. * Tacit. *An.* L. II. *c.* 23. 24. Seneca *has transmitted to us Part of a Poem, composed by* Pedo, *upon a Voyage of* Germanicus *on the* North-Sea, *and probably of this:* Suasoriar. L. I. *p.* 11. Latini declamatores in Oceani descriptione non nimis viguerunt, nam aut tumide scripserunt; aut curiose. Nemo illorum potuit tanto spiritu dicere, quanto Pedo, qui navigante Germanico, dixit,

Jampridem post terga diem solemque relictum,
Jampridem notis extorres finibus orbis,
Per non concessas audaces ire tenebras,
Hesperii metas, extremaque litora mundi.
Nunc illum, pigris immania monstra sub undis.
Qui ferat, Oceanum, qui sævas undique Pristis,
Æquoreosque canes, ratibus consurgere prensis.
Accumulat fragor ipse metus, jam sidere limo
Navigia, & rapido desertam flamine classem,
Seque feris credunt per inertia fata marinis
Tam non felici laniandos sorte relinqui.
Atque aliquis prora spectat sublimis ab alta:
Aëra pugnaci luctatus rumpere nisu.
Ut nil erepto valuit dinoscere mundo,
Obstructo taleis effundit pectore voces:
Quo ferimur? ruit ipse dies, orbemque relictum
Ultima perpetuis claudit natura tenebris:
Anne alio positas ultra sub cardine gentes,
Atque alium libris intactum quærimus orbem?
Dii revocant, rerumque vetant cognoscere finem.
Mortaleis oculos: aliena quid æquora remis
Et sacras violamus aquas, divumque quietas
Turbamus sedes?

before,

before, ſurrender'd himſelf to the *Romans*, diſcover'd to him, that one of the Eagles, which was Part of the Booty at *Varus*'s Overthrow, was depoſited under Ground in an adjacent Wood. A Detachment was inſtantly ſent to dig up this Eagle, whilſt *Germanicus* attack'd the Enemy, on the other Side, and drew them out of the Wood. Both ſucceeded; and the *Germans* had never a greater Opinion of the *Romans*, than now, ſeing they were capable of doing ſuch Things at a Juncture, when their Power was thought to be at the loweſt Ebb. *Germanicus* then led his Soldiers to Winter-Quarters, where, after this laſt Succeſs, they could the more eaſily forget their late unhappy Fate at Sea, as *Germanicus* repaired the Loſs, which every one of them had ſuſtained, out of his own Subſtance. *

§. XVI. THIS happy News cauſed likewiſe great Rejoicings at *Rome*, and a Triumphal Arch was erected near *Saturnus*'s Temple, in Memory of the Eagles and Enſigns, that were recover'd (1). But *Tiberius* wrote to *Germanicus*, that he had indeed fought great and ſucceſsful Battles, but that his Expeditions had prov'd very expenſive to the *Romans*; Witneſs the Loſs ſuſtained in the late Shipwrack. That he had himſelf headed the Army againſt the *Germans* nine Times under *Auguſtus*, but had effected more by good Counſels, and prudent Management, than by meer Force. That, by ſuch Means, he had brought the *Sicambri* to a Surrender, and had rather made an advantageous Peace with the *Suevi* and *Marcomanni*, than enter'd into a tedious War with them. That, as the *Romans* had ſufficiently reveng'd themſelves of the *Cheruſci*, and their Allies, it would now ſuffice to leave them to their own Civil Diſſentions. *Germanicus* entreated but for one Year more, in which he hoped to reduce *Germany*, even to the *Elb*, into a Province. But *Tiberius* offer'd him, inſtead of that, the Conſulſhip for the enſuing Year †: for which, however, he enjoin'd him to come to *Rome*; adding, that if the War in *Germany* muſt be continued, he might leave it to his Brother *Druſus*, (*Tiberius*'s own Son) who, during the then peaceable State of the *Roman* Empire, could diſplay his Valour, and merit a Triumph, no where elſe. How plainly ſoever the Emperor's Deſigns appeared, *Germanicus* could not well decline this Offer; and diſcover'd as much Diſcretion in reſigning his great Advantages, as he had before done in gaining them (2). He therefore ſet out on his Journy to *Rome*;

Lays aſide their War againſt the *Germans*.

† A. C. 18.

§. XV. * TACITUS *Ann. L.* II. *c.* 26.

§. XVI. (1) TACITUS *Annal. L.* II. *c.* 41. Fine anni, arcus, propter ædem Saturni, ob recepta ſigna, cum Varo amiſſa, ductu Germanici, auſpiciis Tiberii; & ædes Fortis Fortunæ, Tiberim juxta in hortis, quos Cæſar dictator populo Romano legaverat, ſacrarium genti Juliæ, effigieſque *D.* Auguſto, apud Rovillas, dicantur.

(2) *Idem* c. 1.

after

Triumph of *Germanicus.*

† A. Ch. 17. In the Conſulat of *C. Cæcilius Rufus*, and *L. Pomponius Flaccus.*

†† VII. Kal. Iun. Tac. *L.* II. *c.* 41.

after having been four ſucceſſive Years continually on this Side of the *Alps*. He was received, at his Return, with the greateſt Tokens of Honour: The whole Imperial Horſe-Guard went to meet him at 20 *Roman* Miles Diſtance from the City. He held, ſoon after †, on the 26th of *May* ††, a magnificent Triumph (3), of which, the beſt of the Booty, with Figures repreſenting the Battles he had gained, and the Hills and Rivers he had paſs'd, made a Part. Among the Priſoners, who follow'd the Triumphal Char, were many Perſons of Diſtinction, and, according to *Strabo*'s Account, who was a co-temporary Writer, among the Reſt, the two Princes of the *Cheruſci*, *Sigiſmundus*, *Segeſtes*'s Son, and *Seſithacus*, the Son of *Seginer*, with his Wife, *Rhamis*, the Daughter of *Acrumerus*, a Prince of the *Catti*. Beſides theſe were *Thuſnelda*, the Wife of *Arminius*, with the Prince *Thumelicus*, of whom ſhe had been deliver'd in her Captivity, and who was then three Years of Age; *Theudorix*, Prince of the *Sicambri*, the valiant *Melo*'s Nephew, and *Libys*, a Prieſt of the firſt Rank among the *Catti* (4). *Segeſtes* was indeed excuſed from attending in Perſon, as a Captive, to add to the Grandeur of this Solemnity, but could not obtain the ſame Favour for his Children and Nephew.

His Death and Monument on the *Rhine.*

§. XVII. Nothing gave a greater Grace to this Triumph than *Germanicus* himſelf, with his Children, on the Triumphal Char. *Tiberius* diſtributed to each of the *Plebeians*, three hundred *Seſtertii* in *Germanicus*'s Name (1), and the *German* War was look'd upon as finiſhed at *Rome*; notwithſtanding thoſe Nations, whoſe Names and Captives were triumph'd over, yet retain'd a perfect Liberty, tho' they ſtill felt their laſt Overthrow. *Tiberius* declared, that he would himſelf take upon him the Conſulſhip for the enſuing Year, with *Germanicus*: But he was nevertheleſs ſhrewdly ſuſpected of Inſincerity (2). Soon afterwards, he took Occaſion, from the Commotions which aroſe about this Time in *Aſia*, to rid himſelf of him, by committing to his Care the Tranquility of the *Eaſt*. *Germanicus* enter'd upon his Conſulſhip, at *Nicopolis*, in *Achaia* (3), but died the next Year †, as was

† In the Conſulat of *M. Junius Silanus*, and *L. Norbanus Balbus* (al. *Flaccus.*) A. Chr. 19. V. C. 772.

(3) Tacitus *Ann. L.* II. *c.* 41. Triumphavit de Cheruſcis, Chattiſque, & Angrivariis, quæque aliæ nationes uſque ad Albim colunt: vecta ſpolia, captivi ſimulacra montium, fluminum, prœliorum. Strabo L. VII. p. 292. *treats of it more largely, and ſays, among other Things:* In pompa quoque ductus eſt Libys, Chattorum Sacerdos, aliique mortales ex devaſtatis populis, Cathilis, Ampſanis, Bructeris, Nuſipis, Cheruſcis, Chattis, Chattuariis, Landis, Subattiis.

(4) Strabo *l. c.*

§. XVII. (1) *The Memory of this Triumph is preſerved by thoſe Coins, which have this Inſcription on the Reverſe.* SIGNIS RECEPTIS: DEVICTIS GERMANIS.

(2) Tacit. L. II. c. 42.

(3) Tacit. L. II. c. 53.

generally

generally ſuppoſed, by Poiſon (4), given him by the ſecret Order of *Tiberius*, or his Mother *Livia*. However induſtrious *Tiberius* was, to ſuppreſs the Family of *Druſus*, he could not prevent the Fall of his own; whereas *Caius*, the Son of *Germanicus*, and his Brother *Claudius* ſucceeded him in the Empire. Among other Honours paid to the Memory of *Germanicus*, a Triumphal Arch was erected, for that End, on the *Rhine*, which Time has, indeed, now deſtroyed, but without any Diminution of the Fame of that excellent Hero (5).

§. XVIII. TIBERIUS's Political Maxims were not, indeed, agreable to the valiant *Germanicus*, but proved nevertheleſs exactly true. *Arminius* and *Maraboduus* were the moſt eminent *German* Princes. The latter was indeed powerful, but not beloved, becauſe he rul'd with a more Arbitrary Power, than ſeem'd conſiſtent with the *German* Liberty. *Arminius*, on the contrary, was univerſally eſteemed the Preſerver of the *German* Freedom. Both Princes were ambitious, and as the *Germans* knew, at that Time, no other Means of acquiring Fame, than by their Proweſs, a War ſoon aroſe betwixt them. The *Semnones* and *Longobardi* revolted from *Maraboduus*, and fled to *Arminius* for Protection. *Inguiomarus*, with all his Subjects, at the ſame Time, publickly declared for the King of the *Marcomanni*, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe he thought it beneath his Honour, to be in a lower Station than his Brother's Son. They came to a Battle, the like of which had never before been known in *Germany*; ſo excellently did both Parties, as well by the advantageous Poſting of their Troops, as a good Command, diſplay the Knowledge they had gained in former Wars, eſpecially with the *Romans* (1). Both had great Cauſe to do their utmoſt: *Maraboduus*, to maintain his Kingdom, and *Arminius*, to ſupport the Fame he had hitherto acquired, and, at the ſame Time, to keep the *Semnones* and *Longobards* under his Protection. They at laſt ſeparated with equal Loſs; the Right Wings of both Armies being defeated. *Maraboduus* would not however venture a ſecond Battle, which was aſcribed to him as Cowardice. And, as the Inclinations of Men are beſides eaſily drawn away

Wars betwixt *Arminius* and *Maraboduus*.

(4) TACIT. L. II. c. 73.

(5) TACIT. *L. II. c.* 83. Arcus additi Romæ, & apud ripam Rheni, & in monte Syriæ Amano, cum inſcriptione rerum geſtarum, ac mortem ob rem publicam obiiſſe. Sepulchrum Antiochiæ, ubi crematus: tribunal Epidaphnæ, quo in loco vitam finierat. Statuarum locorumve, in qui colerentur, haud facile quis numerum inierit.

§. XVIII. (1) TACIT. *L. II. c.* 45. Diriguntur acies pari utrimque ſpe, nec ut olim apud Germanos, vagis incurſibus, aut disjectas per catervas; quippe longa adverſum nos militia inſueverant ſequi Signa, ſubſidiis firmari, dicta imperatorum accipere.

* TACITUS *Ann. L. II. c.* 44, 45, 46.

away to follow Fortune, his Men now left him, to serve *Arminius*, who seem'd to have the better Cause. *Maraboduus* retired into the Country of the *Marcomanni*, and sued for *Tiberius*'s Assistance against the *Cheruſci*. How agreable soever this Application was to *Tiberius*, he pretended to be at first averse to it; and answer'd, that he could not see, how that King had any Right to demand Assistance from him, against the *Cheruſci*, since he had not lent the *Romans* any, in their Wars with that People. But he soon changed his Resolution, and sent his Son, *Druſus*, whose Mind he strove to divert from the Luxury of a Court, and to inure him to War, to the Army into *Illyricum*, with Orders from thence, to have an Eye to the Concerns of the *German* Nations: And *Druſus*'s Endeavours prov'd effectual in mediating, for that Time, a Peace between *Maraboduus* and *Arminius*. *

Maraboduus is banished by *Catualda*.

§. XIX. But the War it self could not have produced a more fatal Event for *Maraboduus*, than this Interposition. The *Romans* perverted this Opportunity which they had of inspecting into the State of his Affairs, to a quite different End, and, under-hand, spirited up *Catualda*, a young Person of Distinction among the *Gothones*, who had before been drove out of his Country by *Maraboduus*, to seek, at this Time, Revenge. He invaded the Country of the *Marcomanni*, with a considerable Force, and, by a secret Combination with some of the Chiefs, made himself Master of *Maraboduus*'s Residence, in which, he found the Treasures which he had amass'd, in so many Years, by the Plunder of so many Nations. This fatal Accident fell so suddenly on the King, and the Treachery so terrified him, that, being ignorant of the Part the *Romans* had in it, he fled over the *Danube*, for Refuge, into the *Roman* Province of *Noricum*. He wrote to *Tiberius*, as if he had still been in the Height of his good Fortune. He reckon'd it an Honour to the *Romans*, that he placed his Confidence in them, rather than in other Nations, who offer'd him all the Assistance he could desire: But the Emperor knew better the State of his Affairs, and answer'd, that, if he would come to *Italy*, he might remain there, as long as he pleased, with Honour and Safety, and be at Liberty to depart, when it should seem proper to him. *Tiberius*, in the mean while, exaggerated *Maraboduus*'s Wisdom and Valour, with the Power of the People he had governed, to the Senat, and said, that *Philip* had not been more formidable to the *Athenians*, nor *Pyrrhus* or *Antioch* to the *Romans*, than he had been. Nor did he omit to boast

* M. Iunio Silano, l. Norbano Balbo, coss. a. v. 772 chr. 19.

of

of the ſecret Means by which he had drawn ſo great a Prince into his Snare. *

§. XX. MARABODUUS did indeed take Refuge in *Italy*: But as a Kingdom which has no certain Conſtitution, and is govern'd only by the Prudence of its Prince, when he is wanting, ſoon falls to Ruin, ſo *Catualda* did not long enjoy his Conqueſts. *Vibilius*, aſſiſted by the *Hermunduri*, expell'd him, and he found himſelf, likewiſe, under a Neceſſity of having Recourſe to the *Romans*, who aſſigned him a Habitation at *Forum Julium*, in *Gallia Narbonenſis*; but otherwiſe did as little for him as for *Maraboduus*. Both had brought a large Number of Adherents with them, but they were ſent away again, leaſt they ſhould diſturb the Provinces. The Country between the *Mar* and the *Chus*, on the left Banks of the *Danube*, was granted them, and *Vannius*, a Native of the Country of the *Quadi*, was appointed their King (1), of whom I ſhall have Occaſion to ſay more below. How diſagreable ſoever it was to theſe Fugitives, who had hitherto had Inclinations directly oppoſite, to be now obliged to dwell near and among each other, they could not but allow it a Favour, not to be deliver'd into the Hands of the new King of the *Marcomanni*. Nor had the latter any great Reaſon to be pleaſed with the Change, ſince thoſe, who, to render *Maraboduus* the more odious, had been laviſh in the Praiſe of Liberty, ſuffer'd them, now the Power was in their Hands, to enjoy it as little as he did. The *Romans* ſeem to have had a good Underſtanding with the new King, and to have had nothing more to fear on that Side, ſince *Vannius* ſerved as a Kind of Barrier againſt the *Marcomanni*, and their King had reaſon to fear, that the *Romans* might, on the firſt Diſturbance, replace *Maraboduus* on the Throne (2). This unhappy Prince lived Eighteen Years afterwards, at *Ravenna*, and had but too much Time to experience the

Both their Hiſtories continued.

Vannius eſtabliſhes a Kingdom.

§. XIX. * TACIT. *Annal. L. II. c. 62, 63. ubi inter cætera*: Cæterum apud Senatum diſſeruit: non Philippum Athenienſibus, non Pyrrhum, aut Antiochum, populo Romano perinde metuendos fuiſſe. Extat oratio, qua magnitudinem viri, violentiam ſubjectarum ei gentium, & quam propinquus Italiæ hoſtis, ſuaque in deſtruendo conſilia, extulit.

§. XX. (1) TACIT. *Annal. L. II. c. 63.* Et Maraboduus quidem, Ravennæ habitus, ſi quando inſoleſcerent Suevi, quaſi rediturus in regnum oſtentabatur. Sed non exceſſit Italia per duodeviginti annos; conſenuitque, multum imminuta claritate, ob nimiam vivendi cupidinem. Idem Catualdæ caſus, neque aliud perfugium. Pulſus haud multo poſt Hermundurorum opibus, & Vibilio duce; receptuſque, forum Julium, Narbonenſis Galliæ coloniam, mittitur. Barbari, utrumque comitati, ne quietas provincias immixti turbarent, Danubium ultra, inter flumina Marum & Cuſum, locantur, dato Rege, Vannio, gentis Quadorum. Vannius *did therefore not retain all the Dominions of* Maraboduus *and* Catualda, *but only the Country* inter Marum Chuſumque amnem, *which was afterwards conſtantly inhabited by the* Quadi. Vannius *may perhaps have extended his Kingdom; but we do not find in Hiſtory, the Names of the People he added to it.*

(2) TACIT. *de M. G. c. 42.* Marcomannis, Quadiſque, uſque ad noſtram memoriam, Reges manſerunt ex gente ipſorum, nobile Marobodui, & Tudri, genus.

Difference between a powerful Prince, whose Vices are even frequently interpreted as Virtues, and a Prince without Dominions, to whom even the meer Strokes of Fortune are imputed as a Fault. *Tacitus* almost reckons it shameful in him, that he did not, by a voluntary Death, put an End to his Misery: But however magnanimous a Hero is in his Prosperity, he may, nevertheless, at the Change of his Fortune, put up with the Fate of common People, and is as unwilling to leave a Cottage as a Throne. *Drusus* was honour'd with the Ovation, or lesser Triumph (3), which, however, was deferr'd to the next Year.

The Death of *Arminius*.

§. XXI. THE Advantage *Arminius* gain'd over *Maraboduus*, fail'd, likewise, of producing the expected Event. The more his Honour and Dignity was confirmed thereby, the more acceptable was the Command of an Army to him. How much he had gained the Hatred of some of his Neighbours, may be partly seen by an Offer *Adgandestrius*, a Prince of the *Catti*, made to *Tiberius* of Poisoning him, if he would send some Poison from *Rome* for that Purpose †. I am at a Loss, whether the Villany of this Treachery is more to be detested, or, the honest Simplicity of those Times, in *Germany*, to be admired, when a Prince, who offers to poison another, could not procure the Poison any where but from *Rome*. *Tiberius*, tho' pleased to see the *Germans* destroy one another, without endangering the *Romans*, magnanimously rejected the Proposal, probably because he thought, that if *Adgandestrius*'s Hatred of *Arminius* was so great, as he pretended, he would, without Poison, find some Means of dispatching him: And *Arminius* did indeed lose his Life, soon afterwards, by the Treachery of his nearest Friends. For whether he actually aimed at the Regal Power, or was unjustly tax'd with it, certain it is, at least, that this occasioned a War, which was at first carried on, with alternative Fortune. As the Proceedings of *Segestes* and *Inguiomarus* sufficiently discover the Animosities reigning in his own House, we have the less Reason to wonder, that some have, by this Hatred, been led to the Murder of him. He was 37 Years of Age, when he was forced to resign his Breath, and had headed the Army from his 25th (1). Such were the Consequences of the good Fortune and Valour both of *Germanicus* and *Arminius*; since the former gained thereby the Hatred of the Emperor, and the latter brought upon himself the Jealousy of his own Nation, for that very Liberty, for which they were indebted to him. Both died by the Hands of their nearest Relations, at an Age, when they should have enjoyed the Fruits of the Labours of their Youth, and which would perhaps

† *In the Consulate of* M. Junius Silanus, *&* L. Norbanus. A. Chr. 19.

(3) TACIT *L. II. c.* 64. Decrevere patres, ut Germanicus, atque Drusus, ovantes urbem introirent.

§. XXI. (1) TACIT. *Ann. L. II. c.* 88.

haps have been of much longer Duration, had they not thus ſtrove to excel others. But if Mankind could foreſee the Event of their Undertakings, many great Actions would remain unperform'd. *Tacitus* places *Arminius* next to the *Grecian* and *Roman* Heroes, and records him as a Prince, who dared to attack the *Romans*, when their Power was in its Meridian, and conſtantly aſſerted the Liberties of his Country, in Proſperity and Adverſity (2). The *Germans* likewiſe ſoon forgot the Ambition he was charged with, and retained the Advantages they received from his excellent Qualities, longer in their Minds, than any Thing they had to fear from him. *Tacitus* mentions the Songs, which were ſung to his Honour (3). It is highly probable, that the famous *Irmenſäule*, which *Carolus Magnus* deſtroy'd at *Ehreſburg*, was a Monumental Column erected to the Honour of *Arminius*, (or *Hermann*) where his Deeds were firſt ſung, as thoſe of an Hero, and afterwards, according to Cuſtom, he was revered as a Deity.

§. XXII. THE *Cheruſci* and their Neighbours were, after the Death of *Arminius*, involv'd in as many Troubles and Civil Broils, as the Fall of *Marabodus* had occaſion'd among the *Marcomanni*. *Tiberius* was therefore very ſecure with Regard to the *Germans*, and had not, after the Death of *Germanicus*, entruſted the Command in *Germany* to one, but divided it between two Lieutenants, one of whom he ſent to *Upper*, the other to *Lower-Germany*, and each had the Command of four Legions: To the Intent, that they might not only be aſſiſtant to each other, but likewiſe, that if one ſhould attempt any Innovations, the other might reſtrain him. A Commotion aroſe indeed ſoon afterwards † in *Gaul*, fomented by *L. Florus*, the moſt powerful among the *Treviri*, and *Julius Sacrovir*, a Perſon of Diſtinction among the *Ædui*; but it was quell'd by the Deputies (1), before it could ſpread far enough for the *Germans* to take Part in it, and invade *Gaul*. Thoſe Countries were after that Time in ſuch a State of Tranquility, and *Tiberius* dwelt ſo ſecurely, on that Account, the laſt ten Years of his Reign, in the Iſland of *Caprea*, that he did not even change either of his Lieutenants in *Germany*.

Germany in a State of Tranquility.

† A. V. C. 774. In the Conſulate of *Tib. Aug.* IV. and *Druſus Cæſar* II.

§. XXIII. THE *Friſii* alone occaſioned, in the Year of our Lord 28, ſome Diſturbance. *Druſus* had, more by Art than Power, brought this valiant Nation under the *Roman* Juriſdiction, and required no other

A ſucceſsful Revolt of the *Friſii*. A.V.C. 781.

(2) TACIT. *Ann. L.* II. *c.* 88. Liberator haud dubie Germaniæ, & qui non primordia populi Romani, ſicut alii reges, ducesque, ſed florentiſſimum imperium laceſſierit; prœliis ambiguus, bello non invictus, ſeptem & triginta annos vitæ, duodecim potentiæ explevit: caniturque adhuc barbaras apud gentes; Græcorum annalibus ignotus, qui ſua tantum mirantur.

(3) *See the* 11 *Book*, §. 35.

§. XXII. (1) TACIT. *Annal. L. III. c.* 40 *& ſqq.*

Tribute from them, than annually a certain Number of Bullocks-Hides, for the Uſe of the *Roman* Army: And no great Regard had hitherto been had to the Size and Strength of theſe Hides, if they did but deliver the Number ſtipulated. But now one of the *Primipilares*, named *Olennius*, who was ſet over *Frieſland*, reſolving to enrich himſelf by his Office, required thoſe Hides to be of the Size of wild Bullocks. Theſe the *Friſii* found it impracticable to deliver; not being at that Time arriv'd to the Perfection in breeding of Cattle, as their Succeſſors are ſince; and when any were excepted againſt, they were obliged to make up what was deficient, with their Cattle, Lands, and even their Wives and Children, who were made Vaſſals. All Remonſtrances and Complaints were ineffectual, 'till Neceſſity, and the Severity of the *Romans*, having turn'd their Patience into Deſpair, they crucified the Soldiers, who collected the Tribute. *Olennius* eſcaped their Fury by Flight, and fled to the Sea Coaſt, to the Fort of *Flevum*, where a conſiderable Number of Troops were garriſon'd; but could not hinder the *Friſii* from attempting the Siege of the Caſtle. *L. Apronius*, who commanded, as *Proprætor* (1), in *Lower-Germany*, re-inforced his Legions by thoſe from *Upper-Germany*, and led them down the *Rhine*, againſt the *Friſii*, who, when they heard of his March, raiſed the Siege, and retreated into their own Country, there to wait the Coming of the *Romans*. *Apronius* order'd the *Ala Caninafatis*, and the *German* Infantry, to march round and fall upon their Rear, but the *Friſii* made a vigorous Reſiſtance, on every Side, and, by the Deſcription *Tacitus* gives of this Battle, the *Romans* ſeem to have had the leaſt Advantage. They found, the next Day, a Party of 900 *Romans* in a Wood (2), and cut them in Pieces. Another Company of 400 Men retreated to the Seat (3) of a *Friſian* Nobleman, who had formerly ſerv'd under the *Romans*, but when they found, that they ſhould meet but with little Safety there, they took the deſperate Reſolution of killing one another. Thus did the *Friſii*, by their Valour, caſt off the *Roman* Yoke, and had no farther Concern with the *Romans*, 'till *Corbulo* commanded under *Claudius* in *Germany* (4). *Tiberius* was loth to enter into a War, being jealous of entruſting a conſiderable military Force to any one Perſon; he, therefore, neglected taking any Revenge of

§. XXIII. (1) Proprætores *was the Title of thoſe who commanded in* Provinciis Cæſaris, videatur *Savilius* ad *Tacitum* Hiſt. L. I. c. 8.

(2) Tacitus L. IV. *c.* 75. Apud lucum, quem Baduhennæ vocant. Menſo Altingius *l. c. P. I. p.* 14. *ſhews, with great Probability, that this Wood is in* Weſt-Friesland, *in the Diſtrict of* Seevenvolden; *where Part of a Foreſt to this Day retains the Name of* Holt-Pade, *which, according to his Opinion, is derived from that of a Goddeſs* Bade, *or* Baduwe, *who was worſhipp'd there.*

(3) Tacitus *l. c.* Ocupata Cruptoricis, quondam ſtipendiarii, villa. Menſo Altingius *attempts* l. c. *to point out where this Seat was.*

(4) Tacit. *Annal. L. IV. c.* 72, 73.

the

the *Friſii*, and was ſatisfied that they made no Attempts on any of the *Roman* Provinces (5).

§. XXIV. Tiberius's Succeſſor, *Caligula*, could not but be more inclin'd to a War with the *Germans*, as his Father *Germanicus*, and his Grandfather *Druſus*, had acquired ſo much Glory in the Battles they fought with them, and as he himſelf was born and educated, in his Youth, in the Army then in *Germany* (1). But the *Germans*, beſides this, gave him Opportunities enough to remember them, by invading *Gaul*; and the *Caninafati*, in particular, by their inſolent Behaviour (2). But *Caligula* was very ſingular in all his Actions; he marched † unexpectedly over the *Alps* (3), where he muſter'd *Sergius Galba*'s Troops, and finding them in excellent Order, ſent daily for Legions from all Parts; but it was rather to a kind of *Saturnalia*, than an Expedition. He indeed croſs'd the *Rhine*; but no ſooner heard the Enemy named, than he retreated, and *Suetonius* relates Facts ſo extraordinary of him, that they would be thought Fables, if *Caius* was not known to have been ſometimes little better than delirious. Another Time, he ſent privately a Part of his *German* Life-Guard over the *Rhine*, and, at Table, one Day, gave the Signal, as if the Enemy was approaching, then purſued the imaginary Enemy with Part of the *Prætorian* Band, and ſpent ſome Hours in the Wood, where the Soldiers were order'd to fell Trees, and erect Trophies, and, at his Return, he reproached thoſe, who would not follow him, with Cowardice, and diſtributed to the Reſt Garlands, which he termed *Coronæ exploratoriæ* (4). The next Year †, he made Preparations to invade *Britain*,

C. Caligula's Tranſactions with the *Romans*.

† V. C. 793. A. Chr. 40.

(5) Tacit. *Annal. L. IV. c.* 74. Clarum inde, inter Germanos, Friſium nomen: diſſimulame Tiberio damna, ne cui bellum permitteret

§ XXIV. (1) Tacit. *Annal. L. I. c.* 41. Infans in caſtris genitus, in contubernio legionum eductus, quem militari vocabulo Caligulam appellabant, quia plerumque, ad concilianda vulgi ſtudia, eo tegmine pedum induebatur.

(2) C. Caligula *had firſt made* Sergius Galba, Legatus in ſuperiori Germania, *in the Room of* C. Lentulus Gætulicus. Suetonius *in Galba, c.* 6. *ſays of him*, Veteranum, ac tironem militem opere aſſiduo corroborabat, matureque barbaris, qui jam in Galliam uſque proruperant, coercitis, præſenti quoque Caio, talem ſe, & exercitum, approbavit, ut inter innumeras, contractaſque ex omnibus provinciis copias, neque teſtimonium, neque præmia ampliora, ulli percipe-rent. *And it appears by* Tacitus *H. L. IV. c.* 11. *that the* Caninafati, *in particular, were malecontent.*

† *V. C.* 792. A. Chr. 39. Caio Cæſare II. L. Apronio Cæſiano, Cos.

(3) Suetonius *in Caio. c.* 43. Militiam, reſque bellicas, ſemel attigit, neque ex deſtinato, ſed cum ad viſendum nemus, flumenque Clitummi, Mevaniam proceſſiſſet: admonitus de ſupplendo numero Batavorum, quos circa ſe habebat, expeditionis Germanicæ impetum cepit.

(4) Suetonius *in Caio c.* 45. Quo facto, proripuit ſe, cum amicis, & parte equitum prætorianorum in proximam ſilvam, truncatiſque arboribus, & in modum tropæorum adornatis, ad lumina reverſus, eorum qui ſecuti non eſſent timiditatem, & ignaviam corripuit: comites autem, & participes victoriæ, novo genere, coronarum donavit, quas exploratorias appellavit,

and

and conquer that Island; but when he came to the Sea-Coast, the Army was placed in Battle-array, and whilst every one expected the Event, he, on a sudden, order'd them to go and gather Muscles, which he would offer to *Jupiter* in the Capitol, as Trophies of his Conquest of the Ocean. He promised to each Soldier, at the same Time, 100 *Denarii*, and, as it were, in Token of his Victory, caused a high Tower to be built on the Sea-Coast, on which a Fire was kept burning in the Night, to serve Sailors, in the Nature of our modern Light-Houses (5). *Bucherius* imagines this to be the Tower near *Bologne* †, which was restored by *Carolus Magnus* (6). *Caius* expected nevertheless a Triumph, and persuaded himself that he should be equal to the ancient Heroes, if he received the same external Honours; not considering, that the inward Esteem of the People is the most valuable Part of a Triumph. He had provided, for this Purpose, the Deserters, and *German* Prisoners, whom he found in *Gaul*, and even chose the tallest Men in that Country, to pass for *Germans*. Some of the Chief of the *Gallick* Nobility were oblig'd to paint their Hair, and let it grow, and to learn the *German* Language, that they might add to the Pomp of this Triumph, as subdued *German* Princes (7). But coming to *Rome*, sooner

Tour d'Ordre.

(5) Suetonius *c.* 46. Postremo, quasi perpetraturus bellum, directa acie in littora Oceani, ac hallistis, machinisque dispositis, nemine gnaro, ac opinante, quidnam cœpturus esset, repente ut conchas legerent, galeasque, & sinus, replerent, imperavit: spolia Oceani vocans, Capitolio, Palatioque debita. Et in indicium victoriæ altissimam turrem excitavit: ex qua, ut ex Pharo, noctibus ad regendos navium cursus, ignes emicarent: pronunciatoque militi donativo, centenis viritim denariis, quasi omne exemplum liberalitatis supergressus: abite, inquit, læti, abite locupletes. Orosius *L.* VII. *c.* 5. Hic siquidem magno, & incredibili apparatu profectus quærere hostem viribus otiosis, Germaniam, Galliamque percurrens, in ora Oceani, circa prospectum Britanniæ, restitit. Cumque ibi Minocynobellinum, Britannorum regis filium, qui, a patre pulsus, cum paucis oberrabat, in deditionem recepisset, deficiente belli materia, Romam rediit.

(6) Bucherius *L.* IV. *c.* 10. § 13. Extat adhuc, ad Bononiam nostram, in litore Morinorum, ea turris, incolis hodie dicta, la Tour d' ordre, bis, aut ter, a me annis Christi 1616 & 1624. cum stupore visa, discussaque, opus cum aliis ejus generis in Belgio nostro, Galliisque comparatum, Plane, Romanum, vetustate mirandum. Quod non solum probant oculi, sensusque nostri, sed & Eginhardus, vitæ Caroli M. annaliumque scriptor; cum de eodem Carolo ad A. C. 811. ita loquitur: Carolus ipse, propter classem, quam anno superiore imperaverat, videndum, ad Bononiam, Gallicam civitatem maritimam, accessit. Pharumque ibi, ad navigantium cursus dirigendos antiquitus (nota) constitutam, restauravit; & in summitate ejus nocturnum ignem accendit. *And then* §. 15. *he confutes* Hadrianus Junius, *who in his* Batavia c. 10. *pretends, that it was the* Britten Haus, *of which the Ruins are to be seen in the Sea near* Catwyk.

(7) Suetonius *in Caio c.* 47. Conversus hinc ad curam triumphi, præter captivos, & transfugas, barbaros, Galliarum quoque procerissimum quemque, & ut ipse dicebat, ἀξιοθριάμβευτον, ac non nullos ex principibus, legit, ac sepositi, ad pompam: cöegitque non tantum rutilare, & submittere comam, sed & sermonem Germanicum addiscere, & nomina

ſooner than the Preparations for this intended Solemnity, which we may rather term a Turnament, than a Triumph, could be finiſhed, he was contented, in the mean Time, with the *Ovation*, or leſſer Triumph †. His monſtrous Courſe of Life occaſioned his being murder'd, the Beginning of the enſuing Year ††, in his own Palace, where, not one, excepting the *German* Life-Guard, made the leaſt Motion to revenge his Death.

† *Natali ſuo*, Prid. Kal. Sept. A Chr. 40.
†† A.Ch.41. d. 24. Januar.

§. XXV. HIS Father's Brother, *Tiberius Claudius Druſus Cæſar*, ſucceeded him, contrary to the Expectation of all Men (1). *Galba*, who commanded in *Upper-Germany*, was, indeed, excited, by ſome of his Friends, to endeavour attaining to the ſupreme Power; but declined it (2), and by his Diſcretion gained the conſtant Favour and Confidence of *Claudius*. He render'd, on the other Hand, his Lieutenancy famous, this Year, by a Victory over the *Catti*; while *P. Gabinius* ſubdued the *Marſi*; and *Dio* relates of him, that he recover'd the laſt of thoſe Eagles, which had been loſt at *Varus*'s Overthrow, that ſtill remained in the Enemy's Hands (3). And *Claudius*, for both theſe Victories, was proclaimed *Imperator* (4).

Galba ſucceſsful againſt the *Catti*, and *Galbinius* againſt the *Marſi*.

§. XXVI. THE *Germans*, on the right Side of the *Rhine*, eſpecially the *Batavi*, were no leſs diſtinguiſhed for their warlike Actions, under his Reign, in the Service of *Rome*: *Claudius* reſolved A. 43 †, to invade *Britain*, that he might have an Opportunity of meriting a Triumph. *A. Plautius* commanded the Fleet, which did, indeed, land in *Kent*, but met with a vigorous Reſiſtance. *Dio* ſpeaks in Praiſe of the Ser-

The *Germans* ſerve the *Romans* in *Britain*.

nomina barbarica fere. Perſius *treats the Preparations to this Triumph in the Manner they deſerve.* Sat. VI. v. 43.

- - - - - - miſſa eſt a Cæſare laurus
Inſignem ob cladem Germanæ pubis, & aris
Frigidus excutitur cinis: ac jam poſtibus arma,
Jam chlamydes regum, jam lutea gauſapa captis
Eſſedaque, ingenteſque locat Cæſonia Rhenos,

§. XXV. (1) A. C. 41. d. 25. Jan.

(2) SUETONIUS *in Galba* 7. Cæda Caii nuntiata, multis ad occaſionem ſtimulantibus, quietem prætulit.

(3) *We meet indeed with Coins of* Claudius *for the Year* 41 *and* 46, *or* 47 (TR. POT. VI.) *which repreſent a Triumphal Arch, with the Inſcription* DE GERMANIS, *as may be ſeen upon the Coins of his Father* Druſus. *But it is uncertain, whether he coined thoſe to the Memory of his Father* Druſus, *and conſequently to the Honour of his Family only, or whether they were occaſioned by the Victories, his Generals gained over the* Catti *and* Marſi, *and in the Year* 47 *over the* Chauci.

(4) DIO *L.* LX. *p.* 670. *E.* Eodem anno Sulpitius Galba Chattos vicit, ac P. Gabinius Marſos, qui inter alia, quæ laudi ipſe eſſent, militarem aquilam, quæ ſola a clade Variana adhuc ſupereſſet, recuperavit, quibus utriſque verum Imperatoris nomen Claudio partum eſt. *The* Greek *Text is indeed* Μυαρσίους. *But it is evident, that this is an Error, for the* Mauriſii *dwelt in* Africa. *It muſt therefore be read* Marſi. *Others imagine, that* Dio *did not himſelf give the right Name, and ſhould have call'd them* Chauci, *becauſe* Suetonius *writes*, in Claudio c. 24. Gabinio ſecundo, Chaucis, gente Germanica, ſuperatis, Chaucius cognomen uſurpare conceſſit. Gabinius, *however, may have ſubdued the* Chauci *at another Time.*

§. XXVI. † A. V. C. 796. Tiberio Claudio Auguſto III, L. Vitellio II, Coſſ.

vices

vices the *German* Auxiliaries did the *Romans*, especially, that they ventur'd to swim over the Rivers, and in particular the *Thames* (1). *Claudius* did not come to the Army, 'till it had reach'd that River, which he then croſs'd, defeated the Enemy's Army, and took the Capital of King *Cynobellinus* (2). After this Victory, he left *A. Plautius*, as his Lieutenant, and haſtened himſelf to *Rome*, where he enter'd in Triumph, and obtained the Surname of *Britannicus*, for himſelf and his Poſterity (3), which became, however, extinct by his Death. Among other Trophies of his Triumph, he placed a Roſtral Crown of Gold over the Imperial Palace, to denote his Conqueſt of the Ocean (4).

§. XXVI. (1) Dio *p.* 678. *B* Igitur Plautius Germanos miſit, ſolitos etiam arpidiſſima flumina facile in armis tranare. Hi hoſtem inopinatum invadentes, neminem virum ſauciarunt, equis tantum, qui currus traherent, vulneratis: quibus turbatis, ne ſeſſores quidem conſtare valebant. Tum Flavium Veſpaſianum, qui ſummo poſt imperio potitus eſt, hujuſque fratrem, Sabinum: legatum miſit; qui ipſi etiam, trajecto amne, permultos barbaros improviſo interfecerunt. Neque vero reliqui fugæ ſe dederunt, ſed iterum, poſtero die prœlium, incerta victoria, conſerverunt, donec C. Sidius Geta, quum prope in hoſtium poteſtatem veniſſet, ita eos vicit, ut ei propterea honores triumphales, quanquam conſul non fuiſſet, dati ſint. Inde ſe barbari ad fluvium Tameſin, qua is in Oceanum ſe exonerat, eoque affluente ſtagnat, receperunt; eumque facile tranſierunt, locorum, quæ firma, & pervia, eſſent, gnari, eos Romani inſequentes, periclitati ſunt, mox, quum terum Germani tranaviſſent, ac ſuperiori iloco, per pontem quidam tranſgreſſi eſſent, undique barbaris circumfuſi, magnam ſtragem ediderent: reliquos vero inconſultius conſectantes, in paludes invias inciderunt, multoſque ſuorum amiſerunt. His de cauſis, & quia Togodumni, interitu non modo nihil remiſerant Britani, ſed acrius ad vindicandum ejus cladem bellum parabant, veritus Plautius, ultra non proceſſiit; ſed cuſtodia eorum, que tenuiſſet, poſita, Claudium accerſit: juſſus id facere, ſi quid violentius eveniret, ad quam expeditionem, cum omnia multa parata erant, tum elephanti contracti. Claudius, accepto nuntio, res urbana, ac milites etiam, Vitellio collegæ ſuo (cui conſulatum itidem, ut ſibi, ad ſex menſes dederat) mandavit, ipſe ab urbe Oſtiam devectus eſt navigio, inde Maſſiliam; reliquoque itinere, partim terra, partim mari facto, ad Oceanum venit, tranſmiſitque in Britanniam, & ad copias, ad Tameſin ſe expectantes, perrexit. Quibus ad ſe receptis, tranſgreſſus fluvium cum barbaris, qui ad ejus adventum convenerant, ſignis collatis dimicavit, victoriaq; potius eſt, & Camalodunum, Cynobellini regiam, cepit, multoſque inde vi, alios deditione, in ſuam poteſtatem accepit. Ob hæc aliquoties Imperator dictus eſt, contra inſtitutum Romanorum neque enim ſæpius, quum ſemel licet uno de bello id nomen adſumere. Porro Britannis, Claudius arma ademit, Plautioque eos regendos ſubigendoſque reliquos, mandavit: ipſe Romam contendit.

(2) Camalodunum, *at preſent* Malden *in* Eſſex.

(3) Suetonius *in Claud. c.* 17. Expeditionem unam omnium ſuſcepit, eamque modicam cum decretis ſibi a ſenatu ornamentis triumphalibus, leviorem majeſtati principali titulum arbitraretur, velletque juſti triumphi decus: unde acquireret, Britanniam potiſſimum elegit.

(4) Suetonius *ib.* Inter hoſtilia ſpolia, navalem coronam faſtigio Palatinæ domus juxta civicam fixit, trajecti & quaſi domiti Oceani inſigne. *Aureani ei* IX. *pondo & a Gallia comata collatam ſcribitt* PLINIUS. H. N. L. XXXII. c. 3.

§. XXVII. The

§. XXVII. THE *Cheruſci*, who, for ſeveral Years, are not men-tioned in the *Roman* Hiſtories, had, after the Death of *Arminius*, been continually engaged in bloody Civil Wars, in which their whole Race of Princes was extinguiſhed, inſomuch, that *Italus*, the Son of *Flavius*, who dwelt at *Rome*, was the only ſurviving Prince. Here the ſurprizing Events which Faction and Party-Animoſities can effect in a State, were truly diſcover'd. A Nation, which had for ſo many Years aſſerted, to the utmoſt, their Liberty againſt the *Romans*, and among whom *Arminius* had loſt his Life, by aſpiring to the Regal Power, now ſent an Ambaſſy to *Rome*, of their own Accord, to offer *Italus* the Crown †. *Claudius* lent him all the Aſſiſtance he could; he preſented him with a Life-Guard, and a conſiderable Sum of Mony, to defray the Expences of his Journy, and exhorted him, at his Departure, always to remember that he was a *Roman* born. The new Government could not have a more favourable Appearance. *Italus* was not a Creature of any of thoſe Factions, which had 'till then divided the Nation, and one had as much to expect of him as the other. He was, beſides, of a Majeſtick Appearance, and was ſo dextrous, both in the *Roman* and *German* military Exerciſes, that he could not only ſatisfy the Curioſity of the Young, but likewiſe pleaſe the Old, who commonly deſpiſe what they have not learned themſelves. Politeneſs and Temperance, which he had learned at *Rome*, were his Delight; yet he ſhew'd no Averſion to the Manners of his Subjects, and could, upon Occaſion, make one at a *German* Feſtival: But this Happineſs was of a ſhort Duration. *Italus* was at firſt univerſally admired; but when thoſe, who were, as the Heads of Factions, in publick Eſteem, perceived that began to leſſen, they excited ſome of the neighbouring Nations to fall upon him. *Italus*, did, indeed, rid himſelf of theſe Enemies by a bloody Victory; but when he took Meaſures to ſecure himſelf from future Attempts of that kind, his Subjects thought he intended to aſſume a greater Power, than was his Due, and therefore made an univerſal Inſurrection againſt him, which obliged him to have Recourſe to the *Longobards*, by whoſe Aſſiſtance he was afterwards reſtored. *Tacitus* relates theſe Circumſtances, in the Beginning of his Hiſtory, at his Acceſſion to the Throne *, and makes no farther Mention of him (1); we have therefore no certain Account of the Years, when theſe Events happen'd.

Italus, Son of *Flavius*, is choſen King of the *Cheruſci*

† A. Chr. 47. V. C. 800. In the Conſulate of *F. Claudius*, IV. and *L. Vitellius*, III.

§. XXVII. * TACITUS *Annal. L.* XI. *c.* 16. 17.

(1) *We find indeed a King*, Italicus; Hiſtoriar. L. III. c. 5. Trahuntur in partes Sido, atque Italicus, Reges Suevorum, *and* L. eod. c. 21. Sido, atque Italicus, Suevi, cum delectis popularium, primori in acie verſantur. *But he is not the ſame with our* Italus.

Corbulo endeavours to subue the *Chauci*, and gain the *Frisii*.

§. XXVIII. The *Chauci* were turbulent, about the same Time. *Gannascus*, one of the *Caninafati*, who had for many Years served the *Romans*, fixed his Residence in their Country, and, with light Vessels, committed frequent Piracies on the *Gallick* Coasts. A whole Swarm of *Chauci*, at Length, invaded *Lower-Germany*, about the same Time, the *Cheruſci* chose *Italus* for their King. *Domitius Corbulo*, who, that Year †, enter'd upon the Lieutenancy of *Lower-Germany*, made Preparations to repel them. He re-equip'd the Fleet, the Gallies were sent down the *Rhine* into the Sea, and the other Vessels were order'd to sail thro' the *Fossa Drusi*, and over the *Zuyder Zee*, to join them. The *Chauci* could not keep the Sea, against the *Roman* Fleet; *Corbulo* sunk their Ships, and *Gannascus* fled farther into the Country (1). *Corbulo* made it his Business to restore the former military Discipline among the *Roman* Soldiers, and thereby brought the *Roman* Arms into such Reputation again, that the *Frisii*, who had, since their last Rebellion, remained in a free and uninterrupted State, returned to their former Allegiance (2). He strove, at last, to bring the *Chauci*, who dwelt farther in the Country, to a Submission, and sent some Men out to murther *Gannascus*. But his Death so enraged the *Chauci*, that even those, who were before in a Treaty with the *Romans*, resumed their Arms, and a bloody War was like to ensue. At *Rome*, the Court was so perplexed at this General's Fortune and Valour, that the Emperor *Claudius* sent him an Order to make no farther Progress against the *Germans*, and to bring, not only the Legions, but those Soldiers likewise, who were, here and there, in Garrisons, back again over the *Rhine*: *Corbulo* was already enter'd the Enemy's Country, when he received this Order. He soon perceived the Cause of it, but obeyed it instantly, and took no Notice to those about him, but by saying, *How fortunate were formerly the* Roman *Generals!* But tho' he was not suffer'd to carry on the War, yet the

† A.Chr. 47. V. C. 800. In the Consulate of *Claudius Augustus* IV. and *L. Vitellius*, III.

§. XXVIII. (1) Tacitus *Annal. L.* XI. *c.* 18. Per idem tempus Chauci, nulla dissensione domi, & morte Sanquinii alacres, dum Corbulo adventat, inferiorem Germaniam incursavere, duce Gannasco, qui natione Caninefas, auxiliare æs diu meritus, post transfuga, levibus navigiis prædabundus, Gallorum maxime oram vastabat, non ignarus dites, & imbelles, esse. At Corbulo, provinciam ingressus, magna cum cura, & mox gloria, cui principium illa militia fuit, triremes alveo Rheni, cæteras navium, ut quæque habiles, per æstuaria, & fossas, adegit: lintribusque hostium depressis, & exturbato Gannasco, ubi præsentia satis composita sunt, legiones, operum, & laboris ignavas, populationibus lætantes, veterem ad morem reduxit.

(2) Tacitus *Ann. L.* XI. *c.* 19. Et natio Frisiorum, post rebellionem, clade L. Apronii cœptam, insensa, aut malefida, datis obsidibus consedit apud agros, a Corbulone descriptos. Idem Senatum, Magistratus, legis imposuit, ac ne jussa exuerent, præsidium immunivit. Altingius *supposes* l. c. p. 48. *that this* Monumentum Corbulonis *may perhaps have been the present* Gröningen.

Emperor

Emperor allowed him all the Honours, beſtowed on thoſe who really triumph'd (3). Thus was that Arm of the *Rhine*, which fell into the Sea, above the preſent City of *Leyden*, made the Borders to ſeparate the *Romans*, and their Allies, the *Batavi*, from thoſe *German* Nations, who enjoyed a perfect Liberty. *Corbulo* hereupon cut a broad Canal between the *Maes* and the *Rhine* (4). It has generally been ſuppoſed to be that which runs from *Leyden* to *Helvoet-Sluys*. But the famous *Menſo Altingius* has confuted this Notion (5). *Curtius Rufus*'s Undertaking, who firſt ventur'd to dig Mines in *Germany*, in the preſent *Wetterau*, might be placed about this Time. But as that Paſſage of *Tacitus*, by which he attempts to prove this, is ſomewhat dubious, I ſhall leave it to the Reader's Determination (6).

§. XXIX. *Agrippina*, the Conſort of *Claudius*, to extend the Marks of her Fortune and Power to the *Rhine*, and add them to the Monuments in Honour to her Father *Germanicus*, and her Grandfather *Druſus*, in the Year of our Lord 50, prevailed upon her Husband to detach a Colony of Veterans into that City of the *Ubii*, which *M. Agrippa* her Grandfather, was the firſt Founder of, and in which ſhe was born (1).

Agrippina eſtabliſhes a *Roman* Colony among the *Ubii*.

(3) TACITUS *Ann. L.* XI. *c.* 19,20. Miſſis qui majores Chaucos ad deditionem pellicerent, ſimul Gannaſcum dolo aggrederentur nec irritæ, & degeneres inſidiæ fuere adverſus transfugam, & violatorem fidei. Sed cæde ejus motæ Chaucorum mentes, & Corbulo ſemina rebellionis præbebat; ut læta apud pleroſque, ita apud quoſdam ſiniſtra fama: Cur hoſtem conciret? adverſa in rempublicam caſura: ſin proſpere egiſſet, formidoloſum paci virum inſignem, & ignavo principi prægravem. Igitur Claudius adeo novam in Germanias vim prohibuit, ut referri præſidia cis Rhenum juberet. Jam caſtra in hoſtili ſolo molienti Corbuloni, hæ litteræ redduntur. Ille re ſubita, quamquam multa ſimul offunderentur, metus ex imperatore, contemtio ex barbaris, ludibrium apud ſocios: nihil aliud prolocutus, quam beatos quondam duces Romanos! ſignum receptui dedit. Dio *L.* LX. *p.* 685. *A.* Cn. Domitius Corbulo, in Germania exercitui præfectus, milites exercuit, ac barbaros, inprimis autem Chaucos, vexavit: cujus ubi virtutem, ac ſtudia, Claudius cognovit, non paſſus majora augmenta accipere, ex hoſtico revocavit. Et rediit Corbulo dicto parens, hac tantum voce emiſſa, felices fuiſſe quondam exercituum duces, quo oſtenderet, priſcis illis licuiſſe, citra periculum, præclare rem gerere, ſuæ virtuti imperatoris invidiam officere. Triumphavit tamen nihilominus.

(4) TACITUS *Annal. L.* XI. *c.* 20. Ut tamen miles otium exueret, inter Moſam, Rhenumque, trium & viginti millium ſpatio, foſſam præduxit, qua incerta Oceani vetarentur: inſignia tamen triumphi indulſit Cæſar, quamvis bellum negaviſſet. Dio *L.* LX. *p.* 685.

(5) Altingius *notit. German. Inf. P.* I. *p.* 48.

(6) TACITUS *Ann L.* XI. *c.* 20. Nec multo poſt Curtius Rufus eundem honorem adipiſcitur, qui in agro Mattiaco recluſerat ſpecus quærendis venis argenti, unde tenuis fructus, nec in longum fuit. LIPSIUS Saturnal. L. II. *ſuppoſes, that inſtead of* Mattiacus *muſt be read* Maziacus, *which was a Nation in* Africa. Cluverius *has indeed attempted to confute* Lipſius, *but not been able to remove all Doubt.*

§. XXIX. (1) TACITUS *Ann. L.* XII. *c.* 27. Sed Agrippina, quo vim ſuam ſociis quoque nationibus oſtentaret, in oppidum Ubiorum, in quo genita erat, veteranos, coloniamque deduci impetrat, cui nomen inditum ex vocabulo ipſius.

This Colony has transmitted her Name to Posterity in the still-flourishing City of *Cologn* (2). *Paulus*, the famous Civilian, observes this Colony to have been *Juris Italici* (3). The *Roman* Soldiers did indeed marry among the *Ubii*, but the latter, notwithstanding this Change, esteemed themselves a *German* Nation (4).

The *Catti* plunder *Upper-Germany*.

§. XXX. A FRESH Swarm of *Catti* crossed the *Rhine*, the same Year †, and plunder'd *Upper-Germany*; but they paid dearly for this Undertaking to *L. Pomponius* the *Roman* Lieutenant (1). He sent the *Vangiones* and *Nemetes*, with a Part of the Cavalry, to pursue them, or at least to cut off their Retreat. He himself went, in the mean Time, over the *Rhine*, and encamped at Mount *Taunus*; to hinder the Rest of the *Catti*, who remain'd in their own Country, from going, with a greater Force, to assist their Companions. The *Romans* divided themselves into two Bodies, and both were so successful, that they recover'd the Booty the Enemy had taken. One of them turn'd to the left, and met with a Party of the *Catti* on their Return, who had made themselves so merry with their Booty, that they were still half drunk and overcome with Sleep. Nothing could afford the *Romans* a greater Pleasure, than the Opportunity they had of setting some *Roman* Soldiers at Liberty, who had been Captives ever since the Overthrow of *Varus*, which was 41 Years. The other Body of *Romans* had found a nearer Way on the Right, and met the *Catti*, who ventur'd indeed to make some Resistance, but were at last obliged to quit the Field of Battle. Both Parties then joined *L. Pomponius*. But the *Catti* were afraid

(2) STEPHANUS BROELMAN, *a Civilian at* Cologn, *has, in his Specimen* Historiæ Civitatis Ubiorum, *mentioned somewhat of the* Roman *Antiquities of this Place of his Nativity; but it is very little, in Comparison with what might be expected of so ancient and famous a City.*

(3) PAULUS *L.* 2. §. 2. de Censibus in Germania inferiore Agrippinenses juris Italici sunt.

(4) v. inf. §. 49.

§. XXX. † A. C. 50. C. Antistio vetere, M. similio Nerviliano. Coss.

(1) TACITUS *Ann. L.* XII. *c.* 27, 28. Iisdem temporibus in superiore Germania trepidatum, adventu Cattorum, latrocinia agitantium. Deinde L. Pomponius, legatus, auxiliares Vangionas ac Nemetas, addito equite alario, monuit, ut anteirent populatores, vel dilapsis improvisi circumfunderentur. Et secuta consilium ducis industria militum, divisique in duo agmina, qui lævum iter petiverant, recens reversos, prædaque per luxum usos, & somno graves, circumvenere. Aucta lætitia, quod quosdam e clade Variana, quadragesimum post annum, servitio exemerant. At qui dextris, & proprioribus compendiis, ierant, obvio hosti, & aciem auso, plus cladis faciunt. Et præda, famaque, onusti ad Montem Taunum revertuntur, ubi Pomponius cum legionibus operiebatur, si Catti, cupidine ulciscendi, casum pugnæ præberent. Illi metu, ne hinc Romanus, inde Cherusci, cum quis æternum discordant, circumgrederentur, legatos in urbem, & obsides, misere, decretusque Pomponio triumphalis honos, modica pars famæ ejus apud posteros, in quis carminum gloria præcellit.

of

of having their Country invaded by the *Cherusci*, their inveterate Enemies, on the one Side, whilst they were engaged with the *Romans*, on the other. They therefore sued for Peace of *Pomponius*, and sent an Embassy, with Hostages, to *Rome*: where this War was esteemed so glorious, that they decreed *Pomponius* Triumphal Honours. *Tacitus* indeed records *Pomponius* for having gained a greater Renown, by his excellent Poems, than by these Honours; but Time has altered the Case; for his Poems are all lost, but the Memory of this Expedition is retained by Posterity.

§. XXXI. I HAVE before observed, that the turbulent *Suevi*, who followed *Marabodius* and *Catualda*, had the Country between the Rivers *Mark* and *Wage* † assign'd to them, and that *Vannius* was appointed their King. *Vannius* had reign'd 30 Years with great Honour, and extended his Borders considerably; but his good Fortune made him proud, and his Haughtiness render'd him odious not only to his Subjects, but to all his Neighbours: which proved the more fatal to him, as his own Sister's Sons rebelled against him. *Vibillius*, King of the *Hermunduri*, and the *Lygii*, fomented this Faction, which soon broke out into an open War. *Vannius* could obtain no other Succour from the *Roman* Emperor, *Claudius*, than the Grant of a secure Refuge in the *Roman* Provinces. *Vannius*'s Force consisted chiefly in Infantry, but he had taken into his Service, of his Neighbours (1), the *Jazyges*, a People of *Sarmatia*, who were excellent Horsemen (2), a Body of Cavalry, and at the same Time depended very much upon his Fortresses. But the *Jazyges* were too fiery, and came directly to Action with the *Lygii* and *Hermunduri*, which obliged *Vannius* to venture into the Field to their Assistance. He was defeated, fled to the Ships which lay ready for him in the *Danube*, and escaped to *Pannonia*. The *Roman* Lieutenant gave him a favourable Reception, and his Wounds sufficiently testified that he had not left his Kingdom before he had ventured his Life in its Defence.

King *Vannius* is banish'd. *Vargio* and *Sido* share the Kingdom.

† *Cusum amnem.*

§. XXXI. 1. *How they border'd on each other is described by* PLINY, *H. N. L.* IV. *c.* 25. Inter Danubium, & Hercynium saltum, usque ad Pannonica hiberna Carnunti, Germanorumque ibi confinium, campos, & plana, Jazyges, Sarmatæ: montes vero & saltus, pulsi ab his Daci, ad Pathyssum amnem, a Maro; sive is Duria est, a Suevis regnoque Vanniano dirimens eos: adversa Basternæ tenent, aliique inde Germani.

(2) TACITUS *H. L.* III. *c.* 5. Principes Sarmatarum Jazygum, penes quos civitatis regimen, in commilitium asciti, plebem quoque, & vim equitum, qua sola valent, offerebant. *He says, in another Place,* Hist. l. 1. c. 79. *of the* Samatæ, *in general.* Namque mirum dictu, ut si omnis Sarmatarum vis velut extra ipsos: nihil ad pedestrem pugnam tam ignavum, ubi per turmas advenere, vix ulla acies obstiterit.

His

His Adherents were likewise provided for in *Pannonia*, but the *Romans* held, at the same Time, a good Understanding with his Conquerors, who had shared his Dominions (3). *Tacitus* praises their Fidelity to the *Romans*, and we find *Sido* particularly mentioned as having given memorable Proofs of his Zeal for them, in the Wars between *Vitellius* and *Vespasian* (4). And the *Roman* Friendship was highly expedient to these Princes, not only on *Vannius*'s Account, during his Life, but likewise on Account of their own Subjects, who were ever uneasy at having a Lord over them (5). The *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* will again be mentioned under the Reign of *M. Aurelius*, when we shall find the latter extended to the River *Grana*.

Pompeius Paulinus makes a large Dam on the *Rhine*.

§ XXXII. The *Romans* enjoyed, for some Time, a perfect Tranquillity on the *Rhine*, as well as on the *Danube*, and the *Roman* Generals were not very eager after War, since the Triumphal Honours, for which they had formerly ventur'd all, could now be obtained without War or Bloodshed. But lest the Soldiers should too much accustom themselves to Indolence, *Pompeius Paullinus*, who commanded the Army in *Lower-Germany*, ordered the great Dam, which *Drusus* had begun to raise on one Arm of the *Rhine*, to stop the Inundations which were frequent on the Side of *Gaul*, to
† A. C. 55. to be continued. † This Dam is generally thought to have been begun above the present *Vyck te Duverstede*, and to be the same which *Civilis* afterwards razed (1). *L. Vetus*, Lieutenant in *Upper-*

(3) *The* Roman *History does not indeed plainly express how* Sido *and* Vangio *shared* Vannius's *Kingdom, but if we may venture a Conjecture, the* Hermunduri *seem to have freed themselves, when* Catualda *was banished, and* Vannius *to have afterwards obtained the Government of the* Marcomanni. *After his Fall,* Vangio *may have obtained the Supremacy over the* Quadi, *and* Sido *the Kingdom of the* Marcomanni, *who border'd on the* Hermunduri. *For he and the King of the* Hermunduri *are always mentioned together in those* Roman *Wars, which they took Part in. It appears from that Passage of* Tacitus not. 5. *that these Princes were related to the ancient Royal House, but that at the Time when* Tacitus *wrote his Book* de M. G. *Foreign Princes reigned over both Nations.*

(4) Tacitus *H. L.* III. *c.* 5. Trahuntur in partes Sido, atque Italicus, Reges Suevorum, qui vetus obsequium erga Romanos: & gens fidei commissæ patientior. Idem, *c.* 31. Sido, atque Italicus, Suevi, cum delectis popularium, primori in acie versabantur.

(5) Tacitus de M. G. *c.* 42. Marcomannis, Quadisque, usque ad nostram memoriam, Reges manserunt ex gente ipsorum nobile Marobodui, & Tudri, genus: jam & externos patiuntur. Sed vis, & potentia, Regibus ex autoritate Romana: raro armis nostris, sæpius pecunia juvantur. *Some Editions have* Trudi *instead of* Tudri. *We find several Traces of this latter Name in the* German *Language, in which the Names* Trudmann, Gertrud, Adeltrud, *&c. are well known. The Name* Marobod *was likewise long in Use in* Silesia, *of which Examples are produc'd by* Sommer, de regno Vannii *c.* 11. §. 5. not. 4.

§. XXXII. (1) Conf. M. Alting. l. c. Tab. IV. p. 55.

Germany,

Germany, undertook a greater Work, and attempted, by a Canal, to join the *Saone* and the *Moſel*, which have their Source at no great Diſtance from each other, in the preſent *Lorrain*, to facilitate the Navigation from *Italy*. By this Deſign, the *Roman* Armies might have been brought over the *Mediterranean*, thro' the *Rhone* and the *Saone*, and afterwards thro' this Canal, and the *Moſel*, to the *Rhine*. But *Ælius Gracilis*, the *Roman* Lieutenant in *Belgick Gaul*, to which belong'd the Diſtrict where both theſe Rivers take their Riſe, would not ſuffer *Vetus* to bring the Legions into his Province, and objected, that this Project would be more advantageous to the *Gauls* than the *Romans*, and render him ſuſpected to the Emperor *. *Henry* IV, King of *France*, formed the ſame Deſign, after the Peace concluded with *Spain*, in 1598, but did not execute it (2).

§. XXXIII. THE Tranquility of the *Romans* leſſened, by Degrees, the Apprehenſions they had hitherto cauſed in the *Germans*. The *Friſii* had almoſt begun a Quarrel. A great Tract of Land lay deſolate, on the left Banks of the *Rhine*, above the Canal, which *Druſus* had made from the *Rhine* into the *Yſſel*; and had formerly been inhabited by the *Chamavii*, afterwards by the *Tubantes*, and laſt of all by the *Uſipetes*. The *Romans*, who thought it Part of their Safety not to have thoſe Borders too much inhabited, would not ſuffer it to be cultivated, and the Legions in *Lower-Germany* grazed their Cattle and Horſes there. But the *Friſii* now took Poſſeſſion of it; and when *Avitus*, who had, in the mean Time, ſucceeded *Paullinus* in *Lower-Germany*, gave them Notice, that they muſt either obtain Leave from *Rome*, or he muſt proceed to Hoſtilities with them, the two *Friſian* Princes, *Verritus* and *Malorix* undertook themſelves a Journy to *Rome*. As they did not ſo immediately receive their Anſwer from *Nero*, they view'd, in the mean while, all the Rarities in the City. They were, in particular, conducted to *Pompey*'s Theatre, that, by the Crowd of Spectators there, they might judge of the Number of the Inhabitants. The two *Friſian* Princes were more earneſt in beholding the Spectators than the Play it ſelf; and enquired who they were that ſat in the *Cavea*, where the Senat and *Roman* Knights were placed? and ſeing ſome Strangers ſeated among the Senators, they asked, how they came there? When they were told, that they were Foreign Miniſters, and that ſome Nations, by their Valour and Friendſhip towards the *Romans*, were allowed that Honour; they removed from their Seats,

Contention with the *Friſii*. *Verritus* and *Malorix* two *Friſian* Princes, go to *Rome*.

* TACITUS *Ann.* L. XIII. *c.* 53.

(2) Vid. Aurelius ad h. l. Taciti.

and

and ſaid, with an audible Voice, that no People in the World exceeded the *Germans* in Courage and Integrity, and then directly ſeated themſelves among the Senators, who were the more willing to make Way for them, as ſo laudable an Aſſurance was a Novelty to them. They were likewiſe elegantly entertained at Court, and *Nero* preſented both with the Freedom of *Rome*. But their main Requeſt was refuſed, and when the *Friſii*, nevertheleſs, would not quit their Poſſeſſion, *Avitus* ſent the foreign Cavalry among them, who forced them to it *.

The *Anſibarii* are extirpated.

§. XXXIV. But a new Pretence to this Tract of Land was ſoon after made by the *Anſibarii*, who had juſt before been driven from their Country, on the right Banks of the *Ems* (1), by the *Chauci*, and were in Search of a new Habitation. *Bojocalus*, who headed them, hoped he ſhould the ſooner obtain this Grant, as he had been ſerviceable to the *Romans*: But *Avitus* refuſed it, and did indeed offer *Bojocalus* privately, a Piece of Land ſufficient for himſelf and his Family; *Bojocalus* was however too honeſt, for any perſonal Advantage, to forſake a People who had placed their Confidence in him. He therefore reſolved to attempt the Conqueſt by Force, to which the *Bructeri*, *Tencteri*, and other neighbouring Nations offered him their Aſſiſtance. But *Avitus* quaſh'd this Deſign in it's Birth. He wrote to *Curtilius Mancia*, who commanded the Army on the *Upper-Rhine*, to croſs the River, and put the *Germans* in Fear, on that Side. He invaded the Country of the *Tencteri* himſelf, and threatned to deſtroy them, Root and Branch, unleſs they broke the Ties of Friendſhip between them and the *Anſibarii*. The *Bructeri* were terrified in the ſame Manner, and the unfortunate *Anſibarii* retreated to the bordering *Uſipetes*, *Tubantes*, *Catti* and *Cheruſci*. They were repulſed every where as Enemies, and the whole Nation, after having undergone all the Miſeries of Want and War, and after all thoſe who could bear Arms were ſlain in the Field, and the reſt diſperſed in Slavery, was entirely extirpated (2).

§. XXXV.

§. XXXIII. * Tacitus *Ann. L.* XIII. *c.* 54.

§. XXXIV. (1) Conſ. Menſo Altingius L. c. *Tab.* 2. & *p.* 6. *Who imagines the Name of* Amſibari, Amſivarii, *&c. to be derived from the* German *Word* Ems-Bauern, *of Peaſants about the* Ems.

(2) Tacit. *Ann. L.* XIII. *c.* 55. Eoſdem agros Anſibarii occupavere, validior gens, non modo ſua copia, ſed adjacentium populorum miſeratione: quia pulſi a Chaucis, & ſedis inopes, tutum exſilium orabant. Aderatque iis clarus per illas gentes, & nobis quoque fidus, nomine Bojocalus, vinctum ſe rebellione Cheruſca, juſſu Arminii, referens, mox Tiberio, & Germanico, ducibus, ſtipendia meruiſſe. Quinquaginta annorum obſequio id quoque adjungere,

§. XXXV. THIS Summer † likewiſe happen'd a bloody Battle betwixt the *Catti* and *Hermunduri*, about certain Salt-Springs, which lay on the Borders of both Nations, and each of them laid Claim to. The *Catti* had made a Vow, if they gained the Victory, to ſacrifice the Enemy to their Deities; a horrid Superſtition which uſually coſt the Lives of every Thing that breath'd. But the Event proved different, and the more doleful for the *Catti*, as they underwent the Fate they had deſign'd for their Enemies (1).

A bloody Battle between the *Catti* and *Hermunduri*.

† A. Chr. 58. U. C. 811. *In the Conſulate of Emp.* Nero III. *and* Valerius Meſſala.

§. XXXVI. I CANNOT here omit thoſe Commotions which aroſe about this Time in *Gaul*, and among the Legions on the *Rhine*, upon which the Imperial Dignity itſelf depended; becauſe theſe Matters were chiefly tranſacted in Places, which now appertain to the *German* Empire, and in many of which, the *Germans* themſelves had a conſiderable Share. *Nero*'s Tyranny had render'd the *Roman* Government odious and contemptible to all the Provinces. *Julius Vindex*, a Nobleman of *Gaul*, took therefore the dangerous Reſolution of delivering his Country from this Monſter. He had the In-

Julius Vindex attempts to free *Gaul*, but is defeated near *Beſançon*.

jungere, quod gentem ſuam ditioni noſtræ ſubjiceret. Quotam partem campi jacere, in quam pecora & armenta militum aliquando tranſmitterentur? Servarent ſane receptus gregibus inter hominum famam; modo ne vaſtitatem, & ſolitudinem, mallent, quam amicos populos. Chamavorum quondam ea arva, mox Tubantum, & poſt Uſipiorum, fuiſſe. Sicut cœlum Diis, ita terras generi mortalium datas, quæque vacuæ, eas publicas eſſe. Solem inde deſpiciens, & cætera ſidera vocans, quaſi coram interrogabat, vellentne contueri inane ſolum? potius mare ſuperfunderent adverſus terrarum ereptores. Et commotus his Avitus: patienda meliorum imperia. Id Diis quos implorarent, placitum, ut arbitrium penes Romanos maneret, quid darent, quid adimerent: neque alios judices, quam ſe ipſos, paterentur. Hæc in publicum Anſibariis reſpondit; ipſi Bojocalo, ob memoriam amicitiæ, daturum agros. Quod ille, ut proditionis pretium, aſpernatus addidit: deeſſe nobis terra, in qua vivamus, in qua moriamur, non poteſt. Atque ita, infenſis utrimque animis, diſceſſum. Illi Bructeros, Tenchteros, ulteriores etiam nationes, ſocias bello, vocabant. Avitus ſcripto ad Curtilium Manciam, ſuperioris exercitus legatum, ut Rhenum tranſgreſſus, arma a tergo oſtenderet; ipſe legiones in agrum Tenchterum induxit, excidium minitans, niſi cauſſam ſuam diſſociarent. Igitur abſiſtentibus his, pari metu exterriti Bructeri. Et cæteris quoque, aliena pericula deſerentibus, ſola Anſibariorum gens retro ad Uſipios, & Tubantes, conceſſit: quorum terris exacti, cum Cattos, dein Cheruſcos petiſſent; errore longo, hoſpites, egeni, hoſtes, in alieno, quod juventutis erat, cæduntur, imbellis ætas in prædam diviſa eſt. Menſo Altingius l. c. *p.* 7. *obſerves, that even after* Tacitus's *Times ſome Remains of the* Anſibarii *are met with in Hiſtory.*

§. XXXV. (1) TACITUS *Annal. L.* XIII. *c.* 57. Sed bellum Hermünduris proſperum, Cattis exitioſius fuit, quia victores diverſam aciem Marti, ac Mercurio, ſacravere, quo voto equi, viri, cuncta victa occidioni dantur. Et minæ quidem hoſtiles in ipſos vertebantur. LIPSIUS † *ſuppoſes this to be the* Saale. *in his notes on this Paſſage. How theſe Deities, which are by* Tacitus *here termed* Mars *and* Mercurius, *were called among the* Catti, *I leave to others to determine.*

habitants of *Gallia Narbonenſis* and *Viennenſis* on his Side (1), and many Adherents among the *Sequani* and *Ædui* (2): But other Nations in *Gaul*, particularly the *Belgæ*, *Lingones* and *Treviri*, oppoſed their Deſigns (3). It therefore chiefly depended upon what Party the Legions on the *Rhine* would take. *Verginius Rufus* commanded in *Upper-Germany*, and *Fonteius Capito* on the *Lower Rhine*. The former was neareſt the Commotions, and would not ſuffer the Fate of the *Roman* Empire to be in the Hands of the *Gauls*. He therefore marched againſt *Vindex*, and as in his Way *Beſançon*, the Capital of the *Sequani* ſhut its Gates againſt him, he beſieged that City. *Vindex* came to relieve it, and the two Generals made ſeveral Propoſals to each other in Writing, till they at laſt had a perſonal Interview privately, at which *Verginius Rufus* was afterwards ſuſpected to have ſhewed himſelf not averſe to a Change. The two Armies could not, however, be reſtrained, by their Commanders, from coming to a Battle, and the Legions fought ſo deſperately, that 20,000 *Gauls* were ſlain on the Spot (4): Which unfortunate Beginning ſo confounded *Vindex*, that, in Deſpair, he made away with himſelf (5).

Sulpitius Galba aſſumes the Imperial Dignity in *Spain*:

§. XXXVII. But his Death could not put a Stop to the Inſurrection. *Vindex* knew very well, that he muſt make Uſe of a *Roman* to excite the *Romans*, and had, to that End, made a League with *Sulpitius Galba*, who commanded in *Spain*, and was univerſally admired for being endued with all the Qualities requiſite in a Monarch. *Galba*, tho' he publickly declared againſt *Nero*, would not aſſume the Name of *Cæſar*, but ſtiled himſelf *Legatus S. P. Q. Romani*. All *Spain* readily embraced his Party, and particularly *Otho*, Lieutenant in *Luſitania*, who ſent all his Plate to the Mint for *Galba*'s Uſe. The Army on the *Upper-Rhine*, conſiſting of three Legions,

§. XXXVI. (1) *Conf.* Tacitus *L.* I. *c.* 66. & paſſim al.

(2) *The* Sequani *and* Ædui *appear to have been of* Vindex's *Party by* Tacitus.

(3) Idem *L.* IV. *c.* 69. Conſtat obſtitiſſe Treviris Lingonibuſque, quod Vindicis motu, cum Verginio ſteriſſent.

(4) Dio *L.* LXIII. *p.* 725. D. QuumqueVindex eo animo eſſet, Rufus, qui Germaniam obtinebat, inde profectus eſt, ut Vindici bellum inferret. Is poſtquam Veſontionem venit, cœpit eam urbem obſidere, quod ab ea non fuiſſet exceptus. Vindex ad opem urbi ferendam contendit, nec procul caſtra poſuit. Tandem ambo, miſſis ad ſe litteris, in colloquium ſoli venerunt, remotis arbitris. Ibi ſuſpicio fuit, eos una contra Neronem conjuraſſe. Poſt hæc Vindex properat cum exercitu, quaſi ſtatuiſſet urbem capere, quorum adventum ubi cognoſcunt milites Ruſi, rati, eos aperte contra ſe venire, injuſſi impetum faciunt, imparatoſque, & parum inſtructos, invadunt, ac poſtremo magnum numerum eorum concidunt.

(5) Plutarchus *in Galba p.* 1055. D. Verginii & Vindicis legiones, vi quodammodo duces, ſicut aurigas, habenarum impotentes, concitavere, atque atroci colliſione prælio, ac Vindex cæſis XX. millibus Gallorum, ſibi ipſi manus intulit.

revolted

revolted about the ſame Time. The Soldiers tore *Nero*'s Image from their Enſigns, and trod it under Foot; but they were, nevertheleſs, little devoted to *Galba*, becauſe they thought it too mean to have the Imperial Dignity diſpoſed of by one Legion, they therefore offer'd it to *Verginius*; but he ſtedfaſtly refuſed it, and with much Difficulty prevailed upon the Soldiers to wait for the Reſolution of the Senat; either becauſe he had actually not Ambition enough to uſurp the Empire, or becauſe he hoped to obtain it by the Conſent of the Senat, to whom this Mark of his Reſpect could not but be agreable *.

§. XXXVIII. *NERO* was at *Naples* when he heard the News of *Vindex*'s Rebellion †, and made ſo light of it, that nothing affected him more in the Manifeſto, whereby *Vindex* juſtified his Conduct, than the Ridicule with which he treated the Skill he pretended to in Muſick. But when an Account was brought him at *Rome*, of *Galba*'s Revolt in *Spain*, he begun to prepare for a Campaign. His Preparations were very ill devis'd, and ceas'd at once, when Letters arrived from the *Rhine*. *Nymphidius Sabinus*, and *Sophonius Tigellinus*, his *Præfecti Prætorio*, were the firſt that forſook him; the former perſuaded the *Prætorian* Band, that *Nero* intended to retire privately into *Egypt*, and, in *Galba*'s Name, offer'd them conſiderable Sums (1) to ſwear Allegiance to him. All this was tranſacted in one Night, and *Nero*, when he awaked, found himſelf ſo abandon'd, that he took to the Flight, and laid violent Hands on himſelf, when he heard the Senat had declared him an Enemy to his Country, and that the Horſemen, who were ſent in Purſuit of him, to put him to an ignominious Death, were at the Door. Several Members of the Senat may have been inclined to *Verginius Rufus*, yet, as the *Prætorians* declared for *Galba*, and as his Party encreaſed hourly, inſomuch that no other could, without Danger of a bloody War, be elected, the Senat nominated him Emperor, and ſent this Decree to him by a ſplendid Ambaſſy, entreating him to haſten his Journy to *Rome*. *Verginius*, on his Part, knew ſo well how to comply with the Times, that he now oblig'd his Legions to pay Homage to the new Emperor.

And is acknowledg'd after *Nero*'s Death.

† About the 20 of March.

§. XXXIX. BUT *Galba* not placing too great Confidence in *Verginius*, took him with him to *Rome*: The Armies on the *Rhine* were quickly factious, and their Diſcontent ended in an open Rebellion. The 4th and 18th Legions, which lay together in Winter Quarters, not

The Armies on the *Rhine* deſert *Galba*.

§. XXXVII. * TACITUS *l. c.*

§. XXXVIII. (1) TACITUS *l. c.* Trigeſies mille ſeſtertium in ſingulos, & quinquies in exteros.

Vitellius proclaimed Emperor at *Cologn.*
† A. Chr. 69. V. C. 812.
In the Consulate of S Sulpicius Galba, Aug. 11. *and* T. Vinius Rufinus.

far from *Mentz*, begun it, on the first of *January* †, tore *Galba*'s Image from their Ensigns, and took an Oath to the *Roman* Senat and People. This News no sooner reached *Bonn*, where the first Legion was quarter'd, than the Lieutenant *Fabius Valens*, *Galba*'s secret Enemy, who had before earnestly entreated *Vitellius* to assume the Imperial Dignity, went to *Cologn*, where *Vitellius* then resided. He found him half drunk, and the Wine excited him to agree immediately to a Propofal, which he would perhaps, if sober, have taken Time to consider upon. He was proclaimed Emperor the same Evening, presented with *J. Cæsar*'s Sword, which was deposited in the Temple of *Mars* at *Cologn*, as a Token of his new Dignity, and carried in Procession through the principal Streets of the City. The other Legions in *Lower-Germany* were as ready to join in this Rebellion as those on the *Upper-Rhine*, who tore their *S. P. Q. R.* as gladly from their Ensigns as they had fix'd it on. They gave him the Surname of *Germanicus*, which the former Emperors, from *Tiberius* to *Nero*, had taken, and which he gladly accepted of, but as yet refused the Title of *Augustus*. The *Ubii*, *Treviri* (1), *Lingones*, and other *Gallick* Nations, *Valerius Asiaticus*, Lieutenant in *Belgica*, *Junius Blæsus* Lieutenant in *Gallia Lugdunensis*, and the Army which was in *Britain*, took his Party. It was agreed, that in their March to *Italy*, *Fabius Valens* should pass thro' *Gaul*, and over the *Alpes Cottiæ*; and *Cæcina* go the neareft Way thro' the Country of the *Helvetii* *. Both Armies had *German* Auxiliaries (2), and the Services of the *Tungri* and *Batavi* are recorded, as particularly memorable (3).

Vitellius's Army defeats *Otho.*

§. XL. They found however an Enemy different from him against whom they marched; for *Galba*, so soon as he heard of the Conspiracy on the *Rhine*, adopted *Piso Licinius* as his Son, hoping thereby to establish his Throne. But *M. Salvius Otho*, who had contributed so much to his Accession, that he thought this Honour in Gratitude due to him, raised such a Tumult, that he was pro-

§. XXXIX. (1) *The* Treviri *are hitherto mentioned, not as Subjects, but as Allies of the* Romans. Tacit. L. I. *c.* 12. Et Treveros quidem, ut socios, securi adierunt.

* Tacit. *Hist.* L. I. *c.* 51-70.

(2) Tacit *Hist.* L. I. *c.* 64. Addita utrique Germanorum auxilia.

(3) Tacit. *Hist.* L. IV. *c.* 15. Tungrarum cohortium præfecti, sustentata die acie, telis obruuntur. Idem *c.* 27. Cohortes Batavorum, quas bello Neronis, a quarta decima legione digressas, cum Britanniam peterent, audito Vitellii motu, in civitate Lingonum, Fabio Valenti adjunctas, retulimus, superbe agebant; ut cujusque legionis tentoria accessissent, coërcitos a se quarta decimanos, ablatam Neroni Italiam, atque omnem belli fortunam in ipsorum manu sitam, jactantes.

claimed

claimed Emperor, and both *Galba* and *Piſo* were murder'd on the ſame Day †. He therefore marched againſt *Vitellius*'s Army, and they came to a pitch'd Battle near *Bedriac* (1), where *Otho*'s Army was defeated, and he in Deſpair ſlew himſelf (2). *Vitellius*, in the mean while, was ſet out from *Cologn*, with the reſt of the Army, and heard by the Way, at *Tull*, of the fortunate Succeſs of his Arms. At *Lions* he found the Heads of both Parties, and there, with great Solemnity, gave his Son the Surname of *Germanicus* (3). When he arrived in *Italy*, he divided his Army, and among others, ſent the *Cohortes Batavorum*, and the Auxiliaries, which had been raiſed in *Gaul*, back over the *Alps* (4); but kept a Part of the *Germans* in his Service: He paſſed through *Cremona*, and viſited the Plain near *Bedriac*; from whence he ſent the Dagger with which *Otho* had kill'd himſelf to *Cologn*, to be preſerved in the Temple of *Mars* (5). He arrived at *Rome* in *July*, where the *Germans*, in their Skins of wild Beaſts, with their monſtrous Arms, made a frightful Figure (6). But *Vitellius* repoſed a great Confidence in the Superſtition of the *Germans*, as well as their Valour: For tho' he perſecuted all Mathematicians, even to Death, yet was a certain *German* Sorcereſs as much eſteemed by him, as ever *Velleda* and *Aurinia* were by the *Germans* themſelves (7).

† 15. Jan. A. C. 69.

§. XLI. THE Rebellions in *Germany* had hitherto weaken'd the *Roman* Empire; but now the Eaſtern Countries alarmed not only *Rome*, but likewiſe the *Rhine*, and the *German* Nations inhabiting either Side of it. *Flavius Veſpaſianus* had, for ſeveral Years, been employed againſt the Jews, and had, at every Revolution, ſhew'd ſuch Indifference, that he oblig'd his Army to ſwear Allegiance to *Galba*, *Otho*, and at laſt to *Vitellius*. But now the Troops in *Egypt*, *Judea* and *Syria* elected him Emperor, and were follow'd by thoſe in *Illyricum*. *Antonius Primus*, who commanded the latter, undertook to

Claudius Civilis excites his *Batavi* to a Rebellion againſt the *Romans*.

§. XL. (1) *Vicus inter Cremonam & Veronam.*

(2) *Circa d.* 19. *April. cum* 95 *dies imperaſſet.* SUETONIUS *in Otton.* c. 11.

(3) TACIT. *Hiſt.* L. II. *c.* 59. Perlatumque filium ſuum, paludamente opertum, ſinu retinens, Germanicum appellavit, cinxitque fortunæ principalis inſigniis.

(4) TACIT. *L.* II. *c.* 76. *conf.* §. XLV. *n.* 1.

(5) SUETONIUS *in Vitell.* 10. Pugionemque, quo ſe is occiderat, in Agrippinenſem coloniam miſit, Marti dedicandum.

(6) TACIT. *L. c. c.* 88. In urbe trepidatum, præcurrentibus paſſim militibus. Forum maxime petebant, cupidine viſendi locum, in quo Galba jacuiſſet. Nec minus ſævum ſpectaculum erant ipſi, tergis ferarum, & ingentibus telis, horrentes, &c.

(7) SUETONIUS *in Vitell. c.* 14. *n.* 7. Suſpectus & in morte matris fuit, quaſi ægræ præberi cibum prohibuiſſet: Vaticinante Catta muliere, cui velut oraculo acquieſcebat, ita demum firmiter *diutiſſime* imperaturum, ſi ſuperſtes parenti extitiſſet.

invade *Italy*, and to attack *Vitellius* even at *Rome*. He took a good Number of *Suevi* and *Sarmatæ* into his Service: And, as the Lieutenant in *Rætia* was a zealous Adherent of *Vitellius*, he ſtirr'd up the *Norici* againſt him, to keep him from *Italy* (1). He fomented, beſides this, with great Care, a riſing Rebellion on the *Rhine*, which, as he intended, hinder'd the *Roman* Legions from going to the Aſſiſtance of *Vitellius*, but had afterwards very near diſmember'd all *Gaul* from the *Roman* Juriſdiction. This aroſe firſt among the *Batavi*. The *Romans* had hitherto demanded nothing elſe of them, but, inſtead of a Contribution, a certain Number of Horſe-men; who were of great Uſe to the *Romans*, as well for their Valour, as their Skill in Swimming, which was ſo great, that whole Squadrons would croſs the moſt rapid Streams; and they were ſerviceable not only againſt the *Germans*, but particularly in *Britain*. The *Romans* kept conſtantly a conſiderable Number of *Batavian Cavalry* in that Iſland, whoſe Officers were all of their own Nation, which was a good Opportunity for the young Perſons of Diſtinction to qualify themſelves for the Command. The *Batavi* had, beſide theſe, in their own Country, a ſtanding Army of ſelect Horſe-Men. *Julius Paulus* and *Claudius Civilis* (2), who were of Royal Blood, diſtinguiſh'd themſelves, among their Nobility: But this their Superiority had almoſt coſt them both their Lives. *Fonteius Capito* cauſed *Julius Paulus* to be accuſed of a Rebellion, and under that Pretence to be murder'd; but *Civilis* was ſent Captive to *Rome*, where he was afterwards ſet at Liberty by *Galba*, with Leave to return Home, but under *Vitellius* narrowly eſcaped with his Head. Theſe Attempts made him ripe for any Undertaking conducive to his future Security; And as he was a Prince of ſuch excellent Qualities, that *Tacitus* compares him to *Hannibal* and *Sertorius*, (whom he likewiſe reſembled, as having but one Eye) no Enterpriſe appear'd too difficult to him. The Diviſion in the *Roman* Empire ſoon afforded him a good Opportunity, when

§. XLI. 1. Tacit. *L.* III. *c.* 5. Ac ne inermes provinciæ barbaris nationibus exponerentur, principes Sarmatarum Jazygum, penes quos civitatis regimen, in commilitium adſciti. Plebem quoque, & vim equitum, qua ſola valent, offerebant: remiſſum id munus, ne inter diſcordias externa molirentur, aut majore ex diverſo mercede, jus faſque exuerent. Trahuntur in partes Sido, atque Italicus, Reges Suevorum, qui vetus obſequium erga Romanos, & gens fidei commiſſæ patientior. Oppoſita in latus auxilia, infeſta Rætia, cui Portius Septiminus procurator erat, incorruptæ erga Vitellium fidei. Igitur Sextilius felix, cum ala Auriana, & octo cohortibus, ac Noricorum juventute, ad occupandam ripam Æni fluminis, quod Rætos Noricoſque interfluit, miſſus. Nec his, aut illis, prœlium tentantibus, fortuna partium alibi tranſacta.

(2) Savilius *ad* Tacit. *H. L.* IV. *c.* 13. *obſerves, that* Civilis *is, by* Tacitus *and* Plutarch, *ſometimes termed* Julius.

he

he received Letters from *Antonius Primus*, who entreated him, to raiſe ſome Commotion in his Part, whereby the Legions on the *Rhine*, which *Vitellius* had order'd to *Italy*, might be detained from that March; and when *Hordeonius Flaccus*, who was not averſe to *Veſpaſian*'s Party, had given to underſtand that he would be glad of a Pretence to be exempted from that March. *Civilis* reſolved therefore, at firſt, to conceal his Revolt, under the Colour of a Zeal for *Veſpaſian*'s Party, to which the *Romans* the more readily gave Credit, as a Friendſhip had ſubſiſted between *Veſpaſian* and him (3): And as the *Batavi* were beſides diſguſted, on Occaſion of the new Levies, he invited a Company of the Chiefs and moſt valiant of the Nation, to a Banquet, in a conſecrated Grove, and when they were merry, and warm with Liquor, communicated his Deſign to them, into which they all eagerly enter'd, and ſwore Fidelity to each other (4).

§. XLII. THE *Caninafati*, who border'd on the *Batavi* (1), and dwelt towards the Sea, were hereupon drawn into the Faction. They immediately choſe for their Leader one *Brinno*, whoſe Father had already been famous, in the Reign of *Cajus*, for his Enmity to the *Romans*; they placed him, according to Cuſtom, upon a Shield, and proclaimed him their General (2). *Brinno* was the firſt who took to Arms: He was joined by the *Friſii*, who were only ſeparated from him by the *Rhine*, and plunder'd two *Cohorts*, who lay in Winter-Quarters in the Neighbourhood (3). The *Roman Cohorts*, in the Iſland *Batavia*, were in very bad Order. *Vitellius* had taken out the beſt Soldiers, and ſupplied their Places partly with *Germans* and partly with *Nervii*. As therefore their *Tribunes* were diffident of their own Force, they ſet Fire to their Caſtles, and retired, under the Conduct of *Aquilius*, to the upper Part of the Iſland. And now *Civilis*, likewiſe, began Hoſtilities, placed himſelf at the Head of his People, and

Draws the *Caninafati* over to his Party.

(3) *Ipſe Civilis ap.* TACITUM *Hiſt. L.* V. *c.* 26. Erga Veſpaſianum vetus mihi obſervantia, & cum privatus eſſet, amici vocabamur. *This Friendſhip was perhaps cultivated in* Britain, *as* Veſpaſian *ſerv'd under* Claudius *in that Iſland. See above* §. XXVI. not. 1. *and* Civilis *was probably among the* Batavi, *who diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in the ſame Expedition.*

* TACITUS *H.* IV. 12-14.

(4) IDEM. *L.* IV. *c.* 15. Barbaro ritu, & patriis execrationibus, omnes adigit.

§. XLII. (1) TACIT. *H. L.* IV. *c.* 15. Ea gens partem inſulæ colit, origine, lingua, virtute, par Batavis, numero ſuperantur.

(2) *Ibid.* Erat in Caninafatibus, ſtolidæ audaciæ Brinno, claritate natalium inſigni: pater ejus multa hoſtilia auſus, Cajanearum expeditionum ludibrium impune ſpreverat. Igitur ipſo rebellis familiæ nomine placuit, impoſituſque ſcuto, more gentis, & ſuſtinentium humeris vibratus, Dux deligitur.

(3) *Idem.* Duarum cohortium hiberna, proxima occupatu, irrumpit. Nec præviderant impetum hoſtium milites; nec ſi prævidiſſent, ſatis virium ad arcendum erat. Capta igitur & direpta caſtra, &c.

ventur'd

ventur'd openly to attack the *Romans*, with whom he had hitherto diſſembled: The *Bructeri*, *Tencteri*, *Batanafati* and *Friſii* made each a ſeparate Army. When they came to an Encounter, the *Cohors Tungrorum* went over to *Civilis*, and contributed very much to the Defeat of the Enemy. The Sailors in the *Roman* Fleet, which conſiſted of 24 Ships, were moſt of them *Batavi*, who, on this Occaſion, likewiſe declared for their Countrymen, deliver'd ſeveral of the Ships into their Hands, and were the Occaſion that the others were the more eaſily taken. This Victory not only added to his Undertaking the Honour, that he was univerſally eſteem'd the Author of his Country's Liberty, but likewiſe enabled him to purſue it with Vigour, as he had taken a Fleet, with a conſiderable Quantity of Arms and Ammunition. The neighbouring *Germans* immediately offer'd him their Alliance, and he himſelf ſought to win the *Gauls*. He not only ſet the Captive *Præfecti Cohortium* at Liberty, without any Ranſom, but likewiſe gave the Soldiers their Choice, whether they would enter into his Service, or go Home. Thoſe who remained were well treated, and thoſe, who deſired to go, were preſented with Part of the Booty, that the Tokens of the *Roman* Overthrow might be ſpread the farther, and a Deſire of ſhaking off their Yoke, be thereby excited *. *Civilis* himſelf ſeldom diſcourſed with them upon any other Subject, than the Facility of ſuch an Attempt (4).

A Battle with the *Romans*.

§. XLIII. *Flaccus Hordeonius*, who commanded in *Germany*, had not oppoſed the firſt Inſurrection of the *Batavi*: but *Munius Lupercus* now marched, by his Order, againſt them. He ſent two Legions over the *Rhine*, which he re-inforced with ſome Auxiliaries from the *Ubii*, by a Part of the Cavalry of the *Treviri*, and a Wing of *Batavi*, which latter was commanded by *Claudius Labeo*, a ſworn Enemy of *Civilis*, in whom a great Confidence was therefore placed. But when they came to engage, the *Batavi*, who cover'd the left Wing, went immediately over to their Countrymen. The *Ubii* and *Treviri* were the firſt who took to the Flight, and while *Civilis* was in Purſuit of them, the *Roman* Infantry found an Opportunity of retreating to *Caſtra Vetera*. The Wing of *Batavi* ſeems actually to have deſerted againſt the Inclination of their General. *Civilis*, who

The *Batavian* Cavalry deſerts from the *Roman* Service, and goes over to *Civilis*.

* Tacit. *H. L.* IV. *c.* 15, 16, 17.

(4) Tacit. l. *c. c.* 17. *quotes the Arguments, which he was ſuppos'd to make Uſe of*: Gallorum ſocietatem Civilis ante doniſque affectabat, captos cohortium præfectos ſuas in civitates remittendo: cohortibus abire, an manere, mallent, data poteſtate, manentibus honorata militia; digredientibus, ſpolia Romanorum offerebantur. Simul ſecretis ſermonibus, admonebat malorum, quæ tot annis perpeſſi, miſeram ſervitutem falſo pacem vocarent, &c.

had

had now his Enemy in his Power, would not take away his Life, not to give Offence to his Friends, but could not well ſuffer him near his Perſon, wherefore a Pretext was found for ſending him to *Frieſland* (1). *

§. XLIV. THE eight *Cohortes Batavæ*, who, in the mean while, had learnt what had paſs'd, thereupon turned about, and directed their Courſe to the *Lower Germany*, without *Hordeonius*'s daring to interrupt their March. When they approached *Bonn*, where the firſt Legion was in Winter-Quarters, *Herennius Gallus*, the Legate, ventured to obſtruct their Paſſage: But they valiantly fought their Way thro' (1), paſſed by *Cologn* quietly, and then join'd *Civilis*, who, now the Flames of War were fully broken out, thought it moſt ſecure, in Caſe of the worſt, to make his whole Army ſwear Allegiance to *Veſpaſian*. He thereupon ſent to the two Legions, who were retired to *Vetera*, an Invitation to do the ſame: But they replying that they were ready to venture their Lives, and all they had, in *Vitellius*'s Service, and making Uſe of opprobrious Language, in their Anſwer, he beſieged the Place. The whole Nation of *Batavi* was now in Arms, and with them the *Bructeri*, *Tencteri*, and other *German* Nations. *Civilis* placed himſelf, with a ſelect Army of *Batavi*, in the Center, and on both Sides, along the Banks, were the other *German* Nations, each of whom compoſed a ſeparate Army. The Skins, and Images of wild Beaſts, which they made uſe of for their Banners, revived the Memory of all the *Romans* had ever ſuffer'd by the *Germans*, as, on the other Hand, the *Roman* Banners, of thoſe *Batavian* Regiments, who had been ſo long employed in their Service, made the Appearance of a Civil War (2). But *Civilis* met with a greater Reſiſtance, than he probably expected (3): And *Hordeonius*

Civilis beſieges *Caſtra Vetera*: the *Romans* prepare to relieve it.

§. XLIII. (1) Tacitus *deſcribes the Diſpoſition of* Civilis's *Army*, c. 18. Civilis, captarum cohortium ſignis circumdatus, ut ſuo militi recens gloria ante oculos, & hoſtes memoria cladis terrerentur; matrem ſuam, ſororeſque, ſimul omnium conjuges, parvoſque liberos, conſiſtere a tergo jubet: hortamenta victoriæ, vel pulſis pudorem. Ut virorum cantu, feminarum ululatu, ſonuit acies; nequaquam par a legionibus, cohortibuſque, redditur clamor.

* TACITUS *H. L.* IV. *c.* 18.

§. XLIV. (1) TACIT. *ib.* 20. Illi veteres militiæ, in cuneos congregantur, denſi undique, & frontem, tergaque ac latus, tuti.

(2) TACIT. *c.* 22. Hinc veteranarum cohortium ſigna, inde depromptæ ſilvis luciſque ferarum imagines, ut cuique genti iniri prœlium mos eſt, mixta belli civilis externique facie, obſtupefecerant obſeſſos.

(3) TACITUS *c.* 23. *gives a circumſtantial Account of this Siege.* Batavi, Tranſrhenanique, quo diſcreta virtus manifeſtius ſpectaretur, ſibi quæque gens conſiſtunt, eminus laceſſentes. Poſt ubi pleraque telorum turribus pinniſque mœnium irrita hærebant, & deſuper ſaxis vulnerabantur; clamore atque impetu, invaſere vallum, appoſitis plerique ſcalis, alii per teſtudinem ſuorum. Scandebantque jam quidam, cum gladiis & armorum

deonius Flaccus begun, in the mean Time, to awake from his Lethargy. He ſent *Dillius Vocula*, with the beſt Part of the Legions, before, not being able, on Account of his Infirmities, to keep Pace with them, and followed himſelf with the Remainder of the *Roman* Army. Juſt before his Departure he received a Letter from *Veſpaſian*, which, to remove all Suſpicion in the Army, he order'd to be publickly read, and ſent the Meſſenger in Chains to *Rome*, to *Vitellius*. At *Cologn*, he met with the Auxiliaries, which had been raiſed here and there in *Gaul*. But the common Soldiers were ſo diſguſted at *Hordeonius Flaccus*, that he was obliged to reſign the Command to *Vocula*: They were met at *Neus* by the thirteenth Legion, and *Herennius Gallus* was join'd in the Command with *Vocula*. They would not, however, hazard to encounter the Enemy, but encamped near *Gelduba* (4): And, undoubtedly, the Fear of *Civilis*, did not alone occaſion this Backwardneſs, but, in ſome Meaſure, the Irreſolution of the *Roman* Officers: For as zealous as the common Soldiers were for *Vitellius*, as much were many of the principal Officers devoted to *Veſpaſian*, for whom *Civilis* ſeemed to act. But that they might not, in the mean Time, be wholly unemployed, *Vocula*, with Part of them, made an Incurſion into the Country of the *Gugerni* (5), who had taken Part with *Civilis*. [redacted] is the latter ſoon reveng'd, and as he received daily freſh Recruits from

armorum incuſſu præcipitati, ſudibus & pilis obruuntur, præferoces initio, & rebus ſecundis nimii. Sed tum, prædæ cupidine, adverſa quoque tolerabant. Machinas etiam, inſolitum ſibi, auſi: nec ulla ipſis ſolertia: perfugæ captivique docebant ſtruere materias in modum pontis, mox ſubjectis rotis propellere: ut alii ſuperſtantes, tanquam exaggere præliarentur; pars intus, occulti, muros ſubruerent. Sed excuſſa baliſtis ſaxa ſtravere informe opus, & crates vineaſque parantibus, adactæ tormentis ardentes haſtæ, ultroque ipſi oppugnatores ignibus petebantur; donec deſperata vi, verterent conſilium ad moras, haud ignari paucorum dierum ineſſe alimenta, & multum imbellis turbæ. *Et cap.* 30. Eduxerant Batavi turrim, duplici tabulato, quam prætoriæ portæ (is æquiſſimus locus) propinquantem, promoti contra validi aſſeres, & incuſſæ trabes perfregere, multa ſuperſtantium pernicie. Pugnatumque in perculſos, ſubita & proſpera eruptione. Simul a legionariis peritia & arte præſtantibus plura ſtruebantur. Præcipuum pavorem intulit ſuſpenſum & nutans machinamentum, quo repente demiſſo præter ſuorum ora, ſinguli pluresque hoſtium ſublime rapti, verſo pondere intra caſtra effundebantur

(4) *Caſtellum in Ubiis ad Rhenum.* Cellarius, *Orb. ant. T.* 1. p. 333. *ſhews, with ſome Probability, That the Village* Gelb, *on the* Rhine, *eleven* Roman *Miles from* Neus, *retains the Name and Memory of this Place.*

(5) *The* Gugerni *were a* German *Nation, who dwelt on the right Banks of the* Rhine, *between the* Ubii *and* Batavi. Plinius *Hiſt. Nat.* L. IV. *c.* 16. Rhenum accolentes Germaniæ gentium, in eadem provincia Belgica, Nemetes Tribocci, Vangiones. Hinc Ubii, Colonia Agrippinenſis, Gugerni, Batavi. Cluverius l. 2. G. A. c. 18. *imagines them to have been the* Sicambri, *whom* Tiberius *carried over the* Rhine. Grotius L. VII. H. Belg. p. 339. *ſays of them:* Retro (*where* Gelders *now is*) Gugernos coluiſſe, vetus deſcriptio perſuader, & in hunc diem Goga (Goch) vicus. *All which is proved more plainly and largely by* Altingius, *l. c. P.* I. Tab. III. & p. 80.

Germany,

Germany, he made Uſe of ſome of them againſt the *Treviri* and *Ubii*; the latter of which were very zealous in the Service of the *Romans* (6); and others he ſent even over the *Maes* to infeſt the *Menapii*, *Morini*, and the extream Parts of *Gaul*.

§. XLV. ABOUT this Time †, News came to the *Rhine* of a bloody Battle near *Cremona*, in *Italy* (1), in which *Veſpaſian*'s Party had gained the Victory. *Hordeonius Flaccus*, and the Camp at *Gelduba*, inſtantly declared for him, and *Albinus Montanus*, a *Trevirer* by Birth, who was himſelf preſent at the Battle of *Cremona*, was ſent to *Civilis*, to repreſent to him, that ſince they had now declared *Veſpaſian* Emperor, if he was ſincere in his Pretenſions for his Service, he ſhould put a Stop to all Hoſtilities. The Caſe was now ſo plain, and, whatever he might pretend, it evidently appear'd, that he did not make War againſt *Vitellius*'s Party, but againſt the *Romans*. He remained himſelf before *Vetera*, and ſent 8 *Cohorts*, with the Choice of thoſe *German* Nations, who were with him, againſt the Camp at *Gelduba*; This Army was commanded by *Julius Maximus* and *Claudius Victor*, his Siſter's Son (2). They defeated by the Way an *Ala*, which was quarter'd near *Aſciburg* (3), and had almoſt made themſelves Maſters of the Camp at *Gelduba*, when *Vocula* received a Re-inforcement, juſt in Time, to repel them. *Vocula* thereupon ventured on the Relief of *Vetera*. The Battle was ſtill very dubious, when *Civilis* unfortunately fell from his Horſe, which cauſed a Report to be ſpread in both Armies, that he was mortally wounded, and even dead, whereby the *Germans* were ſo diſheartned, and the *Romans* ſo encouraged, that the latter put the former to the Flight: But *Vocula* would not venture to purſue them. He repaired the Fortifications of *Vetera*, and then returned by the Way of *Gelduba* and *Neus*, to the main Army. *Ci-*

† A. C. 69. *Veſpaſian* is victorious in *Italy*. A Battle on the *Rhine* near *Gelduba* and *Vetera*.

(6) TACITUS *Hiſt. L.* IV. *c.* 28. At Civilem immenſis auctibus univerſa Germania extolleba:, ſocietate nobiliſſimis obſidum firmata. Ille, ut cuique proximum, vaſtari Ubios, Treveroſque, & alia manu Moſam amnem tranſire jubet, ut Menapios, & Morinos, & extremæ Galliarum, quateret. Actæ utrobique prædæ; infeſtius in Ubiis, quod gens Germanicæ originis, ejurata patria, Romanorum nomen Agrippinenſes vocarentur. Cæſæ cohortes eorum, in vico Marcoduro, incurioſius agentes, quia procul ripa aberant. Nec quievere Ubii, quominus prædas e Germania peterent, primo impune, dein circumventi ſunt, per omne id bellum meliore uſi fide, quam fortuna.

§. XLV. (1) *The Princes of the* Suevi, *abovementioned, behaved themſelves valiantly at this Battle.* TACITUS *H. L.* 3. *c.* 22. Sido, atque Italicus, Reges Suevi, cum delectis populariorum, primori in acie verſabantur.

(2) TACITUS *H. L.* IV. *c.* 33. Civilis, parte copiarum retenta, veteranas cohortes, & quod e Germanis maxime promptum, adverſus Voculam, exercitumque ejus, mittit: Julio Maximo, & Claudio Victore, SORORIS SUÆ FILIO, ducibus; *In other Editions we read*: Sororis ſuæ viro.

(3) TACITUS *L.* IV. *c.* 33. Rapiunt in tranſitu hiberna alæ, Aſciburgi ſita. Aſciburgum *lay between* Vetera *and* Gelduba, ALTINGIUS, *l. c. Tab. I. p.* 11.

vilis thereupon block'd up *Vetera* once more, haſtened after *Vocula*, took *Gelduba*, and defeated Part of the *Roman*-Cavalry near *Neus*. A Mutiny aroſe, about the ſame Time, among the Legions in the main Camp. They had murder'd *Hordeonius Flaccus*, and *Vocula* ſcarce eſcap'd their Fury by a Flight. In this Diſorder, they did not wait for *Civilis*'s Arrival, but fled with Precipitation; and the whole *Rhine* would, at that Time, have become ſubject to the *Germans*, had not the 4th and 1 Legion returned to *Vocula*'s Command, and the *Treviri*, for the Security of their Borders, thrown up a Line, and defended it, with much Bloodſhed, againſt the *Germans* (4). For, beſides this Army under *Civilis*, another fell into *Upper-Germany*, and undertook even to beſiege *Mentz* (5); but they ſoon found the Place too ſtrong for them. *Vocula* came unexpectedly upon them, in their Retreat, and recover'd Part of their Booty *.

The *Gauls* ſubmit to *Civilis* after *Vitellius*'s Death.

§. XLVI. Vespasian's Army, in *Italy*, had, in the mean Time, approached the City of *Rome*, and appeared ſo formidable to *Vitellius*, that he had already begun to treat with *Veſpaſian*'s Brother, *Sabinus*, of the Surrender of the Empire: But the *German* Soldiers, who were conſtantly in *Vitellius*'s Service (1), diſſuaded him from it. *Sabinus*, at ſo unexpected a Change, fled into the Capitol. *Vitellius*'s Soldiers beſieged him there, and ſet Fire to this Sanctuary of the *Roman* Empire *. But *Antonius Primus* and *Petilius Cerialis* had no ſooner enter'd

(4) Tacitus *H. L.* IV. *c.* 37. Quin & loricam vallumque, per fines ſuos Treviri ſtruxere, magniſque invicem, claudibus cum Germanis certabant, donec egregia erga populum Rom. merita mox rebelles fœdarunt.

(5) Tacitus *L.* IV. *c.* 38. Diſceſſerant obſeſſores, mixtus ex Cattis, Uſipiis, Mattiacis exercitus, ſatietate prædæ, nec incruenti. In via diſperſos, & neſcios, miles noſter invaſerat.

* Tacitus *H. L.* IV. *c.* 31-37.

§. XLVI. (1) *I obſerved before, that* Vitellius *took* German *and* Batavian *Troops with him to* Italy. *The* Batavians *were ſent back: But the* Germans *are afterwards mentioned by* Tacitus *in ſeveral Places*, *H. L.* II. *c.* 93. Adjacentia Tiberi Germanorum, Gallorumque obnoxia morbis corpora, fluminis aviditas, & æſtus impatientia, labefecit. *Idem H. L.* III. *c.* 69. Igitur tanquam omnis reſpublica in Veſpaſiani ſinum ceſſiſſet, primores Senatus, & plerique equeſtris ordinis, omniſque miles urbanus, & vigiles, domum Flavii Sabini complevere. Illuc de ſtudiis vulgi, & de armis Germanicarum cohortium, affertur. *Dio p.* 741. *C proves, that thoſe Troops were chiefly inſtrumental in the Deſtruction of the Capitol.* Sed quum incidiſſent in Germanos cuſtodes Vitellii, miſere afflicti diſcedunt, atque in Capitolium perfugiunt. Eodem Domitianum, Veſpaſiani filium, propinquoſque ejus, accerſunt, præſidiiſque muniunt. Poſtridie ejus diei Vitelliani contra eos irruere: hi impetum illorum propulſavere aliquamdiu: ſed quum incenſis iis, quæ circum Capitolium erant, igni impedirentur, Vitelliani aſcendunt in Capitolium, magnumque numerum eorum concidunt, direptiſque omnibus, quæ in Capitolio repoſita erant, ac præter alia loca, magno templo Jovis Opt. Max. incenſo, Sabinum & Atticum, captos, ad Vitellium mittunt.

* Tacitus *H. L.* IV. *c.* 69-74.

Rome,

Rome, than the Face of Affairs was a ſecond Time changed. *Vitellius* was put to Death, in the moſt ignominious Manner, and, of all his Adherents, a ſingle *German* was the only one, who attempted any Thing for his Delivery (2). *Rome* begun now to be in a tranquil State; but the Fury of War encreaſed twofold on this Side of the *Alps*. *Civilis* now acted openly againſt the *Romans*, and the Projects, which he had ſo long labour'd to perſuade the *Gauls* to, begun to break forth. The *Treviri* and *Lingones* were the Chief among thoſe, who took the Reſolution of freing *Gaul* from the *Romans*. *Claſſicus*, who was deſcended from the Royal Blood of the *Treviri*, and commanded an *Ala Trevirorum*, headed them, and under him *Julius Tutor* and *Julius Sabinus*, a *Lingo* of Diſtinction. Some *Ubii* and *Tungri* were likewiſe of the Faction. Beſides the Perplexities, in which the *Roman* Empire was involved, and which were daily magnified by fictitious Reports, nothing excited the *Gauls* more, than that the Capitol at *Rome* was burnt down, which the *Druids* repreſented to them as a certain Forerunner of the Declenſion of the *Roman* Empire (3). They no longer conſider'd the Greatneſs of their Enterpriſe, as they were aſſured, that the Gods had ſo decreed it. The firſt Conſpiracy was formed in a private Houſe at *Cologn*, and the Reſolution taken to embrace the Opportunity of the preſent Diviſions in the *Roman* Empire, to free *Gaul*, and to delude the *Roman* Generals, with a Proſpect of Security, till an Opportunity could be found to murder them; after which, it would be an eaſy Matter to draw the common Soldiers, who were prejudiced againſt *Veſpaſian*, over to their Party. *Vocula* was indeed informed of their Deſign, and partly ſaw it, but did not think himſelf in a Condition, to oppoſe it, as he could not yet ſafely confide in his own Men. He therefore reſolved likewiſe to diſſemble, and went to *Cologn*. He there met with *Claudius Labeo*, who had found Means of eſcaping from *Frieſland*, to come to him, and offer'd, if he could have an Army put under his Command, he would invade *Batavia*, and bring over the greateſt Part of that Nation to the *Romans* again. *Vocula* agreed to it; but *Labeo* could not perform his Promiſe. He drew over to his Army ſome *Bethaſii* and *Nervii*, but would not venture to undertake any thing againſt the *Batavi*,

(2) TACITUS *Hiſt. L.* III. *c.* 85. Vinctæ pone tergum manus: Laniata veſte, fœdum ſpectaculum ducebatur, multis increpantibus, nullo illacrymante. Deformitas exitus miſericordiam abſtulerat. Obvius e Germanicis militibus Vitellium infeſto ictu, per iram, vel, quo maturius ludibriis eximeret, an tribunum appetierit, in incerto fuit: aurem tribuni amputavit, ac ſtatim conſoſſus eſt,

(3) *Idem Hiſt. L.* IV. *c.* 54. Sed nihil æque, quam incendium Capitolii, ut finem imperii adeſſe crederent, impulerat. Captam olim a Gallis urbem: ſed, integra Jovis ſede, manſiſſe imperium. Fatali nunc igne ſignum cœleſtis iræ datum, & poſſeſſionem rerum humanarum Tranſalpinis gentibus portendi, ſuperſtitione vana Druidæ canebant.

and

and only made Incurſions into the Countries of the *Caninafati*, and *Marſaci* (4). The *Gauls* ſtill appear'd faithful and zealous; *Vocula* therefore marched againſt *Civilis*, hoping, that, if he could ſucceed againſt him, they might perhaps be more ſecurely confided in, or, at leaſt, be the more eaſily reſtrained: But even this accelerated the Rebellion. He was not far diſtant from *Vetera*, when *Claſſicus* and *Tutor* rid before, under Pretence of getting Intelligence; but in Reality to conclude a Treaty with *Civilis* (5). At their Return, they ſeparated their Troops from the *Roman* Army, and *Vocula* needed then no longer to doubt of their Intention. He ſaw no other Method, than that of retiring to *Neus*. The *Gauls* encamped two *Roman* Miles from that Place, and the private good Underſtanding, which they had cultivated in the *Roman* Camp, proved ſo effectual, that they came over to them, one Company after the other. *Vocula* was, at length, ſlain, and *Herennius*, *Legatus* I. *Legionis*, with *Numiſius Rufus*, *Legatus* XVII *Legionis*, were put in Irons. *Claſſicus* then went to the *Roman* Camp, with all the Pomp and Ceremony, uſual for a *Roman* General at the Army (6); and the *Roman* Legions ſwore *pro Imperio Galliarum*. The Images of the *Roman* Emperors were tore from the Enſigns of the Legions (7), but thoſe who order'd it knew not themſelves, what was to ſucceed in the Place of them *.

The *Roman* Legions near *Vetera* ſurrender to *Civilis*.

§. XLVII. TUTOR and *Claſſicus* hereupon ſeparated. *Tutor* went to *Upper-Germany*, and by the way received the Homages of the City of *Cologn*, and of thoſe *Roman* Troops, which were on the *Upper-Rhine*; and order'd ſeveral Officers of Diſtinction, who refuſed to do it, to be put to Death, at *Mentz*. *Claſſicus* went down to the *Rhine*, and joined *Civilis*, who was ſtill before *Vetera*, and ſummon'd the two Legions to take Part with the *Gauls*. Theſe ſeing a Famine coming upon them, and all Hopes of a Relief, cut off, were under a Neceſſity of capitulating. They were obliged likewiſe to ſwear *pro Imperio Galliarum*, and only obtain'd leave to depart; but all their Ammunition was left a Prey. They had ſcarce marched five *Roman* Miles, when they were attacked by

(4) TACITUS *Hiſt. L.* IV. *c.* 56. Nihil apud Batavos auſus, quoſdam Nerviorum, Bethaſiorumque, in arma traxit. Et furtim magis, quam bello, Caninefates, Marſacoſque incurſabat. Marſaci, *or* Marſatii, *were thoſe* Friſii *who dwelt from the right Arm of the* Rhine *along the Sea-Coaſt, and from thence took the Name of* Meerſaten. V. MENSO ALTINGIUS, *l. c. Tab.* II. *& p.* 93.

(5) TACITUS *L.* IV. *c.* 57. Cum ducibus Germanorum pacta firmavere. *Among whom are to be underſtood the Chiefs of the* Bructeri *and other* Germans, *who aſſiſted* Civilis.

(6) TACITUS *L.* IV. *c.* 59. Dein ſumtis Romani imperii inſignibus, in caſtra venit. Nec illi, quamquam ad omne facinus durato, verba ultra ſuppeditavere, quam ut ſacramentum recitaret. Juravere, qui aderant, pro imperio Galliarum.

7) TACITUS *Hiſt. L.* IV. *c.* 62. Revulſæ Imperatorum imagines, inhonora ſigna, fulgentibus hinc inde Gallorum vexillis, ſilens agmen, & velut longæ exſequiæ.

* TACITUS *H. L.* IV. *c.* 54-59.

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by the *Germans*, and partly ſlain on the Spot, partly diſperſed. *Civilis* himſelf own'd this to be a Breach of the Publick Faith, and ſhew'd a great Diſlike of it. He pretended it was not in his Power to reſtrain the the Fury of the *Germans*: But this was thought only a Pretext, and the whole Affair to have been ſo concerted. Their Camp was plunder'd and then ſet on Fire. *Civilis* had, ſince he had taken up Arms, according to the Cuſtom of the *Germans*, eſpecially of the *Catti*, from whom the *Batavi* were deſcended, made a Vow, to let his Hair grow, till he had perform'd ſome ſignal Exploit againſt the *Romans*. Now, he thought, he might with Honour diſpenſe with that Vow (1). He is likewiſe accuſed of having given his Son, who was then a Youth, ſome Priſoners, to ſhoot to Death with Arrows for his Pleaſure and Exerciſe. We have ſo much the leſs to wonder, that the *German* Wars were attended with ſome Barbarity in theſe Times, ſince their Heroes were bred up to them by theſe inhuman Exerciſes. A Part of the Booty, with ſome Priſoners, among whom was *Mumius Lupercus*, *Legatus Legionis*, was ſent to *Velleda*. This *Velleda* was a ſingle Woman, who was in ſo great Eſteem not only among the *Bructeri*, her Country-men, but among all the neighbouring Nations, for her Predictions, that they were as much regarded as the *Sibyllian* Verſes, among the *Romans*. It is obſerved, as ſomewhat ſingular, by Hiſtorians, that among the *Germans*, the Art of Divination was chiefly practiſed by Women; and the Men were ſo credulous, that they ſometimes adored thoſe wiſe Women, as Goddeſſes (2). *Velleda* dwelt in the Country of the *Bructeri*, ſomewhere about the *Lippe* (3), retired from the viſible Converſation of all Mankind, except her own Relations, by whoſe Means only, ſhe was to be conſulted (4).

Of *Velleda*.

§ XLVII. (1) TACITUS *H. L.* IV. c. 61. Civilis barbaro voto, poſt cœpta adverſus Romanos arma, propexum rutilatumque crinem, patrata demum cæde legionum, depoſuit. *Of this Cuſtom of the ancient* Germans TACITUS *de mor. Germ. c.* 3. *writes.* Aliis Germanorum populis uſurpatum, rara & privata cujuſque audentia, apud Cattos in Conſenſum vertit, crinem barbamque ſummittere, nec, niſi hoſte cæſo, exuere notivum, obligatumque virtuti oris habitum. *And ſome Nations have ſince retained this Cuſtom.* PAUL. DIACONUS *de geſtis Langob. L.* IIIe c. 3. Sex millia Saxonum devoverunt ſe, neque barbam, neque capillos, raſuros, niſi ſe de Suevis hoſtibus ulciſcerentur.

(2) TACITUS *de mor. Germ.* c. 8. Ineſſe enim ſanctum quid, & providum, putant feminis: nec aut conſilia earum aſpernantur, aut reſponſa negligunt: vidimus, ſub D. Veſpaſiano, Velledam diu apud pleroſque numinis loco habitam. Sed & olim Auriniam, & complures alias, venerati ſunt, non adulatione, nec tanquam facerent Deas. *See above*, L. II. § XXXVI.

(3) *See below*, § LV. not. 5. *Some have mentioned one, ſome another Place, as* Jo. Georg. Keyſler *ſays in his* Antiq. Septentr. p. 472. ſqq. *But the whole depends upon meer Conjectures, as does likewiſe, what is ſaid of the Name of* Velleda.

(4) TACITUS *H. L.* IV. *c.* 67. Sed coram adire, alloquique, Velledam, negatum. Arcebantur conſpectu, quo venerationis plus ineſſet. Ipſa edita in turri: delectus e propinquis, conſulta reſponſaque, ut internuntius numinis, portabat.

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She now gained the more Credit, as ſhe had propheſied the good Succeſs of the *German* Arms (5), and we ſhall ſee below, of how much Weight her Predictions were eſteem'd throughout the whole War.*

The *Roman* Forts and Camps along the *Rhine* are deſtroyed.

XLVIII. The 13th Legion, which lay at *Neus*, and that of *Bonn*, who both ſurrender'd, were, by *Claudius Sanctius*, conducted to *Triers*, which was to be the Capital of the new *Imperium Galliarum*. All the Camps and Quarters, where *Legions*, *Cohorts*, or *Alæ* had hitherto been ſtation'd in Winter, were ſet on Fire and razed, excepting that at *Mentz* and *Vindoniſſa*, and the *Rhine* was thus at once freed from almoſt all its Bonds*.

Civilis's Deſigns. The *Ubii* come into the *German* League.

XLIX. *CIVILIS* had not engaged himſelf to the *Gauls*, otherways than as an Ally (1), and ſought daily to encreaſe the Number of his own Adherents, in hopes, that if once, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Gauls*, the *Roman* Power could be ſubverted, he could then eaſily deal with them. The *Colonia Ubiorum* was of great Importance. The *German* Nations, who came from the other Side of the *Rhine*, to aſſiſt *Civilis*, would gladly have had it given a Prey to them. The *Tencteri*, who were their neareſt Neighbours, ſent an Embaſſy to this Colony, and deſired, that they would kill all the *Romans* they ſhould find in their Dominions, and raze the Walls of the Town, that their former Community with other *German* Nations might be the ſooner reſtored (2). The Inhabitants left it to the Determination of *Velleda* and *Civilis* (3), which was, that the Town ſhould enter into the *German* League, and ſuppreſs the Duties on

(5) Tacitus *Hiſt. L.* IV. *c.* 67. Tuncque Velledæ auctoritas adolevit. Nam proſperas Germanis res, & excidium legionum, prædixerat.

* Tacitus *H. L.* IV. c. 59-62.

§ XLVIII. * Tacitus *H. L.* IV. *c.* 61, 62.

§ XLIX. (1) Tacitus *H. L.* IV. *c.* 61. Neque ſe, neque quenquam Batavum, in verba Galliarum adegit, fiſus Germanorum opibus, &, ſi certandum adverſus Gallos de poſſeſſione rerum foret, inclitus fama, & potior.

(2) Tacitus *gives us the following Speech of the Ambaſſadors, H. L.* IV. *c.* 64. Rediiſſe vos in corpus nomenque Germaniæ, communibus Deis, ſed præcipuo Deorum, Marti, grates agimus: vobiſque gratulamur, quod tandem liberi inter liberos eritis. Nam ad hunc diem flumina ac terras, & cœlum quodammodo ipſum, clauſerant Romani, ut colloquia congreſſuſque noſtros arcerent: vel, quod contumelioſius eſt, viris ad arma natis, inermes ac prope nudi, ſub cuſtode & pretio coiremus. Sed ut amicitia, ſocietaſque noſtra, in æternum rata ſint: poſtulamus a vobis, muros coloniæ, munimenta ſervitii, detrahatis. Etiam fera animalia, ſi clauſa teneas, virtutis obliviſcuntur. Romanos omnes, in finibus veſtris, trucidetis, haud facile libertas, & domini miſcentur: bona interfectorum in medium cedant, ne quis occulere quidquam, aut ſegregare cauſſam ſuam, poſſit. Liceat nobis, vobiſque utramque ripam colere, ut olim majoribus noſtris, quomodo lucem diemque omnibus hominibus, ita omnes terras fortibus viris natura aperuit. Inſtituta, cultumque patrium, reſumite, abruptis voluptatibus, quibus Romani plus adverſus ſubjectos, quam armis, valent. Sincerus, & integer, & ſervitutis oblitus populus, aut ex æquo agetis, aut aliis imperitabitis.

(3) *Their Anſwer may be met with in* Tacitus *c.* 65. Quæ prima libertatis facultas data

on the *Rhine*, that a Commerce might be free. *Civilis* then went farther, and obliged the *Sunici* (4), to come in likewiſe. *Claudius Labeo* had levied an Army, in Haſte, of *Tungri*, *Bethaſii*, and *Nervii*, at *Maeſtricht*, to ſtop *Civilis*'s Progreſs. The Battle was ſcarce begun, when the *Tungri* went over to *Civilis*, and *Labeo* himſelf, fearful of falling once more into his Hands, fled. The *Bethaſii* and *Nervii* followed the Example of the *Tungri*, and *Civilis* purſued *Labeo* to the farthermoſt Part of *Belgick Gaul* *.

Julius Sabinus aſpires to the Imperial Dignity; but is defeated by the *Sequani*.

L. WHILST Succeſs thus attended all his Undertakings, *Julius Sabinus* broke looſe, on the other Side, among the *Lingones*, publickly violated the Treaty, in which his Nation was hitherto engaged with the *Romans*, and aſſumed the Name of *Cæſar*; pretending, that *Julius Cæſar*, during the War in *Gaul*, carried on an Amour with his Grand-Mother, and by her had his Father. He marched againſt the *Sequani*, who continued loyal to the *Romans*, but was put to flight by them, and cauſed a Report to be ſpread, that he had kill'd himſelf *.

Mucianus ſends freſh Supplies to the *Rhine*. *Tutor* is beat near *Bingen*.

LI. *MUCIANUS*, to whom the Adminiſtration was left, in the Abſence of *Veſpaſian*, no ſooner had an Account of this Rebellion, at *Rome*, than he order'd *Gallius Annius*, and *Petilius Cerialis* to go to the *Rhine*: But when News grew daily worſe, he prepared to go himſelf, with *Domitian*, over the *Alps*. The 14th *Roman* Legion, which was in *Britain*, and the 6th and 8th, which were ſtation'd in *Spain*, were order'd to go to *Gaul*. But the Envy and Diſſention, which reign'd among that People, were of more Advantage to the *Romans*, than their own Power. Thoſe Nations, who ſided formerly with *Vindex*, now oppoſed the Undertakings of the *Treviri* and *Lingones*, becauſe they were then attach'd to *Verginius*. The Chiefs of theſe two Nations con-

data eſt, avidius, quam cautius, ſumpſimus, ut vobis, cæteriſque Germanis, conſanguineis noſtris, jungeremur. Muros civitatis, congregantibus ſe cum maxime Romanorum exercitibus, augere nobis, quam diruere, tutius eſt. Si qui, ex Italia, aut provinciis, alienigenæ in finibus noſtris fuerant, eos bellum abſumpſit: vel in ſuas quiſque ſedes refugere. Deductis olim, & nobiſcum per connubium ſociatis, quique mox provenere, hæc patria eſt. Nec vos adeo iniquos exiſtimamus, ut interficia nobis parentes, fratres, liberos noſtros, velitis. Vectigal, & onera commerciorum, reſolvimus. Sint tranſitus incuſtoditi, ſed diurni & inermes: donec nova, & recentia jura, in vetuſtatem conſuetudine vertantur. Arbitrum habebimus Civilem, & Velledam, apud quos pacta ſancientur.

(4) *The* Sunici *dwelt in the preſent Dukedom of* Limburg, *where is ſtill a Place call'd* Sunich, *which ſeems to have borrow'd its Name from them.* Menſo Altingius *treats of the Conjecture, that they were ſome of the* Suevi dedititii, *whom* Tiberius *led over the* Rhine, (*See above*, B. III. §. 18.) *as well as of their Habitation, with much Probability.* L. c. P. I. Tab. V. & p. 118.

* TACITUS *H. L.* IV. *c.* 63-66.

§. L. * TACITUS *H. L.* IV. *c.* 67. *Of his farther Adventures. See* PLUTARCHUS in Eroticos c. fin.

tended alternatively for the Supremacy, even before they had eſtabliſhed their Liberty: And, at the Convention at *Rheims*, when News was brought of the Preparations of the *Romans*, tho' all others were inclinable to Peace, the *Treviri* and *Lingones* held out. The *Roman* Army approached in the mean time nearer. The 21ſt Legion took their Route by *Vindoniſſa*; and *Sextilius Felix* march'd, with his foreign Regiments, thro' *Rætia*, having with him *Julius Briganticus*, *Civilis*'s Siſter's Son, who commanded an *Ala Singularium*, and was as odious to his Uncle, as ſo near a Ty of Conſanguinity ſhould have render'd him agreable. *Tutor* was guilty of a great Inadvertency, in not cauſing the Paſſes of the *Alps* to be immediately beſet, and not covering, as he might have done, the *Upper-Rhine*. His Soldiers, however, at firſt, defeated a *Cohors* (1) which *Sextilius Felix* had ſent before; but when the Army itſelf approached, moſt of them went over to the *Romans*, ſo that he found himſelf oblig'd to retire to *Bingen*. For his greater Safety, he order'd the Bridge over the *Naab* to be pull'd down: But *Sextilius* found a Ford, fell upon him, and drove him out of the Field. This ſo terrified the *Treviri*, that *Tutor* and *Julius Valentinus* could ſcarce diſſuade them from ſurrendering. The two Legions that were at *Triers* declared once more for *Veſpaſian*, and join'd the *Mediomatrices*, who continued their Fidelity to the *Romans*.

Petilius Cerialis defeats the *Treviri* near *Rigola*.

LII. THE *Roman* General, *Cerialis*, arrived about this Time at *Mentz*, and immediately ſent ſome Officers, to ſecure thoſe two Legions, which were ſtation'd about *Metz*. He went himſelf, with a Body of Troops, ſome of whom he had brought with him, and had found the reſt at *Mentz*, towards *Rigola* (1), where *Julius Valentinus* had placed himſelf very advantageouſly, with his Adherents, the *Treviri* and other *Belgæ*. *Cerialis*, notwithſtanding this, attack'd and deſtroy'd his Camp, and took *Valentinus* himſelf Priſoner: The next Day he march'd to *Triers*, which, by this Overthrow, lay open to him (2). The common Sol-

§ LI. (1) TACITUS *H. L.* IV. *c.* 70. Tutor, Treverorum copias, recenti Vangionum, Caracatium, Tribocorum delectu, auctas, veterano pedite, atque equite firmavit, corruptis ſpe, aut metu ſubactis legionariis, qui primo cohortem præmiſſam a Sextilio Felice interficiunt: mox, ubi duces, exercituſque Romani, propinquabant, honeſto transfugio rediere: ſecutis Tribocis, Vangionibuſque & Caracatibus. CLUVERIUS *L.* II. *c.* 12. *reads, inſtead of* Caracates, Nemetes. Ja. Gronovius, *on this Paſſage, ſuppoſes it to be* Tabernates.

§ LII. (1) Rigodulum. *The Place is now call'd* Rigol, *and is ſituate on the* Moſel, *ſomewhat below* Triers, *oppoſite to the ſmall Town of* Pfaltz.

(2) TACIT. *H L.* IV. *c.* 72. Cerialis poſtero die coloniam Treverorum ingreſſus eſt, *&c.* BROWERUS *Annal. Trev.* I. *c.* 131. *p.* 129. ſeq. *thinks that* Auguſtus *ſettled a Colony at* Triers, *which, by what I have mentioned above, B.* III, §. 1. not. 2, *becomes dubious, for there it appears, that the* Romans, *in* Germanicus's *Times, look'd upon* Triers, *as a foreign Place.* Browerus *moreover produces,* p. 130. *a Coin, upon the Reverſe of which is writ* COLonia AUGuſta PATricia TREVERORum, *but which is neither met with in* Mezzabarba *nor* Vaillant.

diers

diers were very eager to pillage the City: But the General choſe rather to win the Affections of the People by Lenity, and himſelf made a Speech to the Heads of the *Treviri* and *Lingones*, in which he repreſented to them, how much more Advantage they would reap, under the Dominion of the *Romans*, than from a vain *Chimera* of *Liberty*, always expoſed to the Ravage of the *Germans* (3). He then encamped with his Troops near *Triers* *.

LIII. *CIVILIS* and *CLASSICUS* tried hereupon, on their Part, whether *Cerialis* aſpired to the Imperial Dignity, and offer'd to procure him the Sovereignty of *Gaul*, if he would leave them the Dominion over their Nations. This not ſucceeding, *Civilis* adviſed, not to attack the *Romans* immediately; but to wait for more Troops from the other Side of the *Rhine*. But his Motion was rejected, and immediate Preparations were made for a Battle (1). The Army was ſo diſpoſed, that the *Ubii* and *Lingones* were in the Center; the *Batavi* on the Right, and the *Bructeri* and *Tencteri* on the left Wing. The Attack was ſo fortunate for the Allies, that they were already Maſters of the Bridge over the *Moſel*: But *Cerialis* rallied the *Romans*, and Fortune ſo ſeconded his Valour, that he not only put the Enemy to Flight, but made himſelf Maſter of their

The Battle of *Triers*.

The *Ubii* join the *Romans* again.

(3) TACIT. *H. L.* IV. *c.* 73. Terram veſtram cæterorumque Gallorum, ingreſſi ſunt duces, imperatoreſque Romani, nulla cupidine, ſed majoribus veſtris invocantibus, quos diſcordiæ uſque ad exitium fatigabant, et acciti auxilio Germani, ſociis pariter, atque hoſtibus, ſervitutem impoſuerant, Quot prœliis adverſus Cimbros, Teutonoſque, quantis exercituum noſtrorum laboribus, quove eventu Germanica bella tractaverimus, ſatis clarum. Nec ideo Rhenum inſedimus, ut Italiam tueremur, ſed ne quis alius Arioviſtus regno Galliarum potiretur, An vos cariores Civili, Bativiſque, & Tranſrhenanis gentibus creditis, quam majoribus eorum patres, avique veſtri, fuerunt? Eadem ſemper cauſſa Germanis tranſcendendi in Gallias, libido atque avaritia, mutandæ ſedis amor: ut relictis paludibus, & ſolitudinibus ſuis, fecundiſſimum hoc ſolum, voſque ipſos poſſiderent. *He tells them moreover*: ipſi plerumque legionibus noſtris præſidetis, ipſi has, aliaſque provincias regitis: *and concludes at laſt*: proinde pacem, & urbem, quam victi, victoreſque, eodem jure obtinemus, amate, colite.

* TACIT. H. *L.* IV. *c.* 71-74.

§. LIII. (1) TACIT. *H. L.* IV. *c.* 76. Apud Germanos diverſis ſententiis certabatur. Civilis operiendas Tranſrhenanorum gentes, quarum terrore fractæ populi Romani vires obtererentur. Gallos quid aliud, quam prædam, victoribus? & tamen, quod roboris ſit, Belgas, ſecum palam, aut voto, ſtare. Tutor, cunctatione creſcere rem Romanam, affirmabat, coëuntibus undique exercitibus. Tranſvectam e Britannia legionem: accitas ex Hiſpania: adventare ex Italia: nec ſubitum militem, ſed veterem, expertumque belli. Nam Germanos, qui ab ipſis ſperentur, non juberi, non regi, ſed cuncta ex libidine agere. Pecuniamque, ac dona, quis ſolis corrumpantur, majora apud Romanos: & neminem adeo in arma pronum, ut non idem pretium quietis, quam periculi, malit: quod ſi ſtatim congrediantur, nullas eſſe Ceriali, niſi ex reliquiis Germanici exercitus, legiones fœderibus Galliarum obſtrictas, &c.

Camp. *Civilis* thought he ſhould meet with a ſecure Refuge among the *Ubii*, in whoſe Dominions, at *Zülch*, lay his beſt Regiment, conſiſting of *Chauci* and *Friſii*. But the Inhabitants of *Cologn* had already reconciled themſelves to the *Romans*, and to beſpeak their Affection, had unexpectedly fallen upon *Civilis*'s Soldiers at *Zülch*, and ſlain all the *Germans* they met with in their City. *Cerialis* haſtned the more to their Aſſiſtance, becauſe they had promiſed to deliver to him *Civilis*'s Wife and Siſter, and *Claſſicus*'s Daughter, who had been left with them (2) to keep up a better Underſtanding *.

The Battle of *Vetera*. *Civilis* retreats over the *Rhine*.

LIV. *CIVILIS*, however, was not yet diſheartned. The *Canafati* had been ſucceſsful againſt the *Roman* Fleet, which ſailed from *Britain*, and took or ſunk moſt of the Ships. *Claſſicus*, on the other Hand, had defeated the Cavalry, which *Cerialis* had ſent to *Neus* (1). *Civilis* himſelf drew as many *Germans* over the *Rhine*, as he poſſibly could, and encamped near *Vetera*, there to wait for the *Romans*. *Cerialis* fell upon him with his whole Army; the Force of which may be computed, from his having ſix Legions with him, beſides the Auxiliaries. *Civilis* had omitted nothing, that could turn to his Advantage. *Tacitus* gives us a particular Account of this Battle (2); the Event of which proved fortunate to the *Romans*. *Civilis* would not now venture to continue longer in the Field, tho' Re-inforcements, from the *Chauci*, join'd him the Day after the Battle: He would not even hazard the Defence of thoſe Cities, which the *Batavi* poſſeſs'd on the right Banks of the *Waal*, but retired to his Iſland; took, with him whatever he could, and ſet Fire to the reſt (3). He knew

(2) Tacit. *Hiſt. L.* IV. *c.* 79. Orabant auxilium Agrippinenſes; offerebantque uxorem, ac ſororem iivilis, & filiam Claſſici, relicta ſibipignora ſocietatis. Atque interim diſperſos in domibus Germanos trucidaverunt. Unde metus, & juſtæ preces, invocantium, antequam hoſtes, reparatis viribus, ad ſpem, vel ad ultionem, accingerentur. Namque & Civilis illuc intenderat, non invalidus, flagrantiſſima cohortium ſuarum integra; quæ ex Chaucis, Friſiiſque compoſita, Tolbiaci, in finibus Agrippinenſium, agebat. Sed triſtis nuntius averti, deletam cohortem dolo Agrippinenſium: qui largis epulis, vinoque ſopitos Germanos, clauſis foribus, igne injecto, cremavere. Simul Cerialis propero agmine ſubvenit.

* Tacit. *H. L.* IV. *c.* 75-79.

§. LIV. (1) Tacit. *H. L.* IV. *c.* 79.

(2) Tacit. *H. L.* V. *c.* 14. ſqq. *I cannot here omit relating from him the Order of Battle.* Civilis haud porrecto agmine, ſed cuneis adſtitit. Batavi, Cugernique in dextro, læva, ac propiora fluminis Tranſrhenani teeunre. *After having related* Civilis's *Speech, he proceeds thus:* Ubi ſono armorum, tripudiiſque, (ita illis mos) approbata ſunt dicta, ſaxis, glandibuſque, & cæteris miſſilibus, prœlium incipitur, &c.

(3) Tacit. *L.* V. *c.* 19. Non tamen auſus opidum Batavorum armis tueri, raptis, quæ ferri poterant, cæteris injecto igni, in inſulam conceſſit. Lipſius *is dubious, whether this Reading may be retained, and* Badavoturum *be underſtood; or whether, according to the* Codex Romanus, *we muſt read* Opida Batavorum.

very

very well, that the *Romans* could not ſo ſoon purſue him, their Fleet not being in a Condition; and, for his Delivery, attempted another Project; whereby he removed the Limits which Nature had ſet to the Water and to the Land. *Druſus*, and after him, *Pompeius Paullinus*, had raiſed high Banks on the right Arm of the *Rhine*, which are ſuppoſed to have been begun where *Wyck te Duverſtede* now is (4). Theſe *Civilis* broke thro', and thereby laid the whole Tract of Land, to the *Waal*, under Water *: Which being afterwards confined, by new Banks, now makes the new Arm of the *Rhine*, which is call'd the *Leck*. The River thereby became ſo ſhallow, eſpecially as new Canals were perpetually making, that there did not remain Water enough to reach the Sea (5).

LV. WITH *Civilis*, eſcaped *Tutor Claſſicus*, and a large Number of *Trevirian* Noblemen; among whom was *Alpinus Montanus*, of whom Mention is made above (1). They levied Men with ſuch Succeſs, among the *Batavi* and neighbouring *Germans*, that, when the *Romans* invaded the Iſland, they were oppoſed by four different Armies (2). The Battle of *Vada*, where *Civilis* commanded, was ſo warm, that his Horſe was killed under him, and he was oblig'd to ſave himſelf by ſwimming over the *Rhine*. When *Cerialis* had thus made himſelf Maſter of the upper Part of the Iſland, he took a Turn to *Bonn*, and *Neus*, to view the Winter-Quarters, which were there aſſign'd the Legions. On his Return from thence, he paſs'd down the *Rhine*, and by the Way, the *Germans* fell upon him unexpectedly in the Night, took his Yacht (3), and thought that they had ſecured his Perſon. But, as it was afterwards generally reported, he had luckily ſpent the Night with an *Ubian* Lady (4). His Ship was drawn up the *Lippe*, and given to *Velleda* (5) as a Preſent *.

The *Romans* purſue him thither.

(4) *See above*, §. XXXII.

* TACIT. *H. L.* V. *c.* 14-19.

(5) MENSO ALTINGIUS *L. c. p.* 113.

§ LV. (1) *See above, the* XLV. §.

(2) TACITUS *L.* V. *c.* 20 Tantumque belli ſuperfuit, ut præſidia cohortium, alarum, legionum, modicis vicis quadripartita, Civilis invaſerit: decimam legionem Arenaci; ſecundam Batavoduri, & Grinnes Vadamque, cohortium alarumque caſtra: ita diviſis copiis, ut ipſe, & Verax, ſorore ejus genitus, Claſſicuſque, ac Tutor, ſuam quiſque manum traherent. Batavodorum *is ſaid to be the preſent* Durſtede. Arenacum *is by ſome thought to be the preſent* Arnheim; *but this is confuted by* Menſo Altingius, L. c. p. 8, 9: *he likewiſe endeavours to ſhew, where* Grinnes *and* Vada *are ſituate*, p. 80 & 127.

(3) TACITUS *H. L.* V. *c.* 22. Prætoriam navem, vexillo inſignem.

(4) TACITUS *ib.* Cerialis alibi noctem egerat, ut plerique credidere, ob ſtuprum Claudiæ Sacratæ, mulieris Ubiæ.

(5) *Ibid.* Multa luce revecti hoſtes, captivis navibus, prætoriam triremem, flumine Luppia, donum Velledæ, traxere.

* TACITUS *H. L.* V. *c.* 20, 22.

LVI.

A Sea-fight, betwixt the *Roman* and *Batavian* Fleet. A Peace enſues.

LVI. *CIVILIS* had, in the mean Time, equipp'd a Fleet, which lay at the Mouth of the *Maes*, to intercept the Recruit and Proviſions, which were brought from *Gaul*. The *Roman* Fleet was not ſo numerous as the *Batavian*, tho' the Ships were larger, and the Sailors more expert. But, when it came to an Engagement, neither one nor the other effected much (1). *Cerialis* continued, in the mean Time, Maſter of the Country of the *Batavi*, and ravaged it, as far as he could reach; but, as the Winter approach'd, in which he could not poſſibly remain in the Iſland, he privately gave, as well the *Batavi*, as *Civilis* himſelf, Hopes of an honourable Peace; and, by ſome Means, prevailed upon *Velleda*, and her Relations, to adviſe the *Germans* to it. Many of the *Batavian* Chiefs, who were diſguſted at *Civilis*, tho' till then they had not dared to expreſs it, now declared every where, that *Civilis*, for his private Views, had been the Occaſion of all theſe Troubles. The common People were the more ready to accept of a Peace, as the *Romans* required no more, than the former Conditions. They ſaid, that if they muſt have a Lord over them, better a *Roman* Emperor, than a *German* Woman, by whom they meant *Velleda*, to whom, they had ever paid a very great Deference, after *Civilis* had repoſed his greateſt Confidence in the Aſſiſtance of the *Germans* (2). The valiant *Civilis* himſelf, who very well knew, which way their Inclinations were bent, and who, inſtead of thinking farther of the Sovereignty, or even but of Liberty, had enough to do to ſecure his own Life, and the Safety of his Perſon, came likewiſe into it. He had a perſonal Interview with *Cerialis* (3), upon which

§. LVI. (1) Tacitus *H. L.* V. *c.* 23. Civilem cupido inceſſit, navalem aciem oſtentandi. Complet quod biremium, quæque ſimplici ordine agebantur. Adjecta ingens lintrium vis, tricenis quadrageniſque armamenta Liburnicis ſolita: & ſimul captæ lintres, ſagulis verſicoloribus, haud indecore, pro velis, invabantur. Spatium velut æquoris electum, quo Moſæ fluminis os, amnem Rhenum, Oceano affundit. Cauſa inſtruendæ claſſis, ſuper inſitam genti vanitatem, ut eo terrore commeatus, Gallia adventantes, interciperent. Cerialis miraculo magis, quam metu, direxit claſſem, numero imparem, uſu remigum, gubernatorum arte, navium magnitudine potiorem. His flumen ſecundum: illi vento agebantur. Sic prævecti, tentato telorum jactu, dirimuntur,

(2) Tacitus *H. L.* V. *c.* 25. Si dominorum electio ſit; honeſtius principes Romanorum, quam Germanorum feminas, tolerari.

(3) Tacitus *H. L.* V. *c.* 26. Petito colloquio, ſcinditur Nabaliæ fluminis pons, in cujus abrupta progreſſi duces, & Civilis, ita cœpit, &c. *Some have imagin'd, that it muſt be read* Vahalis fluminis pons. *But according to* Tacitus's *Relation, it is improbable, that they met at the* Waal, *ſince it appears from the foregoing, that* Cerialis *remained Maſter of the Iſland of* Batavia, *and* Civilis *retired over the* Rhine *to the neighbouring* German *Nations.* Cluverius de Rheni alveis p. 204. *endeavours to prove, that the* Yſſel *is to be underſtood, and he is ſeconded by* Menſo Altingius *in this Opinion:* L. c. p. 100. Sic igitur ſtatuo, Civilem,

which enſued a Submiſſion, and an entire Accommodation; of the Circumſtances of which we are ignorant, ſince *Tacitus* here concludes his Hiſtory. The *Batavi* continued afterwards loyal to the *Romans*, who made a very advantageous Uſe of that Iſland, in conquering *Britain*. But *Civilis*'s Memory has been held in ſuch Eſteem by his lateſt Poſterity, that to this Day they look upon it, as one of their greateſt Glories, to have this War repreſented among the Monuments of their Nations (4), and their Hiſtorians compare *William*, Prince of *Orange*, the Fountain of the Liberties of *Holland*, to this immortal Hero (5).

lem, animadverſo, Friſiorum animos, jam a Ceriale inclinatos: ab iis in Bructeros ſe contuliſſe, ultra foſſam Druſianam, quam Germani, ex re, ceu alterum Vahalem, & Rheni abactorem, ſua lingua, *de Nawale*, id eſt, Vahalem poſteriorem, admodum concinne vocare poterant; ſed fortaſſe non totam, & ea tantum parte, quæ eſt inter Rhenum, & veterem Salæ alveum, qua & pontem colloquii fuiſſe, omnino veriſimile fit.

(4) *In the great Hall of the Aſſembly of the States-General, at the* Hague, *are twelve Pieces, done by the famous Painter* Otto Veenius, *which repreſent this War. We have of him, likewiſe,* Batavorum cum Romanis bellum, a CORNELIO TACITO, Hiſtorico, olim deſcriptum, figuris nunc æneis expreſſum. Antverpiæ 1612.

(5) *See* H. Grotius's *Preface to the* Antiquitat. Reipubl. Batavorum.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ANCIENT GERMANS.

BOOK V.

The HISTORY of the GERMANS to the Concluſion of the War with PROBUS.

SECT. I. DOMITIAN *triumphs over the* Catti. II. Chariomer, *King of the* Cheruſci, *put to Flight by the* Catti. III. Maſyus, *King of the* Semnones, *goes to* Rome. IV. *War between the* Quadi *and the* Lygii. V. L. Antonius *revolts on the* Upper Rhine, *and makes a League with the* Germans. VI. Domitian's *War with the* Marcomanni. *The* Goths *aſſiſt the* Dacii *againſt the* Romans. VII. Nerva *takes the Surname of* Germanicus. VIII. *The War and Overthrow of the* Bructeri. IX. Trajan's *Exploits againſt the* Germans. X. *Some Tranſactions of the* Germans *in the Reign of* Adrian. XI. Antoninus Pius *ſets a King over the* Quadi. XII. *The Wars of* M. Aurelius *with the* Chauci *and* Catti. XIII. *The Beginning of the* German *War on the* Danube. XIV. M. Aurelius's *ſecond Expedition.* XV. *He marches into* Pannonia, *againſt the* Marcomanni *and* Jazygi, *and forces them to retire over the* Danube. XVI. Pertinax *defeats the* Germans *in* Rætia. XVII. M. Aurelius's *Victory over the* Quadi. XVIII. *A Peace with the* Quadi *and* Marcomanni. XIX. *How far the* Gothini, Aſtingi, Nariſci *and* Burii *were concern'd in this War.* XX. *Peace made with the* Jazygi. XXI. *A general Peace with the* Germans

mans *and* Sarmatæ. M. Aurelius's *Triumph.* XXII. *A new War with the* Marcomanni. Aurelius *takes the Field again.* XXIII. Commodus *makes Peace with the* Germans. XXIV. *His War with the* Friſii. *Monuments of* Septimius Severus *remaining in* Germany. XXV. *The* Alemanni *wage War with* Caracalla. XXVI. *He treats with ſeveral of the* German *Nations; and ſows Diſſentions between the* Vandals *and the* Marcomanni. XXVII. *The* Goths *invade* Dacia. XXVIII. *The* Germans *make Incurſions into* Gaul. XXIX. Maximinus's *Victory over the* Germans. XXX. *His Wars on the* Danube. *The Senat at* Rome *declare him an Enemy to his Country. He takes* Germans *into his Army.* XXXI. *The firſt Mention made of the* Franks. *Their Original.* XXXII. *A Continuation of the Hiſtory of the* Goths. XXXIII. *The* Goths *paſs the* Danube. Faſtida, *King of the* Gepidæ, *overthrows the* Burgundians; *But is defeated by* Oſtrogothia. XXXIV. Decius *kill'd in a Battle with the* Goths. XXXV. Gallus *makes Peace with them.* XXXVI. Gallienus *makes War with the* Germans *in* Gaul. *The* Roman *Generals are ſucceſsful on the* Danube. XXXVII. *The* Goths *make an Irruption into* Aſia. Valerianus *marches againſt them.* XXXVIII. Valerianus *taken Priſoner. Great Confuſions enſue in the* Roman *Empire. Some* German *Colonies invade* Italy. Gallienus *makes a League with the King of the* Marcomanni. XXXIX. Poſthumus *aſſumes the Imperial Dignity in* Gaul. Gallienus *leads* Goths, Franks, &c. *in Triumph.* XL. Poſthumus *maintains his Ground in* Gaul. *The Wars of* Poſthumus *and* C. Lollianus, *with the* Germans. XLI. Victorinus *aſſaſſinated at* Cologn. *A* Roman *Mint at* Triers. XLII. *The* Goths *ſail a ſecond Time into* Aſia. XLIII. *The* Goths *ſail up the* Danube. *The* Heruli *ravage the Coaſts of* Aſia *and* Greece. XLIV. Claudius *obtains a Victory over the* Alemanni. *The* Goths *ſail from the* Nieſter *into the* Black Sea. XLV. Claudius *defeats the* Goths. XLVI. *A Remnant of them beſieges* Nicopolis. XLVII. *The* Alemanni *invade the* Roman *Provinces.* Aurelianus *defeats the* Juthungi. XLVIII. *His War with the* Marcomanni; XLIX. *And the* Vandals. L. *His Actions with the* Goths *and* Sarmatæ. LI. *He beats the* Germans *out of* Gaul. Tetricus *ſubmits.* Aurelianus's *Triumph.* LII. *He drives the* Germans *out of* Rætia: *But abandons* Dacia. LIII. *After the Death of* Aurelianus, *the* Germans *invade* Gaul, *and the* Goths Aſia *again.* LIV. Probus *drives the* Germans *out of* Gaul. *A Battle with the* Franks, Lygii, Burgundians *and* Vandals. LV. *The farther Wars of* Probus *with the* Germans *and* Goths. LVI. *What Share the* Germans *had in the Wars between* Probus, Proculus, *and* Bonoſus. LVII. *Piracies of the* Germans, *particularly of the* Franks. LVIII. *The Inhabitants on the* Rhine,

and on the Mosel, *are indebted to* Probus, *for their Knowledge of planting Vineyards.* LIX. *Troubles in* Germany *under* Carus *and* Carinus. Diocletian *ascends the Imperial Throne.*

Domitian triumphs over the *Catti.*

§ I. THE History of *Domitian* affords us many Footsteps of Transactions between him and the *Germans*; but they are in Part so very uncertain, as scarce to admit of an Illustration. I mentioned before, that the *Batavian* War (1) was the Occasion, in the Beginning of *Vespasian*'s Reign, of his crossing the *Alps*. After his own Accession to the Throne, he took another Journy to *Gaul*, and from thence fell, unexpectedly, upon the *Catti* (2); but retreated almost as soon as he saw the Enemy. A splendid Triumph was, nevertheless, prepared in Honour to this War (3), which the Poets of those Times did not fail to celebrate as glorious (4): And some of the Learned are of Opinion, that,

§ I. (1) Statius *seems to mean this* Batavian *War.* Sylv. L. I. c. 1. v. 79. sqq.

——Tu bella Jovis: tu proelia Rheni,
Tu civile nefas, tu tardum in fœdera montem,
Longo Marte domas.

(2) Suetonius *in Domit. c.* 6. Expeditiones partim sponte suscepit, partim necessario. Sponte in Cattos, necessario unam in Sarmatas, &c. *To this Expedition seem likewise to appertain the Circumstances related by* Frontinus L. I. Strat. c. 1. p. 6. edit. Plantin. de 1607. Tillemont, p. 119. & not. V. advit. Domitian *places this Expedition in the Year* 83. F. Pagi *reckons it in the Year* 85, *in the* XI *Consulate of* Domitian, *and refers to the Coins that remain of that Year, and are inscrib'd:* CAES. DOMIT. AUG. COS. XI. CENS. POT. P. P. *Upon the Reverse of them is the Figure of a Prisoner sitting, intended to signify* Germany, *with these Words:* GERMANIA CAPTA. S. C. *There are likewise Medals extant of the Year* 86 *(COS. XII.) on which the Words* GERMANIA S. C. *and the Figure representing* Germany, *shew that they were struck in Memory of a* German *Victory.*

(3) Tacitus *vit. Agricolæ c.* 39. Domitiano inerat conscientia, derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emtis per commercia, quorum habitus, & crines, in captivorum speciem formarentur.

(4) Silius *Italicus L. III. v.* 607. *seqq.*

t tu transcendes, Germanice facta tuorum.
Jam puer auricomo præformidate Batavo.
Nec te terruerint Tarpeii culminis ignes.
Sacrilegas inter flammas servabere terris.
Nam te longa manent nostri consortia mundi.
Huic laxos arcus olim Gangetica pubes
Submittet, vacuasque ostendent Bactra pharetras.
Hic & ab Arctoo currus aget axe per orbem.
Ducet & Eoos, Baccho cedente, triumphos.
Idem indignantem transmittere Dardana signa
Sarmaticis victor compescet sedibus Histrum.

He caused a magnificent Equestrian Statue to be erected for himself, on which Statius *compos'd a Poem, and, amongst other Things, mentions this Expedition.* Sylvar. l. I. c. 1. v. 5. sqq.

An Te Palladiæ talem Germanice nobis
Effinxere manus? qualem modo frena tenentem
Rhenus, & attoniti vidit domus arduaDaci.

But that his Expedition against the Catti *was not attended with much Blood-shed, may be inferr'd from* Statius's *turning it to his Glory:* L. c. v. 26.

Qui nec in externus facilis sævire furores
Das Cattis, Dacisque fidem.

on

on this Occaſion, the Surname of *Germanicus* (5) was confirm'd to him, (which he, indeed, bore in the Year 81, and) which, from that Time, he made Uſe of in all Inſcriptions; and, to immortalize his Memory, he caus'd the Month of *September*, to be call'd by that Name (6).

§ II. *CHARIOMER*, King of the *Cheruſci*, was, in this Reign, put to Flight by the *Catti*, for being in Alliance and good Harmony with the *Romans*. He met, indeed, at firſt, with Aſſiſtance from ſome *German* Nations; but was at laſt abandoned by them, and oblig'd to have Refuge to *Domitian* (1). We find no farther Account of him in Hiſtory, except that a Paſſage in *Tacitus*'s Book, of the Manners of the *Germans*, which was written in the Beginning of *Trajan*'s Reign, gives Room to think, that the Event of this War prov'd advantageous to the *Catti* (2).

Chariomer, King of the *Cheruſci*, put to Flight by the *Catti*.

III. WE are yet more ignorant of the Motives that induc'd *Maſyus*, King of the *Semnones*, and *Ganna*, a celebrated Augureſs among the *Germans*, who was now, after *Velleda* (1), rever'd as a demi-Goddeſs, to go to *Rome* (2). *Ganna*'s Journy thither, was, perhaps, occaſion'd by the great Confidence *Domitian* repoſed in Oracles, or it, at leaſt, gained her that magnificent Reception from the Emperor, related by *Dio*. If we allow *Maſyus* to have been a Prince of the *Semnones* (3), the Affairs of the *Suevi*, in which *Domitian* was ſeveral times entangled, may have been the Cauſe of his Journy.

Maſyus, King of the *Semnones*, goes to *Rome*.

IV. WE find the *Suevi* twice, in particular, at Variance with *Domitian*. Once in the Year 84, or 85 (1), when the *Lygii* made War againſt

A War between the *Quadi* and *Lygii*.

(5) *Conf.* TILLEMONT. *in Domit.* p. 12.

(6) SUETONIUS *in Domit. c.* 13.

§ II. (1) *Excerpta* THEODOSII *ex* DIONE *Lib.* LXVII. *p.* 760. Chariomerus autem, Rex Cheruſcorum, a Cattis imperio ſuo, propter amicitiam, quam cum Romanis colebat, ejectus, primum ſocios ſibi quoſdam adjunxit & in recuperando regno ſuperior evaſit. Poſtea deſertus ab eis, quum Romanis obſides miſſiſſet, ac Domitianum ſupplex oraſſet, non impetratis auxiliis, pecuniam tamen accepit.

(2) TACITUS *de morib. German. c.* 36. In latere Chaucorum, Cattorumque, Cheruſci nimiam ac marcentem diu pacem illaceſſiti nutrierunt, idque jocundius, quam tutius fuit, quia inter impotentes & validos falſo quieſcas: ubi manu agitur, modeſtia ac probitas nomina ſuperioris ſunt. Ita qui olim boni, æquique Cheruſci, nunc inertes ac ſtulti vocantur: Cattis victoribus fortuna in ſapientiam ceſſit. Tacti ruina Cheruſcorum & Foſi contermina gens, adverſarum rerum ex æquo ſocii, cum in ſecundis minores fuiſſent. *Where theſe* Foſi *dwelt is as yet uncertain. v.* CL. *Speneri notitia Germ. Antiq.*

§. III. (1) Velleda *has been mention'd above. She muſt, after this, have been unfortunate, as we may conclude from* Statius: *Sylv.* L. I. *c.* IV. *v.* 90.

Non vacat Arctoas acies, Rhenumque rebellem
Captivæque preces Veledæ, &c.

(2) *Excerpta e* DIONE, *p.* 761. Maſyus, rex Semnonum, & Ganna virgo (ea poſt Velledam in Celtica vates oracula fundebat) Domitianum adierunt, & honorifice ab eo tractati, domum redierunt.

(3) *Vide* TILLEMONT. *not.* V. *ad vit.* Domitiani.

§. IV. (1) TILLEMONT *vit. Domit* L. VI. *p.* 126.

ſome other *Suevian* Nations; and *Domitian* ſent the former Succours. The *Suevi* were ſo enraged at this, that, being joined by their Neighbours, the *Jazygi*, they paſs'd the *Danube* (2). Theſe two Circumſtances may ground a Conjecture, that *Dio*, by the Name of *Suevi*, particularly means the *Quadi*, whoſe King *Vannius*, before, kept up a good Underſtanding with the *Jazygi*. We may, moreover, conclude from ſome Paſſages in *Tacitus* (3), that theſe Incurſions prov'd highly prejudicial to the Province of *Pannonia*.

L. Antonius revolts on the *Upper-Rhine*. His League with the *Germans*.

§ V. Another more dangerous Commotion aroſe, in the mean Time, † on the *Rhine*. *L. Antonius* commanded in *Upper-Germany*, and as he had been frequently injur'd by the Emperor, he reſolved to revenge himſelf by an Inſurrection. He drew the *German* Nations, beyond the *Rhine*, over to his Service, and thereby cauſed ſo great a Terror at *Rome*, that the Emperor marched againſt him in Perſon: But *L. Maximus* had, in the mean while, put an End to the War with *L. Antonius* (1): To which Victory a fortunate Accident did not a little contribute; for juſt as the *Germans* were marching over the frozen *Rhine*, it thawed on a ſudden (2), and *Anthony* was thereby deprived of thoſe Troops, on which he moſt depended.

§ VI. The

(2) V. *Excerpta e* Dione, 761. Lygii, a Suevis quibuſdam in Myſia bello vexati, legatos miſerunt, qui a Domitiano auxilia peterent, eaque conſecuti ſunt non tam numero valida, quam dignitate. Nam centum eis duntaxat equites dati ſunt. At Suevi ob hanc cauſſam indignati, Jazygum populo ſuas ad partes traducto, ſe parabant, ut cum eis Iſtrum trajicerent. *As it is not very conceivable, how the* Lygii *and* Suevi *could come at one another in* Myſia, *ſome have ſuppoſed the preſent* Miſnia *to be here meant, and that it was at that Time inhabited by a Colony of* Myſii, *who came from* Aſia *into* Europe, *and eſtabliſh'd themſelves near the* Danube. V. *Phil. Melanchton* in Tr. de Myſorum tum regione, tum gente. *Reinerus Reineccius* in commentario, quem de Miſenorum origine Germ. edidit, & *Elias Reuſnerus* Latine vertit: it. in hiſtoria Julia P. II. regno XIV. quod eſt Myſium. *Petrus Albinus* in chron. Miſniæ. P. I. tit. III. & IV. ac auctores chronicorum Thuringiæ & Miſniæ plerique. *But they are already confuted by* Joh. Philip. Vorburg, in Hiſt. German. T. II. ad annum 215. p. 481. ſeq.

(3) *To this muſt be referr'd that Paſſage of* Tacitus, *H. L.* I. *c.* 2. Coortæ in nos Sarmatarum & Suevorum gentes. *And* in vita Agricolæ, c. 41. Ea inſecuta ſunt R. P. tempora, quæ ſileri Agricolam non ſinerent: tot exercitus in Mœſia, Daciaque, & Germania, Pannoniaque, temeritate, aut per ignaviam ducum, amiſſi, tot militares viri, cum tot cohortibus expugnati, & capti: nec jam de limite imperii, & ripa, ſed de hibernis legionum, & poſſeſſione dubitatum.

§. V. † A. 88. Conf. *Tillemont*. ad vit. Domit, n. 8.

(1) *This is perhaps that* German *War mentioned in an Inſcription, in Honour to one* Maximus, *in* Gruterus. CCCLIX. 5.

APPI. MAXIMI.
BIS. COS.
CONFECTORIS
BELLI
GERMANICI.

(2) Suetonius *in Domit.* c. 6. Bellum civile, motum a L. Antonio, ſuperioris Germaniæ Præſide, confecit abſens, felicitate mira: cum ipſa dimicationis hora reſolutus repente

§. VI. THE ſecond Rupture, between *Domitian* and the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi*, was occaſioned by the War with *Decebalus*, King of the *Daci*. The *Romans* had been often defeated by this Prince (1), and, according to *Jornandes*, the *Daci* ſeem to have been aſſiſted by the *Goths* (2). *Domitian*, at laſt, marched againſt them in Perſon †: But leſt the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* ſhould rebel, whilſt he was buſied with the *Daci*, he reſolved firſt to weaken them, and invaded their Country

The *Goths* aſſiſt the *Daci* againſt the *Romans*.

repente Rhenus, tranſituras ad Anonium copias Barbarorum inhibuiſſet. *Conf.* MARTIALIS *L.* X. *Ep.* 7. *ad Rhenum.*

Sic ſemper liquidis fruaris undis,
Nec te barbara contumelioſi
Calcatum rota conterat bubulci.

STATIUS, *ſays* Thebaid. L. I. v. 19. *that* Domitian *twice ſubdued the* Rhine. *By the ſecond Time is perhaps meant this Expedition: and there are ſeveral Medals extant of the* VIII. *Year of his Reign, which was in the* 88 *and* 89 *Years of our Lord, upon which he bears the Title of* Imperator *a fifth Time*, (conf. Noriſii ep. Conſ. p. 175). *and which relate to* German *Victories, as* GERMANIA CAPTA, it. GERMANIA S.C. it. RHENUS. vid. Biragus, p. 157. *But the real Occaſion of their being ſtruck is unknown: Some of them relate perhaps to the Wars againſt the* Marcomanni, *and* Quadi.

§. VI. (1) SUETONIUS *in Domitian. c. 6.* Expeditiones ſuſcepit in Dacos duas: primam Oppio Sabino, Conſulari, oppreſſo; ſecundam Cornelio Fuſco, Præfecto cohortium prætoriarum, cui belli ſummam commiſerat. *This is the ſame* Fuſcus *upon whom* Martial *made the following Epitaph.* L. VI. *Ep.* 76.

Ille ſacri lateris cuſtos, Martiſque togati,
Credita cui ſummi caſtra fuere ducis:
Hic ſitus eſt Fuſcus, licet hoc, fortuna, fateri:
Non timet hoſtiles jam lapis iſte minas.
Grande jugum domita Dacus cervice recepit,
Et famulum victrix poſſidet umbra nemus.

(2) JORNANDES *attributes this Overthrow to his* Goths, de rebus Geticis, *c.* 13. Longum namque poſt intervallum, Domitiano Imperatore regnante, ejus avaritiam metuentes, fœdus, quod dudum cum aliis principibus pepigerant Gothi, ſolventes, ripam Danubii, jam longe poſſeſſam ab Imperio Romano, dejectis militibus, cum eorum ducibus, vaſtaverunt, cui provinciæ tunc poſt Agrippam Poppæus præerat Sabinus. Gothis autem Dorpaneus principatum agebat, quando, bello commiſſo, Gothi, Romanis devictis, Poppæi Sabini capite abſciſſo, multa caſtella, & civitates, invadentes de parte Imperatoris publice deprædarunt: qua neceſſitate ſuorum, Domitianus, cum omni virtute ſua, in Illyricum properavit, & totius pene reipublicæ militibus ductore Fuſco prælato, cum electiſſimis viris, amnem Danubium conſertis navibus, ad inſtar pontis, tranſmeare coëgit, ſuper exercitum Dorpanei. Tum Gothi, haud ſegnes reperti, arma capeſſunt, primoque armati conflictu, mox Romanos devincunt. *The Actions of the* Goths, *of which frequent Mention will be made in the Sequel, will require our particular Notice. For their Language, Religion, State, Manner of War, and of Living, ſufficiently ſhew the Reſemblance between them and the other* German *Nations.* Tillemont, *indeed, imagines,* p. 143, *that* Jornandes *confounds the* Goths *with the* Getæ, *and applies to his Countrymen the Honour, due to the* Daci, *who were by the* Grecians *call'd* Getæ. *But the contrary appears in* Jornandes, *and it is beſides not improbable, that ſome* Gothick *Nations, about this Time, extended their Borders nearer to the* Danube, *and were in Alliance with* Decebalus. *The* Romans *by Degrees obtained thoſe Countries, which were ſituated Northwards over the* Danube. *In an Inſcription written in Honour of* T. Plautius, *among other Exploits he performed in* Myſia, *the following is recorded: V.* Gruter, 453.

IN.

Country from *Pannonia*; their Behaviour having ſufficiently diſcovered how little the *Romans* could confide in them(3). The Face of Affairs however changed, and *Domitian* was defeated by the *Marcomanni*: Whereupon he granted *Decebalus* a Peace, on his own Terms: But was nevertheleſs ſo vain, not only to declare him King of *Dacia*, as if, without that, he had not been ſo; but likewiſe to hold a pompous * Triumph, on that Account, as if he had vanquiſh'd *Dacia* (4). The farther Circumſtances of the War with the *Marcomanni* are unknown to us; but we find, that *Domitian* †† fought a Battle with

IN. QVA. PLVRA. QVAM CENTVM. MILL.
EX. NVMERO. TRANSDANUVIANOR.
AD. PRAESTANDA. TRIBVTA. CVM
CONIVGIB.
AC. LIBERIS. ET. PRINCIPIB. AVT. REGIBUS SUIS.
TRANSDVXIT. MOTVM. ORIENTEM.
SARMATAR.
COMPRESSIT. QVAMVIS. PARTE. MAGNA. EXERCITVS.
AD. EXPEDITIONEM. IN. ARMENIAM.
MISISSET.
IGNOTOS. ANTE. AVT. INFENSOS. P. R.
REGES. SIGNA.
ROMANA. ADORATVROS. IN. RIPAM.
QVAM. TVEBATVR.
PERDVXIT. REGIBVS. BASTARNARVM. ET
RHOXOLANORVM. FILIOS. DACORVM.
FRATRVM.
CAPTOS. AVT. HOSTIBVS. EREPTOS.
REMISIT. AB
ALIQVIS. EORVM. OPSIDES. ACCEPIT.
PER. QVEM. PACEM.
PROVINCIAE. ET. CONFIRMAVIT. ET.
PROTVLIT.
SCYTHARVM. QVOQVE. REGEM. A
CHERONENSI.
QVAE. EST. VLTRA. BORVSTHENEM.
OPSIDIONE. SVMMOTO.

Thoſe Nations, who are mentioned as unknown, and Enemies to the Romans, *are probably thoſe very* Goths, *who became afterwards, under* Trajan *and* Mark Antony, *daily more known.*

† *Circa A.* 89. *conf.* Pagius *ad A.* 88. *n.* 12. & 89. *n.* 2.

(3) *Conf. Excerpta e* Dione, *p.* 761.

* *A. CHR.* 90. *ut contendit* Pagius, *in Critica annalium Baronii ad A.* 88. *n.* 12. & *ad A.* 90. *n.* 3.

(4) *Excerpta e* Dione *L.* LXVII. *p.* 762. Idem Domitianus, a Marcomannis victus, & in fugam conjectus, celeres ad Decebalum, Dacorum regem, nuntios miſit, & ad pacem ineundam eum invitavit, quam ſæpius ante petenti non dederat. Decebalus autem, quod gravibus cum malis conflictaretur, admiſit ille quidem oblatam paciſcendi commoditatem; non tamen ipſe cum Domitiano in colloquium venire voluit. ſed Diegim cum comitatu miſit, qui arma, cum captivis quibuſdam, quos ſolos habere ſe præferebat, traderet. Id ubi factum eſſet, Diadema Diegedi Domitianus impoſuit, quaſi reapſe victoria potitus fuiſſet, ac regem Dacis dandi poteſtatem haberet. Inde militibus ſuis & honores, & argentum, donavit; ac Romam ceu victor quum alia miſit, tum legatos a Decebalo, & epiſtolam ejus, ut ipſe quidem agebat, (nam alii fictam a Domitiano perhibebant) multiſque triumphum ferculis ornavit, non iis, quæ cepiſſet ab hoſtibus, (erant enim omnia potius e contrario comparata) ſed ad pacem obtinendam de ſuo quoque fecit impenſas, quum magnam mox pecuniæ vim, & opifices peritos variorum artificiorum, tam pace, quam bello, utilium, Decebalo daret, aliaque ſe plura daturum promitteret, ex Auguſtali tamen inſtructu atque ſupellectile. Nam his tanquam ex hoſte captis ſemper utebatur; veluti qui etiam ipſum imperium ſervituti ſuæ mancipaſſet.

†† *A. CHR.* 92. *conf.* Pagius *ad h. a. n.* 3.

their

their Neighbours, the *Sarmatæ*. *Suetonius* mentions, that, on Account of his Victory over them, he conſecrated a Crown of Laurel in the Capitol (5). *Statius* (6), as well as *Martial* (7), exalt his Victories over the *Marcomanni* and *Sarmatæ*. But it is well known what Credit is to be given to Poets, in theſe Caſes, if their Relations are not confirmed by other credible Teſtimonies.

§ VII.

(5) SUETONIUS *c.* 6. De Sarmatis lauream modo Capitolino Jovi retulit.

(6) STATIUS *mentions his Expeditions againſt the* Marcomanni *and* Sarmatæ *both together*, SYLV. *L.* III. *c.* 3. *v.* 168.

Hæc eſt, quæ victis parcentia fœdera Cattis
Quæque ſuum Dacis donat clementia montem
Quæ modo Marcomannos poſt horrida bella, vagoſque (pho.
Sauromatas, Latio non eſt dignata trium-

(7) MARTIALIS *L.* VII. *Ep.* 2.

Invia Sarmaticis domini lorica ſagittis,
Et Martis Getico tergore fida magis:
Quam vel ad Ætolæ ſecuram Cuſpidis ictus,
Texuit innumeri lubricus unguis apri,
Felix ſorte tua! ſacrum cui tangere pectus
Fas erit, & noſtri mente calere Dei.
I comes, & magnos illæſa merere triumphos,
Palmatæque ducem, ſed cito, redde togæ.

Ep. 5.

Si deſiderium, Cæſar, Populique, Patrumque,
Reſpicis, & Latiæ gaudia vera togæ,
Redde Deum votis poſcentibus; invidet hoſti
Roma ſuo, veniat laurea multa licet.
Terrarum dominum propius videt ille, tuoque
Terretur vultu barbarus, & fruitur.

Ep. 6.

Ecquid Hyperboreis ad nos converſus ab oris
Auſonias Cæſar jam parat ire vias?
Certus ab eſt autor, ſed vox hoc nuntiat omnis:
Credo tibi; verum dicere, Fama, ſoles.
Publica victrices teſtantur gaudia chartæ:
Martia laurigera cuſpide pila virent.
Rurſus, io, magnos clamat tibi Roma triumphos,
Invictuſque tua, Cæſar, in urbe ſonas.
Sed jam lætitiæ quo ſit fiducia major,
Sarmaticæ laurus nuntius ipſe veni.

Ep. 7.

Hiberna quamvis Arctos, & rudis Peuce,
Et ungularum pulſibus calens ſter,
Fractuſque cornu jam ter improbo Rhenus,
Teneat domantem regna per fidæ gentis,
Te ſumme mundi rector, & parens orbis;
Abeſſe noſtris non tamen potes votis.
Illis & oculis, & animis, ſumus, Cæſar,
Adeoque mentes omnium tenes unus,
Ut ipſa magni turba neſciat Circi,
Utrumne currat Paſſerinus, an Tigris.

Ep. 8.

Nunc hilares, ſi quando mihi, nunc ludite Muſæ:
Victor ab Odryſio redditur orbe Deus.
Certa facis populi tu primus vota, December:
Jam licet ingenti dicere voce, venit.
Felix ſorte tua! poteras non cedere Jano,
Gaudia ſi nobis, que dabit ille, dares.
Feſta coronatus ludet convicia miles,
Inter laurigeos cum comes ibit equos.
Fas audire jocos, levioraque carmina, Cæſar,
Sit tibi; ſi luſus ipſe triumphas amat.

Ep. 80.

Quatenus Odryſios jam pax Romana Triones
Temperat, & tetricæ conticuere tubæ.
Hunc Marcellino poteris, Fauſtine, libellum
Mittere, jam chartis, jam vacat ille jocis.
Sed ſi parva tui munuſcula queris amici
Commendare, ferat carmina noſtra puer.
Non qualis Geticæ ſatiatus lacte invencæ.
Sarmatica gelido ludit in amne rota.
Sed Mitylenæi roſeus mangonis ephebus,

Vel

Nerva assumes the Surname of *Germanicus.*

§. VI. The War in *Pannonia* was continued, and *Nerva* †, on Account of a Victory there obtained by the *Romans*, over the *Marcomanni*, assumed the Surname of *Germanicus*. When he consecrated the Crown of Laurels, which had been sent him, in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, he added to that Ceremony another, the Event of which prov'd fortunate for the *Roman* People. He adopted *Trajan*, who had, since the Year 93, been Lieutenant in *Lower Germany*, for his Son; and, in the Senat, dignified him with the Title of *Cæsar Germanicus*, and with the *Imperium Proconsulare* (1): He likewise nominated him his Partner in the Consulship, for the ensuing Year.

§ VIII.

Vel non cæsus adhuc matre jubente Lacon.
At tibi captivo famulus mittetur ab Istro,
Qui Tiburtinas pascere possit oves.
Ep. 84.

Dum mea Cæcilio formatur imago Secundo,
Spirat & arguta picta tabella manu:
I liber ad Geticam Peucen, Istrumque tacentem,
Hæc loca perdomitis gentibus ille tenet.
Parva dubis caro, sed dulcia dona sodali:
Certior in nostro carmine vultus erit,
Casibus hic nullis, nullis delebilis annis
Vivet, Apelleum cum morietur opus.
Lib. VIII. *Ep.* 2.

Fastorum genitor, Parensque Janus
Victorem modo cum videret Istri,
Tot vultus sibi non satis putavit,
Optavitque oculos habere plures,
Et lingua pariter locutus omni,
Terrarum Domino, Deoque rerum
Promisit Pyliam quater senectam:
Addas, Jane pater, tuam rogamus.
Ep. 11.

Perveniisse tuam jam te scit Rhenus in urbem:
Nam populi voces audit & ille tui.
Sarmaticas etiam gentes, Istrumque, Getasque
Lætitiæ clamor terruit ipse novæ.
Dum te longa sacro venerantur gaudia Circo,
Nemo quater missos currere sensit equos.
Nullum Roma ducem, nec te sic, Cæsar amavit:
Te quoque jam non plus, ut velit ipsa, potest.
Ep. 15.

Dum nova Pannonici narratur gloria belli,
Omnis & ad reducem cum litat ara Jovem:
Dat populus, dat gratus eques, dat thura Senatus,
Et ditant Latias tertia dona tribus:
Has quoque secretos memorabit Roma triumphos,
Nec minor ista tuæ laurea pacis erit.
Quid tibi de sancta credis pietate tuorum?
Principis est virtus maxima, nosse suos.

§ VII. † A. CHR. 97. V. Kal. Nov. ut putat Pagius ad h. a. *The Medal struck in the Beginning of the next Year, on the Reverse of which is* VICTOR. GERM. *relates to this Victory.* Mezzab. p. 145.

(1) Plinius *in pan. c.* 8. Adlata erat ex Pannonia laurea, id agentibus Diis, ut invicti Imperatoris exortum victoriæ insigne decoraret: hanc Imperator Nerva, in gremio Jovis collocarat quum repente solito major & augustior, advocata hominum concione, Deorumque, te filium sibi, hoc est unicum auxilium fessis rebus, adsumsit. Inde, quasi deposito imperio, qua securitate, qua gloria lætus? nam quantulum refert, deponas, an partiaris imperium, nisi quod difficilius hoc est. non secus ac præsenti tibi innixus, tuis humeris se, patriamque sustentans, invaluit. *And, c.* 9. Credentne posteri Patricio, & Consulari, & Triumphali patre genitum, quum fortissimum, amplissimum, amantissimum tui

§. VIII. THE Revolution among the *Bructeri* is computed to have happen'd about this Time. *Pliny* relates (1), that the Emperor order'd a Statue to be erected at *Rome*, in Honour of *Veſtricius Spurinna*, becauſe he had caſt ſuch a Terror on this powerful and warlike Nation, that they were obliged to reſtore their King, whom they had baniſhed, without daring to venture one Engagement. *Tacitus*, who wrote his Book of the Manners of the *Germans*, at the Beginning of *Trajan*'s Reign, relates, as a late Occurrence, that the *Chamavi* and *Angrivarii*, with the Approbation of all the neighbouring Nations, invaded the Country of the *Bructeri*, ſlew above 60,000 of them, and took Poſſeſſion of their Country (2). This Overthrow ſeems therefore to have happen'd later (3) than the Revolution with their King. The Nation was, nevertheleſs, not ſo totally extirpated as *Tacitus* pretends: The Reſidue of them gather'd together in a Body farther up the *Rhine*, where we find the Name of the *Bructeri* in much more modern Times, when they were incorporated with the *Franks* (4). The War and Overthrow of the *Bructeri*.

ſui exercitum regeret, Imperatorem non ab exercitu factum? eidem cum Germaniæ præſideret, Germanici nomen hinc miſſum? nihil ipſum ut Imperator fieret, agitaſſe; nihil feciſſe, niſi quod meruit & paruit? Paruiſti enim, Cæſar, & ad principatum obſequio perveniſti? nihilque magis a te ſubjecti animi factum eſt, quam quod imperare cœpiſti. Jam Cæſar, jam Imperator, jam Germanicus, abſens & ignarus, & poſt tanta nomina, quantum ad te pertinet, privatus.

§. VIII. (1) PLINIUS *L.* 2. *Ep.* 7. Heri a Senatu Veſtricio Spurinnæ, Principe autore, triumphalis ſtatua decreta eſt: non ita, ut multis, qui nunquam caſtra viderunt, nunquam denique tubarum ſonum, niſi in ſpectaculis audierunt: verum ut illis, qui decus iſtud ſudore, & ſanguine, & factis, aſſequebantur. Nam Spurinna Bructerorum regem vi, & armis induxit in regnum; oſtentatoque bello ferociſſimam gentem (quod eſt pulcherrimum victoriæ genus) terrore perdomuit. *The Words* Principe Autore, *are generally underſtood of* Trajan. *But we cannot judge by* Pliny's *Epiſtles, whether they are meant of* Trajan, Nerva, *or even* Domitian. *They cannot at leaſt be interpreted of* Trajan, *if we grant, that* Tacitus *wrote his Book of the Manners of the* Germans *in the firſt Year of* Trajan's *Reign, becauſe he there ſpeaks of the Extirpation of the* Bructeri: *But* Pliny *ſtill repreſents them as a powerful Nation.*

(2) TACITUS *de Morib. Germ. c.* 33. Juxta Tenchteros Bructeri olim occurrebant: nunc Chamavos & Angrivarios immigraſſe narratur, pulſis Bructeris ac penitus exciſis, vicinarum conſenſu nationum, ſeu ſuperbiæ odio, ſeu prædæ dulcedine, ſeu favore quodam erga nos Deorum. Nam ne ſpectaculo quidem prœlii invidere. Super LX. millia, non armis teliſque Romanis, ſed quod magnificentius eſt, oblectatione oculiſque ceciderunt. Maneat quæſo duretque gentibus, ſi non amor noſtri, at certe odium ſui: quando urgentibus imperii fatis, nihil jam præſtare fortuna majus poteſt, quam hoſtium diſcordiam.

(3) CELLARIUS *in not. ad Epiſt.* PLINII *ſuppoſes it to have happened ſooner: But this Opinion is contradictory to the Circumſtances mentioned above,* Not. (1).

(4) *Conf.* MENSO ALTINGIUS. *L. c. p.* 19.

Trajan's Exploits againſt the *Germans*.

§. IX. *NERVA* died ſoon after he had adopted *Trajan* †. The latter acceded to the Imperial Dignity at *Cologn* (1), and this City gained thereby, a ſecond Time, the Honour of ſending an Emperor to *Rome*. His Name render'd the *Roman* Arms now ſo formidable, that even the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi*, that Winter, abſtain'd from their uſual Incurſions over the *Danube* (2). They were included among thoſe foreign Nations, of whom *Pliny* writes, that they, in a Manner, vied with each other in ſending Ambaſſadors, to eſtabliſh Peace and a good Underſtanding with the new Emperor (3). We find indeed ſeveral Traces of the Care *Trajan* had, during his Reign, for the Affairs of *Germany*, and to ſecure himſelf againſt thoſe *Germans* who dwelt beyond the *Rhine* (4). He eſtabliſhed a *Roman* Colony † in *Lower-Germany*,

§. IX. † A. Chr. 98. *The latter End of* January. Tillemont. *p.* 262.

(1) Victor Junior *in Trajano*. Hic imperium apud Agrippinam, nobilem Galliæ Coloniam ſuſcepit. Oroſius *L.* 7. *c.* 12. Apud Agrippinam, Galliæ urbem, inſignia ſumſit imperii. Sidonii *carm.* 7. *v.* 114.

Ulpius inde venit, qua formidata Sicambris
Agrippina fuit.

With this agrees that Paſſage of Ael. Spartinus *in Hadrian*, *c.* 2. Trajano a Nerva adoptato, ad gratulationem exercitus miſſus, in Germaniam ſuperiorem tranſlatus eſt: ex qua feſtinans ad Trajanum, ut primus nuntiaret exceſſum Nervæ, a Serviano, ſororis viro (qui & ſumtibus, & ære alieno ejus prodito, Trajani odium in eum movit, diu detentus, fractoque conſulto vehiculo tardatus, pedibus iter faciens, ejuſdem Serviani beneficiarium antevenit. H. Dodwellus, *in prælectione ad Scriptores Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ, has neverthelefs, in his Remarks on this Paſſage, endeavoured to prove the contrary, and introduces thoſe Proofs with theſe Words*: Non ſuſcepit Trajanus imperium Coloniæ Agrippinæ, ut male hactenus, Victore Epitomatore, & Eutropio, auctoribus, crediderunt viri eruditiſſimi: *But his Demonſtrations are hardly ſufficient to prevail upon the Reader, to prefer his Conjectures to the expreſs Teſtimony of the Ancients.*

(2) Plinius *Panegyr. c.* 12. At nunc rediit omnibus terror, & metus, & votum imperata faciendi. Vident enim, Romanum ducem unum ex illis veteribus, & priſcis, quibus Imperatorium nomen addebant contecti cædibus campi, & infecta victoriis maria. Accipimus obſides ergo, non emimus: nec ingentibus damnis, immenſiſque muneribus, paciſcimur, ut vicerimus: rogant, ſupplicant; largimur, negamus. Utrumque ex imperii majeſtate. Agunt gratias, qui impetraverunt: non audent queri, quibus negatum eſt. An audeant, qui ſciant te adſediſſe ferociſſimis populis eo ipſo tempore, quod amiciſſimum illis, difficillimum nobis, quum Danubius ripas gelu jungit, duratuſque glacie ingentia tergo bella tranſportat: quum feræ gentes non telis magis, quam ſuo cœlo, ſuo ſidere armantur? Sed ubi in proximo tu, non ſecus, ac ſi mutatæ temporum vices eſſent, illi quidem latibulis ſuis clauſi tenebantur, noſtra agmina percurſare ripas, & aliena occaſione, ſi permitteres, uti, ultroque hiemem ſuam barbaris inferre gaudebant.

(3) Plinius *L. c.*

(4) Eutropius *L.* 8. *c.* 2. Urbes trans Rhenum in Germania reparavit. *When, in the Year* 1553, *an ancient Tower was pulled down at* Darmſtadt, *ſome Medals of* Trajan *were found at the Foundation.* Winckelmann's *Deſcription of* Heſſen.

† *This Colony is mentioned in the* Itinerarium Antonini, *and in the* Tabula Peutingeriana: *It is, likewiſe, to be underſtood in the Inſcription, which was dug up near* Vetera:

DIS

Germany, which, from him, was called *Colonia Trajana*. He raiſed two new Legions, which he ſtation'd in *Germany*, one term'd *Ulpia*, the other *Trajana*: whence the *Caſtra Ulpia* (5), and *Trajana*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* likewiſe mentions a *Munimentum Trajanum*, on the other Side of the *Rhine*, on the *Mayn*. But the *Danube* retains much greater Monuments of this Emperor's Expeditions, in which he curb'd the *Sarmatæ*, and reduced *Dacia* to a Province (6). He eſtabliſh'd, in the Capital *Zarmigeſothuſa*, the famous Colony call'd *Ulpia Trajana* (7), and laid a Bridge over the *Danube*, which River, to the very Mouth of it, became ſubject to the *Romans* (8). The People, who dwelt on the Coaſts of the *Pontus Euxinus*, were at that Time in Friendſhip with the *Romans* (9), and had aſſiſted them in the taking of *Dacia*; as we may ſee by thoſe Medals, which *Sauromates*, King

DIS MANIBUS
M. VETTI SATUR-
NINI VET. LEG.
XXII. P. P. F. CIVI
TRAIANENSI M.
ANTONIVS HONO-
RAT.

i. e.

Diis Manibus
Marci Vettii Satur-
nini. Veterani Legionis
Duo & Viceſimæ, Primigeniæ, Piæ, Fidelis,
Civis Trajanenſis. Marcus
Antonius Hono-
ratus.

The moſt learned Geographers agree, that this Colony was on the Rhine *near* Cleves, *where the Village of* Kellen, *which derives its Name from thence, is now: And that moſt of the Inhabitants, by Reaſon of the Dangers they were expoſed to by the* Rhine, *removed farther to a higher Situation, which gave Riſe to the preſent* Cleves. V. Menſo Altingius *L. c. p.* 45. & Cl. Ditmahri *notæ ad* Teſchenmacheri *Ann. Cliviæ, p.* 24. & 27.

(5) *The* 30*th Legion was called* Ulpia, *whence the* Caſtra Ulpia *borrowed its Name.* Menſo Altingius *has plainly demonſtrated, that it belonged to* Vetera. *He quotes ſeveral Inſcriptions, relating to this* 30*th Legion, which were found at* Berthen, *near the Town of* Zanten. *Theſe* Mauritius, *Prince of* Naſſau, *cauſed to be placed in his Seat at* Bergenthal; *whence that Place was named* ad Triceſimam.

(6) EUTROPIUS, *L.* 8. *c.* 2. Daciam, Decibalo victo, ſubegit, provincia trans Danubium facta in his agris, quos nunc Thaiphali habent, & Victophali & Theruingi. Ea provincia decies centena millia in circuitu tenet. *In the* Chronicon Alexandrinum, *the* Goths *are, on Occaſion of this War, mentioned inſtead of the* Daci. *ad A.* 106. His Coſſ. gravi bello Romanis incumbente a Perſis, Gothis, & aliis gentibus, Trajanus expeditione in hoſtes ſuſcepta, ſuis gratiam tributorum quoad reverteretur, fecit. *But the* Grecians *are known to uſe the Names of* Getæ *and* Goths *promiſcuouſly, and often confound the* Getæ *with the* Daci.

(7) *Hence the Colony is called by* Gruterus CCCCXXXVII. *n.* 1. COLON ULPIA TRAJAN AUG. DACICA SARMIZGETUSA. *It is only, at preſent, a ſmall Village called* Varhel.

(8) *The Memory of this Victory is preſerved not only by many Medals, but chiefly by the noble Column erected in Honour of him, which* Jo. Ciacconius, *and after him* Jo. Petrus Bellori *have illuſtrated briefly; but* Fabretti *more at large, in a Commentary upon it.*

(9) EUTROPIUS, *L.* 8. *c.* 2. Iberorum Regem, & Sauromatarum, & Boſporanorum, & Arabum, & Oſdrœnorum, & Colchorum, in fidem accepit.

of *Bosphorus*, caused to be struck (10). But the *Goths* afterwards open'd a bloody Theatre of War, against the *Romans*, in these Countries.

Transactions of the *Germans*, during the Reign of *Adrian*.

§. X. *TRAJAN*'s Successor, *Æl. Hadrianus*, bears indeed, upon some Medals, the Surname of *Germanicus* (1): but he obtained it only as a Part of *Trajan*'s Titles, by Adoption. History informs us, that a certain *German* Nation was obliged to receive a King from him (2); but does not name it. He endeavour'd to preserve Peace, and probably, in a more particular Manner, with the *Germans*; for when the King of the *Roxolani* complained of a Diminution of his Subsidies, he instantly gave him Satisfaction (3). He resolved, in the Year 120, to take a Progress, thro' all the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, and, among the Rest, came to *Germany*. During his Stay there, he reviewed the *Roman* Army, and made them perform all the military Exercises (4); of which we find several Tokens on his Medals (5). In this Progress he established *Roman* Colonies, here and there, in the Provinces: and, one among the Rest, at *Juvavia*, the Capital of *Noricum Mediterraneum* (6), whose Ruins gave Rise to the present *Saltzburg*. *Pighius* has (7) likewise attempted to shew the City of *Cleves* to be one of this Emperor's Colonies, but without sufficient Proof (8). In the Island of *Batavia* was a Place called *Forum Hadriani* (9): But it is uncertain whether it was built by *Adrian* himself, or in Honour to him, by one of his Successors. One of his principal Cares was to secure all the Frontiers of the *Roman* Empire. The *Romans* endeavour'd always, if possible, to regulate them so, that they might

(10) Fabrotti *de Col. Trajan.* c. 1. p. 23. Spanhem. *de usu & præst. numism.* T. I. *diss.* 8. *p.* 489. & T. 2. 13. p. 576.

§. X. (1) *e. g.* Imp. Cæs. Trajan. Hadrian. Opt. Aug. Ger. Dac. Partic. Divi Trajan. Aug. F. P. M. Tr. P. Cos. P. P. *vid.* Mezzabarba, *p.* 168. Schatenius *seems not to have thought of this, when he writes, in* Histor. Westphal. *L.* 2. *p.* 133. Ac licet nullo prœlio Germanos vicisset, Germanici tamen nomen, cæterorum affectatione, sibi vindicare ausus est.

(2) Spartianus *in Hadr. c.* 12. Germanis regem constituit.

(3) *Idem in Hadrian. c.* 6. Audito dein tumultu Sarmatarum & Roxolanorum, præmissis exercitibus, Mœsiam petiit. Martium Turbonem, post Mauritaniæ præfecturam, insulis ornatum, Pannoniæ, Daciæque ad tempus præfecit. Cum rege Roxolanorum, qui de imminutis stipendiis quærebatur, cognito negotio, pacem composuit. *Yet some read instead of* Roxolanorum, *Alanorum.*

(4) *Id. c.* 10. Inde in Germaniam transiit: pacisque magis, quam belli cupidus, militem, quasi bellum immineret, exercuit.

(5) *See the Medals with the Reverse.* GERMANIA *ap.* BIRAG. *p.* 174. *ad A.* 122. EXERCITUS GERMANICUS. EXERCITUS RAETICUS. EXERCITUS NORICUS. *ibid. p.* 178.

(6) *Conf.* Vaillant. *de num. Colon.* P. I. p. 153.

(7) Pighius *in Hercule Prodic.* p. 40.

(8) *Conf.* Cl. Ditmahrum *ad Teschenmacheri annales*, p. 72. not. 3.

(9) Menso Altingius. *l. c. Tab.* 4. *p.* 57 & 66.

be

be covered with Hills or Rivers, that the Safety of the Provinces and their Inhabitants might not depend alone upon Treaties: But, where this was not, *Adrian* now cauſed ſtrong Fences to be made of *Paliſadoes* (10). And as we have no Room to doubt, but he fortified the Borders towards *Germany*, likewiſe in this Manner, we may hence ſupport the Conjecture, that, if he did not raiſe, he at leaſt repaired the famous *Paliſade* in *Franconia* and *Suabia*, of which I ſhall give a farther Account below, on Occaſion of the Wars of the *Germans* with *Probus*.

§. XI. WE read indeed of *Antoninus Pius*, that he had Wars with the *Germans* (1), and of Differences between him and the *Scythæ* (2) and *Alani* (3); but meet with no Circumſtances of thoſe Tranſactions. There are moreover ſeveral Medals extant, of the Years 139 and 140, by the Reverſe of which we find, that he ſet a King (4) over the *Quadi* (5).

Antoninus Pius ſets a King over the *Quadi*.

(10) AEL. SPARTIANUS *in Hadrian. c.* 12. Per ea tempora, & alias frequenter, in plurimis locis, in quibus Barbari non fluminibus, ſed limitibus dividuntur, ſtipitibus magnis, in modum muralis ſepis, fundibus jactis, atque connexis, Barbaros ſeparavit.

§. XI. (1) JUL. CAPITOL. *in Pio. c.* 5. Germanos, & Dacos, & multas gentes, atque Judæos rebellantes, contudit per Præſides ac Legatos. In Achaia etiam, atque Ægypto, rebelliones repreſſit. *Tillemont, l. c. p.* 557. *is of Opinion, that this War ought to be placed in the firſt or ſecond Year of his Reign, becauſe in the Year* 139, *he bears the Title of* Imperator, *a ſecond Time, on his Coins: And was after that never called* Imperator. Schatenius *indeed writes, L.* 2. *p.* 134. Ipſe, quod tum glorioſiſſimum erat, inter Imperatorios titulos, Germanici etiam nomen ſibi ſumſit. *But we meet with no Monuments on which* Antoninus Pius *is mentioned with the Surname of* Germanicus.

(2) CAPITOL. *in Pio. c.* 9. Rimethalcen in regnum Boſporanum, audito inter ipſum & curatorem negotio, remiſit. Olbiopolitis contra Tauroſcythas auxilia miſit, & Tauroſcythas uſque ad dandos Olbiopolitis obſides vicit. Olbia *was a famous City of* Greece, *at the Mouth of the* Boryſthenes. v. Arrian. de Ponto, p. 12, *and ſeems to have been a free Common-Wealth. By the Name of* Tauro-ſcythæ *ſeem here to be meant, thoſe People who dwelt in* Cherſoneſus Taurica. *The Medal of the Year* 139, *with the Reverſe* SCYTHIA, ap. Birag. p. 193, *relates perhaps to theſe Wars.*

(3) JUL. CAPITOL. *c.* 5. Alanos, molientes ſæpe, refrenavit. *We find in* Arriani Tactica, p. 69. *a Fragment entitled,* Acies contra Alanos: *This is probably a Part of the Hiſtory of the Wars of the* Alani; *which were in his Time, and of which he, as Lieutenant in* Cappadocia, *might have good Accounts.*

(4) REX QUADIS DATUS. BIRAG. *p.* 193, 194. *ad A.* 139 & 140. SPANHEMIUS. *T.* 1. *diſſ.* 13. *p.* 582. *Hiſtorians make no Mention of this King of the* Quadi; *but* Capitolinus *writes thus of other Nations, in Pio, c.* 9. Pharaſmanes Rex, ad eum Romam venit, pluſque illi, quam Hadriano detulit. Pacorum regem Lazis dedit, Parthorum Regem ab Armeniorum expugnatione ſolis litteris repulit. Abgarum Regem, ex Orientis partibus ſola auctoritate deduxit. Spanhemius *thought at firſt, that, inſtead of* Lazis *here, muſt be read* Quadis: *But in the aforecited Place he afterwards retracted this Conjecture, and rather confirmed the common Reading.*

(5) PIGHIUS *in Hercul. Prod.* p. 35. *deſcribes one of the* Columnæ Mill. *from the Inſcription of which it appears, that* Antoninus Pius *cauſed the High-Way for the Army in Lower* Germany *to be repaired.*

§. XII. BUT

M. Aurelius's Wars with the *Chauci* and *Catti.*
† A. 162.

§. XII. But at the Beginning † of the Reign of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, surnamed *Philosophus*, the *Catti* passed the *Rhine*, and invaded *Germany*, while on their own Side of that River they made an Irruption into *Rætia*; against whom *Ausidius Victorinus* was sent (1). He had farther Differences with them in the Sequel; for *Didius Julianus*, who was afterwards Emperor, is noted, for having repelled the *Chauci*, when they attempted to invade *Belgica*, and obliged the *Catti* to sue for Peace (2).

The Beginning of the *German* War upon the *Danube.*

§. XIII. The Wars this Emperor had with the *German* Nations on the *Danube* is, by the *Roman* Historians, represented, as the most terrible the *Romans* were ever engaged in. It is commonly called the *Marcomannian* War, because that Nation either begun, or chiefly distinguished itself in it. But, besides the *Marcomanni*, not only all the neighbouring *German* Nations, as the *Quadi*, *Narisci*, *Hermunduri*, *Suevi* and *Vandals*, but likewise the *Jazygi*, *Roxolani* (1), and other *Sarmartæ* were involv'd in it (2). This War seems to have been principally, if not occasioned, yet fomented, by the Expulsion of some *German* Nations, who dwelt in the Northern Parts of *Germany*, by their Neighbours, and their Retreat towards the South-East, in Search of new Habitations; where they caused a general Disturbance and Confusion. As much as these Nations otherwise differed, as great was their present Union against the *Romans* (3): Those who bordered on

§. XII. (1) Jul. Capitolinus *in Marco c.* 8. Imminebat etiam Britannicum bellum, & Catti in Germaniam, ac Rætiam, irruperant: & adversus Britannos quidem Calphurnius Agricola missus est, contra Cattos Ausidius Victorinus,

(2) Ael. Spartianus *in vita Juliani*: *c.* 1. Ædilitatem suffragio Marci consecutus est. Prætor ejusdem suffragio fuit. Post præturam legioni præfuit in Germania vicesimæ secundæ, primigeniæ. Inde Belgicam sancte ac diu rexit. Ubi Chaucis, Germaniæ Transrhenanæ populis, qui Albim fluvium accolebant, erumpentibus, restitit, tumultuariis auxiliis provincialium, ob quæ Consulatum meruit testimonio Imperatoris. Cattos etiam debellavit. Post Germaniam inferiorem rexit.

§. XIII. (1) Jul. Capitolinus *in vita Marci*, *c.* 22. Gentes omnes, ab Illyrici limite usque in Galliam, conspiraverant, ut Marcomanni, Narisci, Hermunduri, & Quadi, Suevi, Sarmatæ, Latringes, & Buri: Hi, aliique, cum Victovalis Sosibes, Sicobotes, Rhoxolani, Bastarnæ, Alani, Peucini, Costoboci. Imminebat & Parthicum bellum & Britannicum.

(2) *In Epit.* Victoris *we find*, Triumphi acti ex nationibus, quæ Regi Marcomannorum ab usque urbe Pannoniæ, cui Carnuto nomen est, ad media Gallorum, protendebantur. *But* Tillemont *imagines*, p. 631. n. 2. *this to be a Mistake.*

(3.) Jul. Capitol. *l. c. c.* 14. Profecti itaque sunt paludati ambo Imperatores. Victovalis & Marcomannis cuncta turbantibus: aliis etiam gentibus, quæ pulsæ a superioribus Barbaris fugerant, nisi reciperentur, bellum inferentibus. *Among the Nations, mentioned by* Capitolinus, not. 1. *were several*

on the *Danube* ventured the ſooner to paſs over that River, as the *Romans* were then at War with the *Parthians*; and they actually penetrated as far as *Aquileia* (4): But the War with the *Parthians* was no ſooner ended, and *L. Verus* returned to *Rome*, than *M. Aurelius* reſolved to employ all his Forces, on the *Danube*, againſt the *Germans* and *Sarmatæ*; and ſet out with *L. Verus*, about the Year 166 †, from *Rome* for *Aquileia*, to make the better Preparations for the enſuing Campaign. The *Germans* and *Sarmatæ*, who did not expect a Peace ſo ſoon with the *Parthians*, were ſo terrified at theſe Armaments, that moſt of them retreated over the *Danube* (5); and ſome ſent Ambaſſadors to *Aquileia*, to treat about a Peace. Among the latter were particularly the *Quadi*, of whom *Dio* ſays, that they then promiſed, to chuſe no King without the Approbation of the *Roman* Emperors. Notwithſtanding that Things had ſo good an Appearance,

ſeveral who were afterwards included under the Name of Goths. Ammianus Marcellinus *expreſsly ſays, that theſe Nations joined in a Body againſt the* Romans: *L.* 31. *c.* 5. Marco itidem moderante Imperium, unum ſpirando veſania gentium diſſonarum, poſt bellorum fragores immenſos, &c. *cætera corrupta ſunt.*

(4) *To this that Paſſage of* Lucian *ſeems to refer, in Pſeudomant. Operum T.* 1. *p.* 775. Cum jam non mediocrem in Regiam, aulamque Cæſaream, aditum ſibi patefeciſſet, ingreſſumque ad Rutilianum, inter cives celebrem; vigente Germanico bello, mittit oraculum, quando divus Marcus cum Marcomannis & Quadis confligebat. Illo jubebat, ut duos leones in Danubium immitterent, cum multis aromatibus, magnificiſque victimis. Sed præſtat ipſum oraculum referre:

Gurgitibus fluvii turgentis ab imbribus Iſtri,
Immiſiſſe duos Cybeles edico miniſtros,
Monte feras alitas: tum quantum alit Indicus aër
Florum atque herbarum bene olentum: moxque futura eſt
Et victoria, pax & amabilis, & decus ingens.

His factis, ut præſcripſerat, leones cum in regiones hoſtium enataſſent, Barbari tanquam canes, peregrinoſque lupos, fuſtibus confecerunt. Tum protinus noſtrorum magna ſtrages eſt edita, viginti ferme millibus ſimul extinctis. Deinde ſecuta ſunt ea, quæ in Aquileia contigerunt, quum parum abfuit, quin illa urbs caperetur. At is, ad id, quod evenerat, Delphicam illam defenſionem, Croeſoque redditum oraculum, frigide detorſit: dicens, Deum quidem prædixiſſe victoriam, haud tamen explicuiſſe, utrum Romanorum eſſet futura, an hoſtium.

† *Or in the Year* 167, *before the Beginning of* Febr. Tillemont, in not. 10. ad vit. Marci, *explains the Medals of this Year* (TR.POT.XX.) *which bear the Title of* Imp. IV.

(5) JUL. CAPITOLINUS *in vita Marci, c.* 14. Nec parum profuit iſta profectio, cum Aquilejam uſque veniſſent. Nam plerique Reges, & cum populis ſuis, ſe retraxerunt, & tumultus autores interemerunt. Quadi autem, amiſſo Rege ſuo, non prius ſe confirmaturos eum, qui erat creatus, dicebant, quam id noſtris placuiſſet Imperatoribus. Lucius tamen invitus profectus eſt; cum plerique ad Legatos Imperatorum mitterent, defectionis veniam poſtulantes. *When the* Quadi *afterwards violated the Peace,* Dio *mentions,* p. 868. *a King choſen by them:* Ejecto quoque Rege ſuo, Furtio, Ariogæſum ipſi autoritate propria Regem ſibi conſtituerant: & Imperator eis propterea nec hunc, quaſi legitime factum, confirmare voluit, &c.

both

both the Emperors paſſed the *Alps* into *Pannonia* (6), the better to ſecure the *Roman* Provinces on that Side: But when *Marcus* thought he might now confide partly in the warlike Preparations, and partly in the Treaties made, the Court returned to *Rome*, where *L. Verus*, who infinitely preferred the Pomp and Luxury of the Capitol, to the Fatigues of War, earneſtly wiſh'd to be.

M. Aurelius's Expedition.

§ XIV. Both Emperors went again, in the Year 169, to *Aquileia* (1), that they might open the Campaign, the ſooner, the enſuing Year: But the contagious Diſeaſes raged to ſuch a Degree, that they were obliged to return in the Midſt of Winter, and *L. Verus* died ſuddenly on the Journy (2). The Medals, which were ſtruck under *M. Aurelii poteſtas Tribunitia* XXII, ſoon after *L. Verus*'s Deceaſe, plainly ſhew, that there muſt have been a Battle; becauſe on them *M. Aurelius* has, a ſixth Time, the Title of *Imperator*, and in their Reverſe their is expreſs Mention of a *German* Victory (3). The Emperor himſelf is on them named *Germanicus* (4), which Appellation he gave afterwards, in the Year 172, to his Son (5). *Tillemont* places in this Year an Occurrence (6), which is related by a *Greek* Author, who wrote in the Reign of *Juſtinian*; viz. That an Army of *Longobards*, *Obii*, and other *German* Nations, paſſed the *Danube*, but met with ſo rough a Reception from the *Roman* Generals, *Vindex*, who commanded the Cavalry, and *Candidus*, who was at the Head of the Infantry, that they were forced to retreat in the utmoſt Diſorder. That *Ballomarius*, King of the *Marcomanni*, came, thereupon, with

(6) Jul. Capitolinus *in Marco*, *c.* 14. Denique tranſcenſis Alpibus proceſſerunt, compoſueruntque omnia, quæ ad munimen Italiæ, atque Illyriæ, pertinebant.

§. XIV. (1) Jul. Capitolinus l. c. *To this appertains perhaps the Medal in* Mezzabarba, p. 221. *with the Reverſe* PROFECTIO AUGUSTI.

(2) Galenus *de libris propriis*, *c.* 2. Verum brevi poſt tempore ex Aquileja mihi litteræ, ab Imperatoribus miſſæ, perferuntur, quibus illi me revocabant. Voluerant enim ex hibernis expeditionem contra Germanos facere——Cæterum ego Aquilejam cum perveniſſem, peſtis, quantum antea nunquam, graſſari cœpit. Unde Imperatores ſtatim Romam, cum paucis militibus fugere coacti——In itinere autem, e vivis cum exceſſiſſet Lucius, Romam deportatus ab Antonino, funeratuſque eſt.

(3) GERMANIA SUBACTA: VICT. GERMANICA: GERMANIA.

Dio, *p.* 803. Quum autem Marcomannis, in aliquo prœlio bene ſucceſſiſſet, ab iiſque Marcus vindex, Præfectus, interfectus eſſet, tres ei ſtatuas poſuit: illis vero ſuperatis, Germanicus appellatus eſt. Germanos enim eos, qui ſuperioribus locis habitant, apellamus. *Hence* Pagius ad A. 169. n. 4. *aſſerts*, *that* M. Aurelius, *from that Time*, *always aſſumed this Title.* Tillemont *is indeed*, p. 650. *of a different Opinion: But his has as little Probability as that of* Pagius.

(5) Lamprid. *in Comm. c.* 2. Appellatus Germanicus, Idibus Herculeis, Maximo & Orphito Coſſ.

(6) *Conf.* Tillemont. *p.* 639.

ten

ten other Ambaſſadors to *Ælius Baſſus*, Lieutenant in *Pannonia*, to treat about a Peace (7).

§. XV. M. AURELIUS continued, in the mean Time, the Preparations for the *German* War at *Rome*; and, as the Plague had carried off a great Number of Men, he mixed Slaves, Gladiators, and whoever elſe were capable of bearing Arms, among the Soldiers. A Pardon was even offered to the Robbers in *Dardania*, on Condition of their entering into his Service; and ſome *Germans* liſted with the *Romans*, againſt their Countrymen (1). And leſt Mony ſhould fall ſhort, he diſpoſed of all his Jewels, Pearls, Pictures, Statues and ſumptuous Furniture in the Imperial Treaſury and Palace; nay, even ſome of the richeſt of his Conſort's Attire (2). He began this Expedition in the Beginning of the Year 171, and found ſo much Employment, that he was for ſeveral Years abſent from *Italy*, and reſided chiefly at *Carnuntum* (3); where, amidſt the Difficulties of War, he applied himſelf ſometimes to the Study of Philoſophy (4). He drove the

M. Aurelius marches against the *Marcomanni* and *Jazygi*; and drives them back over the *Danube*.

(7). PETRUS PATRICIUS *de Legatis*, p. 24. *in corpore Hiſt. Byz.* Sex millia Langobardorum, & Obiorum Iſtrum trajecerunt, in quos Vindicis equites, & pedites, quorum dux erat Candidus, irruerunt, & in fugam verſi ſunt. Prima ſtatim invaſione terrore Barbari perculſi, legatos ad Ælium Baſſum, qui Pannoniam provinciam obtinebat, mittunt, Ballomarium, Regem Marcomannorum, una cum aliis decem, ex una quaque gente uno electo. Sic pace jurejurando firmata, legati domum redierunt.

§. XV. (1) CAPIT. *in Marco, c.* 21. Inſtante ſane adhuc peſtilentia, & Deorum cultum diligentiſſime reſtituit, & ſervos, quemadmodum bello Punico factum fuerat, ad militiam paravit; quos voluntarios, exemplo volonum appellavit. Armavit etiam gladiatores; quos obſequentes appellavit. Latrones etiam Dalmatiæ, atque Dardaniæ, milites fecit, armavit & Diomitas; emit & Germanorum auxilia contra Germanos. *Upon the Column erected in Honour of* M. Aurelius, *thoſe* German *Auxiliaries are mentioned.* v. Tab. 52 & 53.

(2) CAPITOLINUS *l. c.* Ne provincialibus eſſet moleſtus, auctionem rerum aulicarum, ut diximus, fecit in foro D. Trajani; in qua præter veſtes, & pocula, & vaſa aurea, etiam ſigna, cum tabulis magnorum artificum, vendidit. *Id. c.* 17. Cum autem ad hoc bellum omne ærarium exhauſiſſet ſuum, neque in animum induceret, ut extra ordinem provincialibus aliquid imperaret; in foro D. Trajani auctionem ornamentorum imperialium fecit, vendiditque aurea pocula, & cryſtallina, & myrrhina, vaſa etiam regia, & veſtem uxoriam ſericam, & auratam; gemmas quin etiam, quarum multas in repoſtorio ſanctiore Hadriani repererat: & per duos quidem menſes hæc venditio celebrata eſt, tantumque auri redactum, ut reliquias belli Marcomannici ex ſententia perſecutus, poſtea dederit poteſtatem emtoribus, ut ſi quis vellet emta reddere, atque aurum recipere, ſciret licere, nec moleſtus ulli fuit, qui vel non reddidit emta, vel reddidit.

(3) EUTROPIUS *L.* 8. *c.* 5, 6. Ingenti ergo labore & moderatione, cum apud Carnuntum triennio perſeveraſſet, Marcomannicum bellum confecit. *By* Philoſtratus's *Relation it appears, that he was likewiſe at* Sirmium: *Soph.* 27. *p.* 558. *Dio, p.* 802. *D.* Ipſe barbaris, qui circum Iſtrum ſunt, Jazygibus & Marcomannis, nunc his, nunc illis continenter, quamdiu vixit, bella intulit, in quibus Pœnia fuit receptaculum: (ἑρμητήριον) *This ought to be read* Pannonia; *for* Pæonia, *which is a Part of* Macedonia, *is at too great a Diſtance.*

(4) *Hither is referr'd the Paſſage in his Books, de ſe ipſo:* Hæc apud Quados, ad Granuam,

Marcomanni, *Vandals*, *Quadi* and *Jazygi* once more out of *Pannonia* (5). The Medals of the Years 171, 172, and 173, are filled with glorious Symbols of his *German* Victories. It would be difficult to assign distinct Times for these several Matters; but he seems to have driven the *Marcomanni* and *Jazygi* back again over the *Danube*, in the Year 173.

Pertinax defeats the *Germans* in *Rætia.*

§. XVI. We are in Doubt, whether those Coins, in which the Memory of a Victory gained over the *Germans* is preserved, all relate to the *Marcomannian* War: For much about the same Time, that *M. Aurelius* had to do with the *Marcomanni* and *Jazygi*, another Swarm of Nations, who dwelt on the *Rhine*, invaded *Rætia*, and had already reached the Borders of *Italy*. *Marcus* sent his Son-in-Law, *Pompeianus*, and *Pertinax* against them, by whom they were successfully repulsed. *Pertinax*, in particular, so eminently distinguished himself, that the Emperor soon after nominated him *Consul* (1), which raised the Envy of many of the chief Men of *Rome*, who little thought, that he was, by Fate, designed for Emperor. *Dio*, in his Relation of this War, observes, that there were Women in the *German* Army, who fought as valiantly as the Men (2).

Aurelius vanquishes the *Quadi.*

§. XVII. The Year 174 is particularly remarkable, on Account of the famous Victory gained by *M. Aurelius* over the *Quadi*. After having humbled the *Marcomanni* and *Jazygi*, his next Thoughts were to subdue these their Neighbours: But they surrounded him unawares in a dry Wilderness, where his Army must have perished by Thirst, had not a sudden Shower of Rain refreshed the Soldiers, and, in a Manner, gave them fresh Force, to attack the *Quadi* (1), which they did

(5) Capitol. *in Marco*, *c.* 17. Pannonias ergo Marcomannis, Sarmatis, Vandalis, simul etiam Quadis, extinctis, servitio liberavit. *Dio*, p. 804, 805. *gives an exact Description of the Battle with the* Jazygi *on the* Danube.

§. XVI. (1) Dio, *p.* 810. Pertinax autem ob res præclare gestas, Consul est factus: cujus caussa multi indignati sunt, idque propterea, quia erat obscuro loco natus, &c. *But he was only made* Consul suffectus: *Yet we do not certainly know the Year, which might enable us to give a better Account.* Onufrius Panvinius *places it in the Year* 179: *but* Tillemont, T. 2. p. 691, *makes it more probable, that* Pertinax *was* Consul, *before* Cassius *rebelled.*

(2) Dio, *p.* 802. *E.* Eodem tempore Germani, qui trans Rhenum incolunt, venere usque in Italiam, attulereque Romanis maxima & gravissima incommoda: quibus Marcus occurrit, Pompeiano, atque Pertinace, Legatis exercitus factis, quo in bello optime se gessit Pertinax, qui postea Imperator factus est. Inter cadavera barbarorum, corpora mulierum armata reperta sunt.

§. XVII. (1) *Excerpta Xiphilini e* Dione, *p.* 805. *B. sqq.* Post hæc ei prœlium acre, bellumque magnum cum iis, qui Quadi appellantur, fuit: quo ex bello victoria præter spem, vel potius Dei beneficio feliciter consecuta est: propterea, quod Romani, quum essent in prœlio, atque in maximum periculum venissent, mirabiliter sane, ac divinitus, conservati sunt. Quum enim intercluſi a Quadis in locis opportunis, confecti pugna-

did ſo ſucceſsfully, that they made themſelves Maſters of the Field of Battle; where the Emperor was a ſeventh Time proclaimed *Imperator* (2). That this Rain was looked upon by the *Romans* to be ſupernatural appears, not only from the Teſtimony of their Hiſtorians, but likewiſe from the Figure of *Jupiter Pluvius*, in the Repreſentation of this War, upon that famous Column which was erected in Honour of *M. Aurelius* at *Rome*, and remains to this Day. What the *Pagan* Writers attribute partly to the Emperor's Prayer, partly to the Power of a Sorcerer, is, by the Tradition of *Chriſtian* Authors, repreſented as a Miracle, whereby GOD granted the Prayer of the 12th Legion, which conſiſted wholly of *Chriſtians*. But ſome interſperſe this Relation with ſo many Circumſtances (3), as render the whole ſuſpected, and almoſt raiſe a Doubt, whether there was any Thing at all in it ſupernatural (4).

§. XVIII. THE *Quadi* were ſo humbled by this Overthrow, that they were forced to ſue for Peace. *M. Aurelius* had indeed at firſt reſolved not to ſheath his Sword, 'till he had entirely reduced the Country of the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* to a Province, and extirpated

A Peace concluded with the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*.

pugnarent fortiter, atque interim barbari differrent prœlium, ſperantes eos calore & ſiti perituros, quos circum occupatis locis omnibus ſic concluſerant, (erant enim multo plures) ut aquam habere nullo pacto poſſent: quumque Romani in tantas difficultates incurriſſent, ut morbo, vulneribus, ardore ſolis, ac ſiti vexarentur, nec ob eas res pugnare poſſent, aut alio ſecedere, ſed in acie ſtantes, atque iis in locis conſtituti arderent: multæ nubes derepente ita coactæ ſunt, ut maximus imber ceciderit, non ſine Dei beneficio. Fama eſt, Arnuphim, Magum Ægyptium, qui cum Marco erat, Mercurium, præſertim illum, qui eſt in aëre, alioſque Dæmones, quibuſdam artibus magicis invocaviſſe, ac per eos pluviam elicuiſſe. P. Pagi *mentions*, ad A. 174. n. 2. *a Silver Medal of this Year, in the Royal Cabinet, where* Marcus's *Head is ſeen, circumſcribed* M. ANTONIUS AUG. TR.P. XXVIII. *and, on the Reverſe,* Mercury *holding in his right Hand a Goblet, and in his left his* Caduceus, *with the Inſcription:* RELIG. AUG. IMP. VI. COS. III. *Whence* Morell *attempts to prove, that the Rain was actually aſcribed to* Mercury, *and that* Dio's *Relation is ſo far well grounded.* Capitolinus *in Marco c.* 24. Fulmen de cœlo precibus ſuis contra hoſtium machinamentum extorſit, ſuis pluvia impetrata, cum ſiti laborarent.

(2) Ibid. *He bears that Title upon the Coins which were ſtruck,* TR.POT. XXVIII: *whereby* Euſebius's *Chronology on this Head is confirmed.*

(3) BARONIUS, *for Inſtance,* ad A. 176. §. 22. *produces, as an inconteſtable Proof, a Letter ſuppoſed to be written by* M. Aurelius *to the Senate about this Occurrence: whereas* Scaliger, *in* not. ad Euſeb. Chron. p. 22. *ſhews ſo many Marks of a Forgery, that the learned* P. Pagi, ad A. 174. §. 2. *and* Tillemont, n. 15. ad vit. Aurelii, *found themſelves obliged to reject it.* Xiphilinus *ſays, that the* 12th *Legion, on Account of this Miracle, obtained the Surname of* Fulminatrix, *but it was ſo named on Inſcriptions, which we meet with of* Trajan's *Times,*

(4) HERM. WITSIUS in diſſ. de legione Fulminatrice, *has not only exploded the falſe Circumſtances, but likewiſe confirmed the Miracle of the* Chriſtians: Dan. Larroque *rejects his Opinion: to whom* Jo. Frickius *anſwer'd, in Vindication of* Witſius.

the *Jazygi*: But as he had hitherto loſt many Men in this War, and the Army, as well as the Provinces, had ſuffered greatly by the Plague, he was contented with concluding the Affair as honourably as he could. He firſt made Peace with the *Quadi*, which they ſoon after broke (1). The *Marcomanni* next obtained a Peace, one Condition of which was, that they ſhould retreat from the *Danube*, and traffick only at certain Places, and on certain Days, in the *Roman* Provinces (2). But, as he would not truſt the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, upon the new concluded Peace alone, he put Garriſons, to the Number of 20,000 Men, to keep them in Awe, in the Caſtles, which he had built here and there in their Country. Theſe Garriſons were a ſore Burden to them, and the *Quadi* were ſo uneaſy about them, that they reſolved to leave their Country, and retire to the *Semnones*: But the *Romans* detained them, probably with the Aſſiſtance of the neighbouring *German* Nations, and cut off their Paſſage (3).

What ſhare the *Goths*, *Aſtingi*, *Nariſci*, and *Buri* had in this War.

§. XIX. THIS War having extended all along the *Danube*, Numbers of People, and among them ſome whole Nations, came thither from all Parts of *Germany* and *Sarmatia*, who either joined their Countrymen, or enter'd into the *Roman* Service, and obtained Grants of certain Parcels of Land in Return. Beſides thoſe, who partook of the Wars againſt the *Quadi*, *Marcomanni* and *Jazygi*, many of them invaded *Dacia*, and partly deſtroyed one another by Civil Broils. Among the former, *Dio* particularly names the *Cotini*, who deſired to join the *Romans* againſt the *Marcomanni* (1). Among the latter, the

§. XVIII. (1) PETRUS *de Legat. p.* 24. Quadi legatos miſerunt ad Marcum, pacem petituros, & conſecuti ſunt. Itaque multos equos, & multos boves dederunt: & tredecim mille captivos, & plures etiam poſtea libertati reſtituerunt.

(2) DIO, *p.* 808. *D.* Marcommannis denique, quum per legatos ei ſignificaſſent, omnia ſe imperata ſibi, ægre illa quidem, ac vix, ſed præſtitiſſe tamen: tum dimidium finitimæ ipſis regionis, & agri partem conceſſit, uti ſcilicet, ad trigeſimum & octavum uſque ſtadium ab Iſtro, ſedes eorum ac domicilia diſtarent; tum loca quædam ac dies commerciorum, adſignavit, (prius enim diſcrimen nullum habitum fuerat) facta etiam obſides permutandi poteſtate.

(3) DIO, *p.* 810. *A.* Quadi vero, & Marcomanni per legatos Marco ſignificarunt, viginti militum millia, quæ in caſtellis degerent, nec ſecure paſcendi, nec agros colendi, nec alterius rei faciundæ copiam ſibi facere: ſed tum transfugas ſuos, tum captivos, ex ſuis complures ſuſcipere, quum interim ipſi non admodum incommode vitam agerent, quod tum balinea, tum res neceſſarias omnes, affatim haberent. Unde factum eſſet, ut Quadi caſtellorum ſtructuras minime ferentes, ad Semnones, tota cum gente ſua, mutatis ſedibus migrare conati fuerint. Antoninus autem, præcognito ipſorum inſtituto, itinera, quibus eis tranſeundum erat, obſtruxit, & hoc modo eos impedivit.

§. XIX. (1) DIO, *p.* 808. *A.* Cotini vero, quum ſimilia Marco nuntiari juſſiſſent, nacti Tarrunium Paternum, qui ei ab epiſtolis Latinas erat, tanquam in Marcomannos expeditiones cum eo ſuſcepturi, non tantum id non fecere, ſed etiam Paterno grave detrimentum intulerunt, ac deinceps quoque perierunt.

the *Aſtingi* are remarkable (2). Beſides theſe, the *Burii* (3), and the *Nariſci* (4), are likewiſe mentioned among thoſe *German* Nations who treated with the *Romans*; and they obtained Terms according as a League with them appeared beneficial or diſadvantageous to the latter (5). It is impracticable accurately to connect all the Circumſtances; ſince *Dio*'s Hiſtory of this Time is not tranſmitted to us entire, but only ſome Fragments of it, of which we are even at no Certainty, whether they are extracted in the Order in which they follow one another, in *Dio*.

A Peace with the *Jazygi*.

§. XX. THE *Jazygi* likewiſe ſued for Peace, and their King *Zanticus*, with ſome of their Chiefs, came in Perſon to treat about it. *Avidius Caſſius*, Governor of *Syria*, having, at that Time, rebelled againſt the Emperor, in the Eaſt, *Aurelius* granted them better Terms, than they otherwiſe could ever have preſumed to hope for. Among the Conditions, moſt of which were of the ſame Nature as thoſe with the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni*, were theſe; that they ſhould have no Ships on the *Danube*; but that they ſhould be allow'd a free Paſſage thro' *Dacia*, for their Com-

rierunt. *Inſtead of* Cotini *muſt probably be read* Gotini. *The* Gotini, *or* Gothones, *had been ſeveral Times before at War with the* Marcomanni.

(2) Dio, *p.* 807. *D.* Aſtingi vero, qui Rhaum, Rhaptumque duces habebant, venere quidem & illi, ut Daciam incolerent, ſpe conſequendi pecuniam, & agros, ſub conditione fœderis: at nihil horum adepti, uxores, ac liberos ſuos, apud Clementem depoſuere, velut armis Coſtobocorum regione occupaturi: ſed cum illos viciſſent, Daciam quoque nihilominus infeſtabant. Itaque metuentes Dancrigi, ne timore illorum adactus Clemens, in agrum, quem incolebant ipſi, eos immitteret: nihil tale expectantes adorti ſunt, & longe ſuperiores eis facti, adeo quidem, ut Aſtingi nihil amplius hoſtile contra Romanos moliti ſint, multiſque Marcum precibus obteſtati ſupplices, ut pecuniam, & agrum, ab eo acciperent, hac conditione rogaverint, ſi nationibus, tunc bellum cum eo gerentibus, cladem intuliſſent Ac præſtiterunt ſane non nihil eorum, quæ pollicebantur. Pauſanias *ſays of the* Coſtoboci, L. 10. c. 34. p. 886. *That in his Time they invaded* Greece: Quum vero ætate mea Coſtoboci, (latronum hæc manus fuit) excurſionibus in Græciam factis, Elatean uſque penetraſſent, Mneſibulus, comparata voluntariorum cohorte, quum magnam barbarorum ſtragem edidiſſet, & ipſi fortiter dimicans, cecidit. Sylburgius *indeed ſuppoſes* ad h. l. *that this muſt be read* Toliſtoboii, *but does not ſupport his Conjecture by any ancient Writings*; *whereas* Pauſanias, Dio, *and* Julius Capitolinus *write every where* Coſtoboci.

(3) Dio, *p.* 809. *C.* Neque tamen vel hi, (ſcil. Jazyges) vel *BURII*, ſocietatem cum Romanis prius inire voluerunt, quam Marcus eis ſancte caviſſet, perpetuo ſe bellum cum hoſtibus geſturum.

(4) Dio, *p.* 810. *B. They are indeed called* Ναρισαὶ; *but their Name muſt without Doubt be read* Ναρισκαὶ.

(5) Dio, *p.* 809. *D.* Cæterum Marcus populos, qui cum ipſo per legatos agebant, non omnes iiſdem conditionibus admittebat: ſed prout quilibet eorum digni erant, uti vel jus civitatis Romanæ, vel immunitatem, vel perpetuam, temporalemve remiſſionem tributi, vel annonas perennes, conſequerentur.

merce

merce with the *Roxolani* (1), and that they ſhould furniſh the *Romans* a certain Number of Troops. They deliver'd accordingly 8,000 Horſe at firſt, 5,500 of which *Marcus* ſent inſtantly to *Britain* (2).

A general Peace enſues with the *Germans* and *Sarmatæ*.

§. XXI. THO' *Caſſius* was ſoon afterwards murder'd, *M. Aurelius* proceeded on his Journy to the Eaſt, and entruſted *Pertinax* with the Command of the Army in *Illyricum*, and on the *Danube* (1). After his Departure, an Action or two happened, either becauſe the Treaties above mention'd, were not immediately executed, or becauſe ſome Nations raiſed freſh Commotions: For *Marcus* not only aſſumed the Title of *Imperator* an 8th Time, in the Year 176, but ſeveral Medals likewiſe of that Year expreſsly mention a Victory gained over the *Germans* and *Sarmatæ* (2). We find, on the other Hand, by a Medal, with the Reverſe, PAX AUG. AETERNA, that an entire Peace was concluded the ſame Year (3). *M. Aurelius* was, in the mean Time, returned, thro' *Greece* to

§ XX. (1) Dio. *p.* 809. D. Et quoniam Jazyges erant ii, quos utiliſſimos ſibi experiebatur, multa de illis etiam, quæ ipſis imperata fuerant, vel omnia potius, remiſit: exceptis iis pactis, quæ ad conventus eorum, & commercia, ſpectarent: utque navibus propriis, non uterentur, & ab inſulis, quæ in Iſtro ſunt, abſtinerent. Conceſſis etiam ipſis, ut per Daciam, commerciorum cauſſa, Roxolanos adirent, quoties id princeps horum eis permitteret.

(2) Dio *p.* 809. B. Præterea ſtatim ei nomine ſocietatis octo equitum millia concedebant, ex quibus ad quinque millia quingentos in Britanniam miſit.

§ XXI. (1) Capitolinus *in vita Petrin.* Caſſiano motu compoſito, e Syria ad Danubii tutelam profectus eſt: atque inde Mœſiæ utriuſque, mox Daciæ, regimen accepit. Herod. *L.* 2. *c.* 9. *p.* 96. Minime ignarus excubare adhuc memoriam Pertinacis apud Illyricos exercitus: quoniam ſub Imperatore Marco multa illius ductu adverſus Germanos tropæa excitaverant: & quum præfectus Illyrico foret, nullum non exemplum virtutis in prœlio oſtentaverat.

(2) De Germanis, de Sarm. ap. Bellor. ad columnam M. Antonini n. 16.

(3) M. ANTONINUS. AVG. GERM SARM. TR. P. XXX. *and on the Reverſe* PAX. AVG. AETERNA. Conf. p. Pagi ad A. 176. n. 4. *We have an Oration of* Ariſtides, *the famous Orator of* Smyrna, *ſpoken probably about this Time in Honour of the Emperor. The following Paſſage in that Speech may be very well applied to this Peace.* Aristides Orat. 9. *p.* 118, 119. Quæ cum nec Rex ignoret, non putat, inſulſos ac temerarios homines, ſibi imitandos eſſe, ſed conſilii præſtantia ſecuritatem a Barbaris comparandam. Quin nec in pugnis ita ſe geſſit, ut eum hoſtes contemnerent, quibus abunde oſtendit, ſe non prudentia tantum, & aliis diſciplinis, ſed etiam fortitudine ipſorum potiri poſſe. Cum enim partim Celtæ, maxim omnium homines & crudeliſſimi, poſt multa variaque facinora, Regem nunc venerentur, poſtquam cognoverunt, quantum bello quies præſtet, & obedientia; partim quæcunque ultra Euphratem, & Tigridem, gentes Orientem accolunt, poſt tumultus in ordinem ſunt redactæ, & præſtantioribus parere didicerint; omnis præterea continens pacem agat, terra vero ac mare dominum coronent: Græci quoque cum Barbaris concordent, regnum denique totum inſtar turris aut muri alicujus extructum ſit & munitum, ſuique fructum tranquille capiat: quæ major fortitudo, vel quis melior, & utilior rerum ſtatus optari poſſit?

Italy,

Italy, and in the Year 176, on the 23d of *December*, celebrated, together with his Son, a ſplendid Triumph at *Rome* (4). But however the Grandeur of it may then have affected the Minds of the Populace, it would now have been buried in Oblivion, had not that noble Column, on which the chief Exploits of this War are carved, remain'd; in which we ſee the Arms, Dwellings, Aſſemblies, and Battles of the *Germans*, with many other Pieces of Antiquity (5).

§. XXII. BUT the Peace was of a ſhort Duration; and as we find *M. Aurelius* to have been a ninth, and *Commodus* a third Time proclaimed *Imperator*, it ſeems to have been on Occaſion of a Victory obtained in this War. The Emperor's Preſence being thought neceſſary, he ſet out from *Rome*, in the Year 178, on the 5th of *Auguſt*, accompanied by his Son, after having, in a ſolemn Manner, declared War againſt the Enemy (1). *Dio* mentions a pitch'd Battle (2), between *Paternus* and the *Germans*, in which the former gained a compleat Victory, and in Honour thereof *Marcus* aſſum'd, a tenth Time, the Title of *Imperator*. But he died during this War, in the Month of March, *Anno* 180, according to ſome Hiſtorians, at *Vienna* (3), which was, at that Time, an inconſiderable Town in

The War with the *Marcomanni* renewed. *Aurelius* takes the Field again.

(4) AUREL. VICT. *c.* 15. Triumphi acti ex nationibus, quæ Regi Marcomaro ab uſque urbe Pannoniæ, cui Carnuto nomen eſt, ad media Gallorum protendebantur.

(5) SIXTUS V. *raiſed it again, and dedicated it to the Apoſtle* Paul. *It is engraved in a* Copper *Cut, and illuſtrated with brief Hiſtorical Remarks, by* Jo. Petr. Bellori.

§. XXII. (1) DIO *L.* 71. *p.* 814. C. Poſtquam res Scythicæ præſentiam ejus iterum poſtulare viſæ ſunt, Criſpinam celerius, quam vellet, ob hanc cauſam filio in matrimonium collocavit. Nam Quintilii, etſi uterque eorum valebat prudentia, & fortitudine, ac uſu maximarum rerum, tamen id bellum conficere non potuerunt. Quamobrem ipſi Imperatores neceſſario profecti ſunt. Tum Marcus pecuniam ex ærario petivit a Senatu, non, quia ea non eſſet in Principis poteſtate: ſed quod diceret, eam, cæteraque omnia, eſſe Senatus Populique Romani. Nos enim inquit (id dicebat in Senatu) uſque adeo nihil habemus proprium, ut etiam veſtras ædes habitem. Quumque hæc dixiſſet, haſtam ſanguinolentam, quæ in templo Martis repoſita erat, verſus agrum hoſtium (ut accepi ex iis, qui aderant præſentes) contorſit, deinde contra hoſtes proficiſcitur. CAPIT. *in* Marco *c.* 27. Filio ſuo Brutii Præſentis filiam junxit, nuptiis celebratis exemplo privatorum: quare etiam congiarium populo dedit. Deinde ad conficiendum bellum converſus, in adminiſtratione ejus belli obiit. Triennio bellum poſtea cum Marcomannis, Hermunduris, Sarmatis, Quadis etiam egit.

(2) DIO, *l. c.* Paterno magnas copias dat, eumque ad prœlium committendum mittit. Reſtitere Barbari totam diem: tandem vero omnes a Romanis cæſi ſunt. Marcus decimum Imperator appellatus eſt.

(3) AVREL. VICTOR. *c.* 15. Anno imperii octavo decimoque, ævi validior, Vendobonæ interiit, & *in Epit. c.* 16. Ipſe vitæ anno quinquageſimo nono, apud Vendobonam, morbo conſumtus eſt. TERTUL. *ſays*, Apol. c. 25. p. 27. *that he died at* Sirmium; *but* Lambecius *endeavours to prove, that* Eutropius *and* Victor *deſerve more Credit here.*

Pannonia,

Pannonia, but is at present, under the auspicious Government of the House of *Austria*, the Imperial Residence.

Commodus concludes a Peace with the *Germans*.

§. XXIII. His Son *Commodus* took more Delight in the Diversions of *Rome*, than in vanquishing the Enemy, by laborious Expeditions. Some of his Courtiers, observing this Disposition (1), persuaded him the more earnestly to a Peace; which was, the same Year, concluded with the *Burii*, *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, and other *German* Nations. As he had laid aside the Thoughts of reducing their Country to a Province, and, they on their Side, were very much debilitated, the Conditions were easily agreed on, and *Commodus* spared no Expence, of Mony, to obtain what could not be effected by Force. The chief Articles were, that the *Germans* should deliver up all Deserters and Prisoners, and the *Romans* withdraw their Soldiers out of their Country and give up the Castles; the *Germans* were, likewise, obliged to hold their future general Conventions but once a Month, at a certain Place, and in the Presence of a *Roman* Officer, that they might have the less Opportunity of hatching new Disturbances; and the *Romans* get an Insight into their Designs. The *Quadi* and *Marcomanni* were forc'd to deliver up a Part of their Arms, and to furnish a certain Number of Troops, pursuant to which the *Quadi* alone gave him 13, 000 Men, for their Share. They were moreover engag'd, never to wage War with the *Jazygi*, *Burii*, or *Vandals*, who were then already reconciled to the *Romans*. The *Romans* retained there Borders on this Side the *Danube*, but quitted the Castles, which they had built farther up in the Country, and withdrew their Troops (2). The *Burii* and others, whose Borders

§ XXIII. (1) Herodianus *relates, how* Commodus *was perswaded by some of his Courtiers to retreat:* Ahhæc ripas Istri, ut omni tempore incommodas vituperabant, quæ neque pomiferos haberent frutices, & perpetuis rigoribus nubibusque obtinerentur. Nunquamne, Imperator, (aiebant) concretam gelu, atque effossam potare aquam desines? alii callidis fontibus, rivorumque fluentium frigore, auriscque, & cœlo illo fruentur, Italiæ peculiari? *He afterwards speaks of the* German *Peace* (p. 18.) *in the following Manner.* Dein vero ministris illius magis magisque instantibus, nihil jam ad amicos retulit, sed datis Romam litteris, ac præpositis, quos visum esset, tuendæ Istri ripæ, & Barbarorum insultibus coërcendis, profectionem continuo edicit. Illi igitur, demandata sibi munia obeuntes, haud ita longo tempore multis armis Barbaros subegerunt, quosdam autem ex iis magnis præmiis in amicitiam sibi adjunxerunt. Quod quidem haud difficile factu fuit. Quippe Barbari, suapte natura pecuniæ avidi, periculorum despicientes, aut incursibus populationibusque victum parant, aut proposita mercede venalem pacem habent. Quod intelligens Commodus, ut pecunia, qua maxime abundabat, securitatem redimeret, nihil videlicet petentibus denegabat.

(2) Dio *L.* 72. *p.* 817. C. Is vero cum eos ad internecionem delere nullo negotio posset, homo fugiens laboris, & urbanas ad tranquillitates properans, quum aliis conditionibus,

Borders joined landwards to thoſe of the *Dacii*, were obliged not to approach them nearer than five *Roman* Miles (3). But as to the *Danube*, the *Romans* retained their Lines on the other Side of that River. *Commodus* returned thereupon to *Rome*, and made a triumphal Entry.

His War with the *Friſii*. Monuments of *Septimius Severus* in *Germany*.

§. XXIV. HIS War with the Nations bordering on *Dacia* was nevertheleſs renewed, in which *Clodius Albinus*, and *Peſcennius Niger*, who were both afterwards Emperors, acquired great Renown (1). *Albinus* had likewiſe, in the Sequel, Variance with the *Friſii* (2). Some attribute the Medals, on which *Commodus* bears the Title of IMPERATOR VIII †, to a Victory, which he is ſuppoſed to have obtain'd at that Time. Hiſtory is ſilent, as to the *Germans*, after *Commodus*'s Death, for ſome Time. The *Roman* Empire was involved in ſo many Perplexities, that their Hiſtorians had enough to do with their domeſtionibus, tum his præterea pacem fecit: Ut transfugas, & captivos, quos ab illo tempore accepiſſent, Commodo reſtituerent: & frumentum quoddam certum quotannis penderent, quod eis poſtea remiſit. Etiam ab ipſis arma quædam exegit, & 13000 militum a Quadis, pauciores a Marcomannis: pro quibus tamen permiſit, ut ſingulis annis aliquos darent. Hoc etiam eis dedit in mandatis, ut neque ſæpius, neque pluribus in locis regionis ſuæ congregarentur: ſed ſemel duntaxat menſe quolibet, ac unum in locum, centurione quodam Romano præſente. Præter hæc, ne vel Jazygas, vel Buros, vel Vandalos, bello peterent. His ergo legibus eis pacem dedit, & omnia caſtella, quæ erant in regione ultra limites iis adempta, deſeruit.

(3) *The* Burii *found it at firſt very difficult to obtain a Peace.* DIO. *l. c.* Buriis quoque Commodus, quum legatos miſiſſent, pacem conceſſit, Nam antea, ſæpius licet rogatus, ut eam daret, id facere noluerat: tum quod vires iis adhuc eſſent, tum quod non pacem, ſed laxamentum, ad faciundos apparatus, conſequi volebant. Tunc autem, quod bello confecti & exhauſti eſſent, reconciliationem admiſit, acceptis obſidibus; & multos quidem captivos a Buris, a cæteris vero XVCIO. conſecutus. Coactis etiam aliis, ut ſacramento promitterent, nunquam ſe, nec ſedes, nec paſcua quæſituros, in regione ſua, Daciæ vicina limitibus, ad V. milliarium. Sabinianus autem Dacorum finitimorum ad XII CIO qui ſuo expulſi erant agro, & aliis opem laturi, ſuam in poteſtatem redegit: aliquam eis terræ partim, in Dacia cia ſe conceſſurum, pollicitus. *The following Inſcription ſeeme to refer to an Expedition againſt the* Burii.

I. O. M. STATORI
\- - - - - - -
LEG. III. ITA. REVER
SVS AB EXPEDIT. BVRICA
EX VOTO
POSVIT.

V. MARCI VELSERI *Monument. peregr.* n. 23. p. 432. *Some learned Men obſerve, that the Name of* Burii *is not afterwards mentioned in Hiſtory.* v. Tillemont, p. 765. *They are perhaps included in the Name of* Goths.

§. XXIV. (1) DIO, *L.* 72. *p.* 820. Fuere Commodo etiam bella quædam cum Barbaris, qui ultra Daciam incolunt, ex quibus Albinus & Niger, qui poſtea bellum geſſerunt cum Severo Imperatore, magnam gloriam conſecuti ſunt. *Lampridius in Commodo, c.* 13. Victi ſunt ſub eo tamen, cum ille ſic viveret, per legatos, Mauri: victi Daci: Pannoniæ quoque compoſitæ: in Britannia, in Germania, & in Dacia, imperium ejus recuſantibus provincialibus. Quæ omnia iſta per duces ſedata ſunt. *And he ſays before, c.* 6. Eo tempore in Sarmatia res bene geſtas per alios duces, in filium ſuum Perennis referebat.

(2) CAPITOLINUS, *in Alb. c.* 6. Per Commodum ad Gallias tranſlatus, in qua fuſis Friſiis Tranſrhenanis, celebre nomen ſuum fecit.

† TR. POT. XI. COS. V. A. 186.

tick Matters. P. *Helvetius Pertinax*, the Succeſſor of *Commodus*, was ſoon after murdered (3); and *Julian* was proclaimed Emperor by the Senat; *Peſcennius Niger* by the Army in the *Eaſt*; *Albinus* by that in *Gaul*, and *Septimius Severus* by that in *Pannonia*, at *Carnuntum* (4); but the latter had the good Fortune to maintain himſelf in this Dignity. His Exploits in *Britain* make the beſt Part of his Hiſtory. Some ancient Monuments, which were found near the Place where the *Rhine*, below *Leyden*, formerly diſcharged itſelf into the Sea, ground a Conjecture, that he ſometimes embark'd there (5), as does likewiſe the Stone, which refers to a Vow made by the *Batavians*, for the good Voyage of his two Sons (6);

FORTUNAE. AUG. SAC.
PRO. SALUTE. ITU. AC.
REDITU. DD. N. N.
M. AURELII. ANTONINI. PII.
AUG. ET. P. SEPTIMII
GETAE. NOBILISS. CAES.
CIV. BATAVI.
FRATRES. ET. AMICI. POPVLI ROMANI.
V. S. L. M.

He had no Concerns with the *Germans*: But ſettled a Colony at *Paſſau*, in *Noricum* (7). And ſeveral *Columnæ Milliaria* which remain about *Augſpurg*, and elſewhere, teſtify how careful he was to keep the *Roman* Roads, which led from the *Alps* thro' *Rætia*, in Repair, and to this Day are the Admiration of all Travellers (8).

The *Alemanni* wage War with *Caracalla*.

§. XXV. His Son, *Antoninus Caracalla*, went, about the Year 213, over the *Alps*, where, about that Time, he waged War with ſome *German* Nations. *Dio* calls them *Cenni* (1), and relates Wonders of their

(3) Capitolinus, *in Pertin*, *c.* 11. Tauſius quidam, unus e Tungris, cum in iram & timorem milites loquendo adduxiſſet, haſtam in pectus Pertinacis objecit. Tunc ille precatus Jovem ultorem, toga caput operuit, atque a cæteris conſoſſus eſt.

(4) Spartianus, *in Sever. c.* 5. Dehinc a Germanicis legionibus, ubi auditum eſt, Commodum occiſum, Julianum autem cum odio cunctorum imperare, multis hortantibus, repugnans, Imperator eſt appellatus apud Carnuntum.

(5) V. Menso Altingius, *l. c. p.* 7,8,9. *ſqq.*

(6) Gruter: LXXIII. 9.

(7) V. Vaillant *de numis coloniarum. P.* 2. *p.* 1.

(8) V. Marci Velseri *monum. agri Auguſt.* p. 400. Gruteri *Inſcript.* CLVI. 6. CLVII. 2, 3, 4, 5.

§. XXV. (1) *Excerpta e* Dione, *p.* 876. Bellum geſſit cum Cennis, gente Celtica, quos ferunt tanta ira incitatos in Romanos irruiſſe, ut tela, quibus illi ab Oſrhœnis vulnerati

their Valour: And, among the Reſt, that their Women preferred Death to Servitude. Moſt of the Learned are, however, convinced, that the *Catti* are here meant. But what is moſt remarkable, is, that among thoſe Nations, which he vanquiſhed, the *Alemanni* are likewiſe mentioned (2); this being the firſt Time, we meet with that Name in the *Roman* Hiſtory. I obſerved before †, that this Nation took its Riſe from the *Suevi*, who remained after *Maraboduus*'s Retreat, mixt with Strolers of all Nations. *Caracalla* aſſumed the Surname of *Germanicus*, which he, from this Time, bore on all Medals (3): And, beſides this, he particularly aſſumed the Name of *Alemannicus* (4).

†L. 2. §. 19.

§. XXVI. BUT the Wars of *Caracalla* with the *Germans* ſeem not to have been attended with much Bloodſhed. He had indeed the Ambition of being eſteemed a ſecond *Alexander*, but had neither the Inclination nor Courage to undergo the ſame Dangers. He choſe rather to buy a Peace of the Savage Nations, than to ſubdue them by Force of Arms. The *German* Nations took Advantage of this Mixture of Fear and Pride, and we find, that even thoſe, who dwelt round about the *Elb*, on the *North-Sea*, and, could moleſt the Navigation and Coaſts of *Gaul* and *Britain*, with their Piracies, knew how to extort Mony from him by thoſe Means (1). He was yet more ſolicitous to maintain a Peace with the People, who dwelt oppoſite to *Noricum* and *Pannonia*, on the *Danube*, and boaſted of it, as a great Piece of Policy, that he had fomented Civil Broils between the *Marcomanni*

Leagues between him and the *Germans*. Tranſactions of the *Vandals*, *Marcomanni* and *Quadi*.

vulnerati erant, dentibus evellerent ex corporibus, ne interea manus a cædendis Romanis averterent. Quin etiam nomine victoriæ, magnis ei vendito pecuniis, ut ſalvus ſe in Germaniam reciperet, permiſerunt. Horum captæ a Romanis uxores, interrogatæ ab Antonino, utrum vendi, an occidi mallent, mori ſe malle reſponderunt: quumque eſſent poſtea venditæ, omnes mortem ſibi conſciverunt: nonnullæ una filios interfecerunt.

(2) AUREL. VICTOR. Alemannos, gentem populoſam, ex equo mirifice pugnantem, prope Mœnum amnem devicit. *Spartianus*, *in Carac. c.* 10. Germanici, Parthici, Arabici, & Alemannici nomen adſcripſit, nam Alemannorum gentem divicerat. *The two Names of* Germanicus *and* Alemannicus *are therefore different. The Appellation of* Germani *is ſometimes in particular given to thoſe* German *Nations, who dwelt between the* Rhine *and the* Weſer, *or probably as far as the* Elb. *It is, on the other Hand, in general uſed to denote all the* Germans, *and then we find the* Alemanni *included in it. Conf.* Ez. Spanhemius *de uſu & præſt. numiſm.* T. 2. diſſ. 12. p. 505.

(3) *On the Medals, which were ſtruck* TR. POT. XVI. & ſequ. *We meet, in the ſame Year, with Medals, which have, on the Reverſe,* GER. VOTIVA. *vid.* BIRAG. 293.

(4) *v. not.* 2.

§. XXVI. (1) *Excerpta e* DIONE *Valeſiana, p.* 751. Multi quoque ex iis gentibus, quæ ad ipſum Oceanum, circa Albis oſtia, ſitæ ſunt, legatione ad eum miſſa, pacem poſtularunt, ut aurum acciperent. Quando enim agere ita inſtituerat, innumeri eum adorti ſunt bellum minantes: quibus ille omnibus pecuniam dedit. Etſi enim quædam ipſis minus grata dicebat, tamen cum aureos viderent, mulcebantur, ac manus dabant.

and the *Vandals*, and thereby turned the Danger, which might have accrued to the *Roman* Empire, from their mutual good Understanding, upon themselves. We may conclude, that the *Quadi* acknowledged his Supremacy, from his calling their King, *Gaiovomaru*, to an Account, at their Complaint (2). He reposed, in general, a great Confidence in the *Germans*; kept a *German* Life-Guard, and admitted no foreign Ministers to so great an Intimacy, as those, who came from the *German* Nations: In Hopes it would add to his Security, if the *Romans* were apprehensive of an immediate Resentment from the *Germans*, for any Attempts made on his Person (3): And he sometimes, either out of Love for that Nation, and to honour them, or to gratify his own Fondness for new Fashions, wore a *German* Habit, and even false fair Hair, in Imitation of them (4).

The *Goths* invade *Dacia*.

§. XXVII. But nothing renders this Reign so remarkable, as that the *Goths* are mentioned by Name in his History. They daily extended their Borders in the Neighbourhood of *Dacia*, and made frequent Incursions into that Province. The Renown, they had acquired in War, was the Occasion that many other *German* Nations, who were either vanquished by, or allied to them, were included in the *Gothick* Name: whence it became so universal. But the *Goths* themselves are likewise sometimes named, by Historians, *Getæ*, after they had esta-

(2) *Excerpta e* Dione, *Valesiana*, *p.* 756. Gloriabatur, quod Vandalos, & Marcomannos, ante hac amicos & socios, inter se commisisset; quodque Quadorum regem, Gaiovomarum, accusatum interemisset. Cum vero unus ex Regis familiaribus, qui una cum ipso accusatus fuerat, laqueo sibi gulam fregisset, hujus cadaver Barbaris convulnerandum dedit, ne voluntaria morte, quod apud eos præclarum habetur, sed ut damnatorum exitu periisse crederetur.

(3) Herodianus *L.* 4. *c.* 7. *p.* 192. Igitur Italia decedens, ad ripas Danubii pervenit, ac partes Imperii Romani, Septentrioni subjectas. Ibi aut corpus exercebat aurigando, cædendisque comminus omne genus belvis: aut jus dicebat (rarius id tamen) statimque sententiam ferens, ac respondens, pauculis dumtaxat auditis. Cæterum Germanos illic sibi omnes adjunxit, atque in amicitiam conciliavit, sic, ut ex his socios bellorum, & custodes corporis, validissimum quemque, & pulcherrimum, sibi adsciverit. Sæpe etiam, Romano cultu deposito, vestem Germanicam induebat, atque in eorum sagulis, argento variegatis, conspiciebatur: etiam flavam capiti cæsariem imponens, ad modum Germanicæ tonsuræ. Quibus læti Barbari, mirifice eum diligere: gaudere etiam Romanus miles, quem scilicet ille amplissimis largitionibus prosequabatur, *Dio*, *L.* 78, *p.* 891. *A. B.* Quippe Scythas, & Germanos, non ingenuos modo, verum etiam servos, a liberis & uxoribus abstractos, armaverat, & circum se habebat, quod magis illis, quam militibus, fideret. Eosdem præter alia, centurionum officiis ornabat, & adpellare leones solebat. Quin etiam cum legatis, quotquot ab iis gentibus ad eum mitterentur, & colloquebatur sæpius, alio nemine præsente, præter interpretes; & mandabat iisdem, ut si quid ipsi accidisset, in Italiam irruerent, & ipsam Romam, ceu captu facilimam, peterent.

(4) *V. locus* Herodiani, *not.* 3. Dio, *p.* 890. *B.* In Syria quidem, ac Mesopotamia, tam vestibus, quam subligaculis Germanicis, utebatur.

blished

bliſhed themſelves in the Country formerly inhabited by that Nation (1). *Caracalla* had more than once Differences with them, which aroſe on Occaſion of his March to *Aſia*, and the *Romans* found it ever as difficult to keep the *Goths* from *Dacia* and the *Danube*, as the *Franks* and *Alemanni* from the *Rhine*.

§. XXVIII. A TRAGICAL Scene open'd itſelf, on the latter of theſe Rivers, in the Reign of *Alexander Severus*. The *Germans* paſs'd it, whilſt *Alexander* was buſied in *Aſia*, and invaded *Gaul* (1). When *Alexander*, had fortunately ended the War with the *Perſians*, at his Triumph(2), on that Occaſion, the Populace joined in this Acclamation: ALEXANDER AUGUSTE, DII TE SERVENT. PERSICE MAXIME, DII TE SERVENT. PER TE VICTORIAM DE GERMANIS SPERAMUS. PER TE VICTORIAM UNDIQUE PRÆSUMIMUS. He marched, therefore, in Perſon over the *Alps* (3), *A.* 234. with a large Army, in which were many *Oſrhæni*, *Armenians* and *Parthians*, who, on Account of their Agility and light Arms, ſeemed to promiſe eminent Services againſt the *Germans*, eſpecially in the Foreſts and marſhy

The *Germans* make Incurſions into *Gaul*.

§. XXVII. (1) SPARTIANUS *in Caracal. c.* 10. Helvius Pertinax, filius Pertinacis, dicitur joco dixiſſe, adde, ſi placet, etiam Geticus Maximus, quod Getam occiderat fratrem, & Gothi Getæ dicerentur, quos ille dum ad Orientem tranſiit, tumultuariis prœliis, vicerat.

§. XXVIII. (1) *We find by* HERODIAN, L. 6. c. 7. *that* Alexander *was at* Antioch, *when he heard the News of the* German *Irruption*. Statim nuntii, litteræque ab Illyricis procuratoribus adfuerunt, qui eum vehementer perturbarent, curamque animo majorem injicerent, quippe ſignificabant: Germanos Rhenum Danubiumque tranſgreſſos, Romanos in fines hoſtiliter intraſſe, oppugnareque jam exercitus, ripis inſidentes, perque urbes & vicos magnis copiis excurrere. Quapropter haud leviter Illyricas nationes conterminas, vicinaſque Italiæ, periclitari: opus eſſe igitur ipſius præſentia, totoque, quantum ſecum exercitum haberet. Hæc & formidinem Alexandro, & Illyricis militibus mœſtitiam, attulerunt. Quippe duplici ſe calamitate uſos intelligebant, quod & ipſi male accepti in acie adverſus Perſas fuerant, & ſuos domi cæſos a Germanis audiebant.

(2) PAGIUS, in Critica annal. Bar. ad h. a. n. 4. *places this Triumph in the Year* 230. *A Medal is mentioned in* Biragus *with this Inſcription on the Reverſe:* P. M. TR. P. VIII. COS. III. P. P. DE GERMANIS. *The Emperor is repreſented on a triumphial Char, and the Goddeſs of Victory placing on his Head a Crown of Laurels, in the Middle of which are the Words* VIC. AUG. *We meet with no expreſs Mention of this in Hiſtory.* Pagius *therefore refers to this that Paſſage of* Lamprid, *c.* 25. Actæ ſunt res feliciter, & in Mauritania Tingitana per Furium Celſum, & in Illyrico per Varium Macrinum, affinem ejus. *He therefore ſuppoſes, that* Macrinus *was ſucceſsful againſt the* Germans, *in* Rætia *or* Noricum, *in Honour of which Victory this Medal was ſtruck. Cardinal* Noriſius *is of the ſame Opinion, and illuſtrates it ſtill more by another Medal, in* Diſſ. de Nummo Diocletiani & Maximiani, *c.* 6.

(3) LAMPRIDIUS, *in Alex. c.* 59. Poſt hæc, cum ingenti amore apud Populum & Senatum viveret, & ſperantibus victoriam cunctis, & invitis eum dimittentibus, ad Germanicum bellum profectus eſt, deducentibus cunctis per centum & quinquaginta millia. Erat autem graviſſimum reipublicæ, atque ipſi, quod Germanorum vaſtationibus Gallia diripiebatur.

Places.

Places. He arrived safely on the *Rhine*, and caused a Bridge of Boats to be made, for the Army to pass over to the *German* Territories. If we may give Credit to *Herodian*, he actually came to Action with the *Germans* (4) (probably those, who had invaded the *Roman* Provinces). But this Expedition took a melancholy End. *Alexander* was assassinated by his own Soldiers (5), and the Army proclaimed *Maximinus* Emperor.

§. XXIX. This *Maximinus* was born in the extream Borders of *Thracia*, of foreign Parents; for his Father was a *Goth*, and his Mother an *Alanæ* (1). He had raised his Fortune, by his uncommon bodily Strength and Courage, under *Severus* and *Caracalla*; he would, how-

(4) Herodianus, *L.* 6. *c* 7. Confectoque celeriter itinere, constitit ad Rheni ripas, atque ibi res, ad bellum Germanicum necessarias, comparabat. Pontemque primo, junctis inter se navigiis, fecit in Rheno flumine, ut per eum exercitus transgrederetur. *He afterwards farther describes both the Preparations for and Proceedings of the War.* Alexander autem Mauros complures, ac vim ingentem sagittariorum, quos secum ex Oriente adduxerat, partim ex agro Osrhœnorum, partim e Parthia transfugas, pecuniave illectos, adversus Germanos instruebat. Quippe hujuscemodi milites maxime Germanos infestant: quum & Mauri longius jacula intorqueant, sintque faciles ad incursus recursusque, utpote leves atque expediti, & sagittarii nuda Germanorum capita, prægrandiaque illa corpora facile eminus, veluti signum aliquod, contingant. Nonnunquam vero etiam collata acie res gerebatur, ex qua Germani persæpe haud impares Romanis abibant. Quum in his Alexander versaretur, decrevit tamen oratores ad illos de pace mittere, qui pollicerentur, omnia illis Principem Romanum, quorum foret opus, præbiturum, pecuniasque daturum magna copia. Sunt enim Germani pecuniæ imprimis avidi, nunquamque non auro pacem Romanis caponantur. Quare Alexander pacem fœderaque potius ab illis emercari, quam periclitari bello tendebat.

(5) Lamprid. *L. c.* Denique agentem eum cum paucis in Britannia, ut alii volunt, in Gallia, in vico, cui *Sicila* nomen est, non ex omnium sententia, sed latrocinantium modo quidam milites, & hi præcipue, qui Heliogabali præmiis efflorverant, cum severum Principem pati non possent, occiderunt. Multi dicunt, a Maximino immissos tirones, qui ei ad exercendum dati fuerant, eum occidisse: multi aliter: a militibus tamen, constat, cum injurioše, quasi in puerum eundem, & matrem ejus avaram & cupidam, multa dixissent. Herodian *and* Zosimus *vary likewise in some Circumstances. According to* Eusebius's *and* Cassiodorus's Chronicles, *as well as the* Chronicon Alexandrinum, *this Assassination was perpetrated near* Mentz. Lampridius *calls the Place* Sicila: *and* Aurel. Victor. *says, likewise*: Agentem casu cum paucis, vico Britanniæ, cui nomen Sicila, trucidavere. *But both err in the Situation of this Place.* Calvisius *imagines*, Sicila *to be the present* Sicklingen, *which lies near* Mentz. Ortelius *reads, instead of* Sicila, Ficelia, *which is at present called Upper-*Wesel *in the Dominions of* Triers, *between* Bingen *and* Boppard. Bucherius *is of Opinion, that* Alexander's *Mother*, Mammæa, *was buried, and in Honour to him a* Cenotaphium *erected there. But* Lamprid. *says nothing more, c.* 63. *than*, Cenotaphium in Gallia, Romæ sepulchrum amplissimum, meruit.

§. XXIX. (1) Capitolinus *in Maxim. c.* 1. Hic de vico Thraciæ, vicino Barbaris, Barbaro etiam patre & matre genitus; quorum alter e Gothis, alter ex Alanis genitus esse, perhibetur. Et patri quidem nomen Micca, Matri Ababa fuisse dicitur.

ever,

ever, ſerve neither under *Macrinus*, nor *Heliogabalus* (2), but lived, in the mean Time, on the Eſtate he had bought in his own Country, where he cultivated a Friendſhip with the neighbouring *Goths* and *Alani*. *Alexander Severus* entruſted him with a conſiderable Command; which Confidence he returned with a monſtrous Piece of Ingratitude, if it be true, that he contrived his Death, or was otherwiſe acceſſory to the Treachery (3). *Maximinus* proceeded on the Expedition, for which Preparations had been made by *Alexander*, againſt the *Germans*, paſſed the *Rhine*, and penetrated farther into the Country, than any *Roman* Army had done a long while before (4). Hence he and his Son bear the Title of *Germanicus*, on the Coins of this Year

(2) CAPITOLINUS *in Maxim*, *c.* 4. Sub macrino a militia deſiit, (quod eum, qui Imperatoris ſui filium occiderat, vehementer odiſſet.)

(3) CAPITOLINUS *himſelf writes very dubiouſly of it*, in Maxim. *c.* 7. His rebus conſpicuum virum Alexander, magnorum meritorum judex, in ſuam perniciem omni exercitui præfecit, gaudentibus cunctis ubique tribunis, ducibus & militibus. Denique totum ejus exercitum, qui ſub Heliogabalo magna ex parte torpuerat, ad ſuam militarem diſciplinam retraxit. Quod Alexandro, ut diximus, optimo quidem Imperatori, ſed tamen cujus ætas ab initio contemni potuerit, graviſſimum fuit. Nam cum in Gallia eſſet, & non longe ab urbe quadam caſtra poſuiſſet, ſubito immiſſis militibus, ut quidam dicunt, ab ipſo, ut alii, a tribunis barbaris, Alexander, ad matrem fugiens, interemtus eſt, Maximino jam Imperatore appellato.

(4) CAPITOLINUS, *in Maxim. c.* 12. Ingreſſus igitur Germaniam Tranſrhenanam, per trecenta vel quadringenta millia barbarici ſoli vicos incendit, greges abegit, prædas ſuſtulit, Barbarorum plurimos interemit, militem divitem reduxit, cepit innumeros: & niſi Germani per amnes, & paludes, & ſilvas, confugiſſent, omnem Germaniam in Romanam ditionem redegiſſet. Ipſe præterea manu ſua multa faciebat, cum etiam paludem ingreſſus circumventus eſſet a Germanis, niſi eum equo inhærentem ſui liberaſſent. Habuit enim hoc barbaricæ temeritatis, ut putaret Imperatorem manu etiam ſua ſemper uti debere: denique quaſi navale quoddam prœlium in palude fecit; plurimoſque illic interemit. Victa igitur Germania, litteras Romam ad Senatum & ad populum miſit, ſe dictante conſcriptas, quarum ſententia hæc fuit: *Non poſſumus tantum, Patres conſcripti, loqui, quantum fecimus. Per* 40,000. *Germanorum vicos incendimus, greges abduximus, captivos abſtraximus, armatos occidimus, in palude pugnavimus. Perveniſſemus ad ſilvas, niſi altitudo paludum nos tranſire non permiſiſſent.* *Ælius Cordus* dicit, hanc omnino ipſius orationem fuiſſe: quod credibile eſt. Quid enim in hac eſt, quod non poſſet barbarus miles? Qui pari ſententia & ad populum ſcripſit, ſed majori reverentia, idcirco quod Senatum oderat, a quo ſe contemni multum credebat. Juſſit præterea tabulas pingi, ita ut erat bellum ipſum geſtum, & ante curiam proponi, ut facta ejus pictura loqueretur: quas quidem tabulas poſt mortem ejus Senatus & deponi juſſit & exuri. Capitolinus *has borrowed the greateſt Part of his Relation from* Herodian, *who gives an Account of* Maximinus's *Expedition*, *L.* 7. *c.* 2. *p.* 292. At vero Maximinus, hoſtilem ingreſſus agrum, diu nemine qui reſiſteret invento, (quippe omnes abſceſſerant Barbari) regionem illorum depopulabatur, maturis jam ſegetibus, vicoſque omnes incendendos diripiendoſque militibus tradebat. Sunt autem urbes ædificiaque illa maxime incendiis obnoxia. Rara enim apud Germanos ſtructura e lapide, ac lateribus coctilibus:

Year (5). He caused these Battles to be represented in Painting, and sent them to *Rome*, to raise a Regard for and Confidence in his Administration, and they were placed over the Entrance of the Senat-House. But however great his Exploits may have been, yet the Senat, in which were many, who had nothing else to boast of, but their eminent Birth, and Experience in a luxurious Method of Living, could not be brought to revere, as Emperor, a *Goth*, whose Valour only, as they imagined, had raised him to that Dignity. *Maximinus* was not ignorant of this, and married his Son, who was esteemed the most beautiful young Person of his Time, and had been well educated, to a Princess of *Aurelius*'s House, thereby to render his own more illustrious. But the frequent Mutinies rendered him so suspicious, and vindictive, that, on the least Shadow of Offence, he acted with the utmost Rigor, and thereby encreased the Hatred conceived against him.

§. XXX. *MAXIMINUS* went, at the Approach of Winter, to *Pannonia* (1). The Inscriptions, on which he and his Son are named *Sarmaticus*

libus: densisque potius silvis, quorum confixis coagmentatisque lignis, quædam quasi tabernacula ædificant. Igitur Maximinus, in eam regionem grassatus, populatis segetibus, omnique pecore captivo militibus permisso, nullos adhuc hostes invenerat. Siquidem campestres regiones, locaque ab arboribus pura deserverant, atque intra silvas & paludes delituerant, ut inde prœliarentur, atque eruptionem in hostem facerent. Etenim densitas illa, arborum sagittis jaculisque hostium allatura impedimentum, & paludum altitudo, periculosa Romanis, locorum ignaris; ipsis autem facilis expeditaque fore videbatur, non ignaris, quæ usquam pervia, quæ invia; & genuum tenus quotidie per illas discursantibus. Sunt autem Germani peritissimi natandi, ut qui tantummodo in fluminibus laventur. In hujuscemodi igitur locis pugna inita, ubi etiam Imperator ipse Romanus fortissime prœlium inchoavit. Nam quum ad ingentem quandam vastamque paludem ventum esset, intra quam Germani fuga se receperant, verentibus Romanis eodem hostes insequi, primus Maximinus, equo paludem ingressus, quum quidem etiam supra alvum equus voragine hauriretur, magna vi repugnantes Barbaros contrucidavit. Quare exercitus reliquus pudore instinctus, ne prodere pugnantem pro se Imperatorem videretur, ausus & ipse est paludem ingredi. Multique utrinque cecidere runt: ita tamen, ut nullus pene Barbarorum fuerit reliquus, dimicante insigniter Romano Principe. Quare & stagnum cadaveribus oppletum, & palus sanguine confusa, pedestris prœlii navalem faciem præferebat. Hanc igitur pugnam, suaque ipsius fortia facinora, non solum per litteras Senatui Populoque Romano significavit, sed etiam depictam maximis imaginibus ante curiam publicavit; ut non tam audire quæ gesta forent, quam etiam subjicere oculis Romani possent. Eam tabulam deinde una cum reliquis illius honoribus Senatus sustulit. Fuere item alia prœlia, quibus omnibus ipse manu pugnam capessens, ac fortissime dimicans, exsplendescebat. Multisque captivis, atque ingenti abacta præda, instante hieme in Pannoniam reversus est.

(5) Biragus, p. 328. *places them indeed in the Year* 236. *But* P. Pagi, ad A. 235. n. 7. *observes, that they are rather applicable to this latter Year.*

§. XXX. (1) Capitolinus *in Maxim. c.* 13. Pacata Germania Sirmium venit, Sarmatis inferre bellum parans atque animo habens, concupiens, usque ad Oceanum, septen-

Sarmaticus and *Dacicus* (2), give us Reaſon to believe, that he there vanquiſhed the *Sarmatæ*. His good Succeſs made him ſo elate, that he even pretended to extend the *Roman* Borders Northwards, as far as the Sea. He was at *Sirmium*, when News was brought him of a Rebellion, which we cannot here omit, by Reaſon of ſome Circumſtances which relate to the *Germans*. This Rebellion aroſe in *Africa*, where *Gordianus*, whom *Alexander* had ſent thither as *Proconſul*, was, with his Son, proclaimed Emperors. The Senat at *Rome* acknowledged † *Gordianus*, and declared *Maximinus*, who received this News in *Illyricum*, an Enemy to his Country. *Capelianus* had, in the mean while, taken up Arms againſt the Rebels, in *Africa*; *Gordianus*, the younger, died in the Field of Battle, and his Father, in Vexation and Deſpair, hanged himſelf. But the Senat at *Rome*, which could now expect nothing leſs than Revenge and Slaughter from *Maximinus*, choſe, out of their own Body (3), *Maximus Pupienus* and *Clodius Balbinus*, for Emperors; who, however, at the tumultuous Inſtances of the Populace, were obliged to declare young *Gordianus* (4) *Cæſar* (5). *Balbinus* remained at *Rome*, but *Pupienus*, who had, in many Expeditions, and, among the Reſt, in thoſe againſt the *Germans* (6), acquired the Fame of an experienced Warrior, marched againſt *Maximus*. The latter was, with his Army, in which were ſeveral *German* Troops (7) on his March to *Italy*, and had already paſſed *Hemona* (8), in *Pannonia*: But

† Vl. Callun. 237

ſeptentrionales partes in Romanam ditionem redigere: quod feciſſet, ſi vixiſſet, ut Herodianus dicit, Græcus ſcriptor, qui ei (quantum videmus) in odium Alexandri plurimum favet. Herodian's *Words, which* Capitolinus *followed, are*, p. 294. Intraque urbem Sirmium, in hibernis agens, ad vernam ſeſe expeditionem comparabat: identidem minitans, (id quod etiam præſtiturus videbatur) exciſurum ſubacturumque Oceanotenus omnes Germaniæ barbaras nationes.

(2) *Apud* GRUT. CLI. 5.

(3) D. 9. *Jul.* v. TILLEMONT. *not.* 8. *ad vit.* Maximini.

(4) CAPITOLINUS *in Maxim. & Balbino*, *c.* 3. Hic nepos erat Gordiani ex filia, ut quidam, vel ut alii, ex filio, qui eſt in Africa occiſus.

(5) IBID. Sed dum in capitolio rem divinam faciunt, populus Romanus imperio Maximi contradixit. Timebant vero ſeveritatem ejus homines vulgares, quare factum eſt, ut Gordianum, adoleſcentulum, principem peterent, qui ſtatim factus eſt, nec prius permiſſi ſunt ad palatium ſtipati armis ire, quam nepotem Gordiani, Cæſaris nomine nuncuparent.

(6) HERODIANUS *L.* VII. *c.* 10. *p.* 321. Maximus, cum ſæpe exercitibus præfuerat, tum præfectura urbis egregie geſta, maximam ingenii providentiæque, præterea vitæ continentis, opinionem de ſe præbuerat. *That he acquired in particular much Renown among the* Germans *appears from* not. 11. *below.*

(7) HERODIANUS *L.* VII. *c.* 8. *p.* 315. Sequebatur eundem etiam Germanorum haud quaquam negligendus numerus, quos vel armis ſubegerat, vel in amicitiam ſocietatemque adſciverat. *He likewiſe makes farther Mention of theſe* German *Troops, more than once.*

(8) Hemona *was a* Roman *Colony, in* Pannonia, *bordering on* Italy. Joh. Lud. Schoenleben *affirms, with ſome Probability, that it is the preſent* Laubach, *in the Duchy of* Crayn.

Aquileia ſhut her Gates againſt him, the Inhabitants having been perſuaded, that the God *Bellenus*, who was, at that Time, the chief Object of their Worſhip, had declared againſt him (9). He therefore beſieged the Place; but Want of Proviſions in the Camp occaſioned a Mutiny. The Conſpirators ſlew him and his Son in their Tent, and expoſed their Heads to the View of the Inhabitants of *Aquileia*, as an Earneſt of the Agreement they offer'd them in order to obtain Proviſions from the City (10). *Pupienus* was informed of this at *Ravenna*, when he was upon the Point of marching againſt *Maximinus*: A good Part of his Army conſiſted likewiſe of *Germans* (11), whoſe Aſſiſtance he ſtood no longer in Need of. He went thereupon to *Aquileia*, oblig'd the Army, which ſtill encamped there, to ſwear Fealty to him, and ſent them back to their reſpective Quarters. But the *Prætorian* Band, together with his *Germans*, he carried with him to *Rome*, where he entered, as it were, in Triumph (12): But the Happineſs of this new Reign

(9) HERODIANUS *L.* VIII. *c.* 3. *p.* 340. Belem vocant indigenæ, magnaque eum religione colunt, Apollinem interpretantes: cujus etiam ſpeciem, pro urbe ipſa pugnantem, quidam e militibus Maximini, viſam ſibi ſæpe in cœlo, affirmabant. *The celebrated Biſhop of* Adria, Philip a Turre, *has writ a learned Treatiſe* de Deo Belleno.

(10) CAPITOLINUS, *in Maxim. c.* 23. Deficiebant commeatus, quia Senatus ad omnes provincias & portuum cuſtodes litteras dederat, ne aliquid commeatuum in Maximini poteſtatem veniret. Miſerat præterea, per omnes civitates, prætorios & quæſtorios viros, qui ubique cuſtodias agerent, & omnia contra Maximinum defenderent. Effectum denique eſt, ut obſeſſi auguſtias obſidens ipſe pateretur. Nuntiabatur inter hæc, orbem terrarum conſenſiſſe in odium Maximini. Quare timentes milites, quorum affectus in Albano monte erant, medio forte die, cum a prœlio quieſceretur, & Maximinum, & filium ejus, quieſcentes in tentorio poſitos occiderunt, eorumque capita præfixa cunctis Aquileienſibus demonſtraverunt. In oppido igitur vicino ſtatim Maximini ſtatuæ atque imagines depoſitæ ſunt, & ejus Præfectus Prætorii occiſus eſt, cum amicis clarioribus, miſſa etiam Romam capita ſunt eorum.

(11) HERODIANUS *L.* VIII. *c.* 6. *p.* 352. Dum hæc ad Aquileiam geruntur, interea equites, qui Maximini caput Romam ferebant, magno ſtudio accelerantes, patentibus ubique portis, ac laureata popularium frequentia, excepti, ſtagnis paludibuſque inter Altinum ac Ravennam enavigatis, Maximum in urbe Ravenna invenerunt, delectos ex urbe & Italia contrahentem milites, ac Germanorum auxiliares, qui benivolentiæ nomine publice a popularibus miſſi fuerant, quibus olim maximus cum imperio diligentiſſime præfuerat.

(12) HERODIANUS *L.* VIII. *c.* 7. *p.* 354. *ſqq.* Dumque ad hunc motum tanta Romanum populum lætitia tenebat, interea Maximus, Ravenna profectus, Aquileiam pervenit. Quin exercitus etiam, qui Aquileiam circumſederat, pacato habitu prodibat laureatus, non tam vero concordique affectu univerſorum, quam ficta benevolentia, & honore temporario ad præſentem fortunam Principis accommodato: pleriſque tamen indignantibus ac dolentibus clanculum, quem ipſi elegerant, cecidiſſe; rerum potiri quem Senatus creaverat. Enimvero Maximus, uno alteroque die ſacrificiis abſumto, tertio dein exercitum omnem in planitiem convocavit, atque ex tribunali ad hunc modum verba fecit.... Hæc locutus Maximus,

ac

Reign was of a ſhort Duration. The *Prætoriani* placed but little Confidence in the two Emperors, becauſe they where choſen by the Senat, and the Preſence of the *German* Troops revived in them the Suſpicion, that they were kept for no other Reaſon, but in Order to diſcharge them with the leſs Difficulty (13). They therefore broke into the Imperial Palace, when almoſt the whole Town was at the *Ludi Capitolini*, murdered *Pupienus* and *Balbinus* (14), before the *German* Troops could come to their Aſſiſtance (15), and proclaimed *Gordianus* Emperor.

§. XXXI. THE Reign of this *Gordianus* is very remarkable in the *German* Hiſtory. He is honoured, on his Epitaph, with the Title of Conqueror of the *Germans* (1): And in the War, he waged againſt them, an Action is recorded between *Aurelianus*, who was, at that Time, *Tribune* of a Legion, but afterwards elected Emperor, and the *Franks* (2). This Action, in itſelf, was not ſo remarkable, but as it gave Occaſion to the firſt Mention of the *Franks*, which we meet with in the *Roman* Hiſtory. Various are the Conjectures about the Origin of this Nation. The Opinion of thoſe, who aſſert, that the *Franks*

The firſt Mention made of the *Franks*: Their Origin.

ac pecunias magna copia pollicitus, paucos Aquileiæ commoratus dies, Romam reverti conſtituit. Igitur dimiſſo exercitu reliquo, in provincias caſtraque propria, Romam revertitur ipſe, cum ſtipatoribus iis, quibus Imperatorum cuſtodia incumbebat, quique delecti a Balbino fuerant, neque non auxiliaribus Germanis, quorum potiſſimum fidei confidebat, utpote quibus olim, nondum adepto imperio, cum poteſtate præfuerat, moderate ſe gerens. Ingredienti urbem etiam Balbinus occurrit, Gordianum Cæſarem ſecum adducens: Senatus autem populuſque univerſus, lætis acclamationibus veluti triumphantes exceperunt.

(13) HERODIANUS *L.* VIII. *c.* 8. Angebant præterea eos Germani, quos in urbe ſecum Maximus retinuerat. Nam futuros vindices ſperabant, ſi quid ipſi majus auſi forent, etiamque inſidias ſuſpectabant, ne forte ab illis per fraudem exarmarentur, qui cum præſentes adeſſent, facile in ipſorum locum ſufficerentur.

(14) *A.* 238. *c. menſ. Jul. v.* TILLEM. *not.* 12. *p.* 806.

(15) HERODIANUS *L.* VIII. *c.* 8. *p.* 361, Sed ubi Germanos, re deinda cognita, raptis armis in auxilium concurrere nuntiatum prætorianis eſt, ſtatim illos, nullo non ludibrio prius affectos, contrucidant.

§. XXXI. (1) CAPITOLINUS *in Gord. c.* 34. Divo Gordiano, victori Perſarum, victori Gothorum, victori Sarmatarum, depulſori Romanarum ſeditionum, victori Germanorum, ſed non victori Philipporum.

(2) VOPISCUS, *in Aureliano, c.* 7. Idem apud Monguntiacum tribunus legionis VI. Gallicanæ, Francos irruentes quum vagarentur, per totam Galliam ſic adflixit, ut trecentos ex his captos, ſeptingentis interemtis, ſub corona vendiderit. Unde iterum de eo facta eſt cantilena: mille Francos, mille Sarmatas ſemel cecidimus: mille, mille, mille Perſas quærimus. Tillemont *has, in the Life of* Valerian, §. 3. p. 714, 715. *demonſtrated, that this Battle may, with moſt Probability, be placed in thoſe Times, when* Gordianus *was preparing for an Expedition againſt the* Perſians: *But, whether it happened under* Gordianus, *or ſome Years later, it is, at leaſt, the firſt Mention we meet with of the* Franks.

were no ſeparate Nation, but a Mixture of ſeveral *German* People, as the *Chamavi*, *Bructeri*, &c. who had dwelt from Time immemorial on the right Side of the *Rhine*, and united, at this Time, in aſſerting their Liberty againſt the *Romans*, and that from thence they took the Name of *Franks*, is grounded on very ſlight Conjectures, which cannot counterbalance the expreſs Teſtimony of the ancient Hiſtorians, and eſpecially thoſe of that Nation (3): From whom it is evident, that they came from other Parts: But which was their real Country has hitherto been the chief Matter of Diſpute. Some learned *French* Writers have attempted to prove they were a Colony of the ancient *Gauls* (4), as if it was a Diſgrace to *Gaul*, to be ſubdued by *German* Nations, whom not even all the Power of *Rome* was able to withſtand: But their very Language, and all the Accounts we meet with, partly in Hiſtory, and partly in their moſt ancient Laws, of their Religion, Military Diſcipline, Manners and Cuſtoms, ſo plainly evince them to have been a *German* Nation, that even many of the *French* themſelves, no longer doubt of it (5). An ancient Geographer, who, indeed, lived in the 7th Century, but had many Accounts of a much more ancient Date, which are ſince loſt, fixes their ancient Habitation about the *Elb* (6), and names the Country *Maurungania*. With this agree many Footſteps of Hiſtory: For we find, that *M. Aurelius* (7), and *Antoninus Caracalla*, in their Time (8), had to do with a certain *German* Nation, which dwelt about the *Elb*. They afterwards, as their Predeceſſors the *Cimbri* and *Teutones* had done before them, moved towards the *Rhine*, in order to enrich themſelves in *Gaul*, and by the Way, either by Force or Treaties, brought ſome of thoſe Nations, thro' whoſe Countries they paſſed, either under their Subjection, or into their Alliance. Since *Valerian*'s Time, Hiſtory affords us more and plainer Accounts, how they approached, and firſt took Poſſeſſion of the Country, which the *Chamavi* inhabited (9); and afterwards

(3) *Conf. inter alios* EUMENES RHETOR. *Some Paſſages of whom will be quoted below in the* VI. *Book.*

(4) BODINUS *de meth. leg. Hiſt. refutatus a* Pontano *de Or. Franc.* L. 2. c. 5. *it.* Lacarri *de colon. Gallorum. See Mr.* Leibnitz's *Anſwer to the* Memoires de Trevoux, *in* Eckard's comm. in leg. Sal. *p.* 261.

(5) *See the* Abbé de Vertot's Diſſertat. *in the* Memoires de literature, T. 4. *p.* 275.

(6) GEOGRAPHUS RAVENNAS, *L.* 1. *c.* 11. Quarta ut hora noctis, Normannorum eſt patria, quæ eſt Dania ab antiquis, cujus ad frontem Albes, vel patria Albis, Maurungania certiſſime antiquis dicebatur, in quæ patria Albis, per multos annos, Francorum linea remorata eſt. *Conf.* Leibnitius *de orig. Francorum*: & *Gundlingiana*, III. 2. VI. 4. IX. 1.

(7) *See before* §. 12. n. 2.

(8) *See above* §. 31. n. 1.

(9) *In Tab. Peutingeriana Chamavi qui & Franci.*

terwards

terwards infeſted the Iſland of *Batavia* by their Irruptions, and advanced to the *Lippe* and *Siege*, where the *Bructeri* and *Sicambri* had before dwelt. This Country received from them the Appellation of FRANCIA: But as they either ſubdued thoſe Nations, who dwelt there before, or gained them by Treaties, hence the Names *Chamavi*, *Bructeri* and *Sicambri* are met with in later Times, and are even ſometimes uſed to denote the *Franks*.

Reſumption of the Hiſtory of the *Goths*.

§. XXXII. IN the mean Time, while the *Franks* begun to be known on the *Rhine*, the Power of the *Goths* encreaſed on the other Side of the Empire. How they invaded *Dacia* I have already related. They ſeem to have been in a good Underſtanding with the *Romans* during *Alexander*'s Reign He paid them a certain annual Subſidy, which encouraged their Neighbours, the *Carpi*, to demand the ſame. But *Menophilus*, Lieutenant in *Moëſia*, behaved himſelf ſo prudently, that he kept the *Carpi*, in Aw, with his Threats, as he did the *Goths* in Peace with Benevolence (1). *Maximinus* maintained a good Underſtanding with the *Goths*, and had perhaps Aſſiſtance from them, in his War againſt the *Sarmatæ*. But, after his Death, they begun to be turbulent; on which Occaſion, the City of *Iſtria* or *Iſtropolis*, in *Lower-*

§. XXXII. (1) PETRI PATRICII *excerpta de legation. p.* 24, 25. Carporum gens invidia flagrabat, quod Gothi ſtipendia a Romanis accipiebant. Itaque legationem miſerunt ad Tullium Menophilum, & arroganter pecunias ab illo petierunt. Erat ille dux Mœſiæ & ſingulis diebus exercitum ad bellum exercebat: & cum Carpos inſolentes & ſuperbos eſſe accepiſſet, per plures dies eos non admiſit, ſed tamen poteſtatem eis fecit cum exercitus exercebatur, ut milites conſpicerent: & cum ſatis prorogatione temporis, diem de die ducens, ſuperbos illorum ſpiritus fregiſſet, & retudiſſet; ſedens in alto ſugeſtu, primarios totius exercitus viros circa ſe adhibuit, & Carpos excepit, nullaque illorum habita ratione in medio militum, dum legationem ſuam exponerent, tanquam aliud agens & longe illi eſſent graviora negotia, ſermonem cum aliis habebat. At illi deſpectui habiti, nihil aliud dixerunt, niſi, quia Gothi, inquiunt, a vobis ſtipendium accipiunt, cur nos quoque non accipimus? Quibus Menophilus: Cum Imperator noſter multarum pecuniarum ſit dominus, liberalitatem ſuam exercet erga eos, qui, ut in ſe beneficus ſit, ſuppliciter petunt. Nos quoque, inquierunt, ſupplicantium numero habeat, & nobis eadem largiatur. Sumus enim Gothis præſtantiores. Ridens Menophilus, Meæ, ait, ſunt iſtæ partes de his ad Imperatorem referre. Redite igitur, intra quatuor menſes, in hunc eundem locum & reſponſum accipietis. Et ſimul illinc abiit & milites exercuit. Poſt quatuor menſes Carpi redierunt. In quibus admittendis cum eadem forma, qua prius, uſus fuiſſet & rationem, negotium in alios tres menſes rejiciendi, reperiſſet, cum tandem iterum eos, ut prius, coram alio exercitu excepiſſet, illis hoc reſponſum dedit. Nihil prorſus Imperator vobis ex conventione dabit: ſed ſi gratificatione indigetis, accedite ad eum, & ad ejus pedes procumbite, & ei ſupplicate, & veriſimile eſt, eum veſtras preces admiſſurum. At illi indignati receſſerunt, & per tres annos, quibus Menophilus in provincia cum imperio fuit, quieverunt. *This Fragment aſſigns indeed no particular Time for this Occurrence; but it cannot be more properly placed any where than here, where* Monſ. Tillemont *puts it*, ad vit. Alex. *p.* 347, 348.

Moëſia,

Moëſia, at the South Entrance of the *Danube*, was deſtroyed (2). The *Roman* Emperors agreed, therefore, that *Balbinus* ſhould march againſt the *Goths* and *Sarmatæ*, *Maximus* againſt the *Perſians*, and *Gordianus* remain at *Rome*. Theſe Deſigns were indeed ſoon after fruſtrated by the tragical Death of the two Emperors; but when *Gordianus* marched A. 242. againſt *Sapor* King of *Perſia*, he paſſed thro' *Moëſia* (3), and his Hiſtorian ſays, that, in this Expedition, he once more drove the *Sarmatæ* and *Goths* out of *Thrace*: Tho' he was himſelf defeated, in that Country, by the *Alani*, in a Battle near *Philippopolis* (4).

The *Goths* paſs the *Danube*. *Faſtida*, King of the *Gepidæ*, vanquiſhes the *Burgundians*.

§. XXXIII. *PHILIP*, his Succeſſor, was ſoon at War in *Thrace* (1). *Capitolinus* relates, that the *Scythæ* paſſed the *Danube*, and *Zoſimus* names in particular the *Carpi* among thoſe, whom the Emperor compelled to ſue for Peace (2): And as the *Goths* were comprehended in the Name of *Scythæ*, and they frequently aſſociated themſelves to the *Carpi*, we need not ſcruple here to follow *Jornandes*, by whoſe Account thoſe few Circumſtances, which we meet with in *Capitolinus* and *Zoſimus*, are illuſtrated. He tell us, that *Oſtrogotha*, King of the *Goths*, raiſed a large Army of his Subjects, who dwelt on the Coaſts of the *Pontus Euxinus*; that they were joined by the *Taifaili*, *Aſtingi*, and *Peucini*, the latter of which dwelt about the Mouth of the *Danube*, together with 3,000 *Carpi*, and croſſed that River: where they beſieged *Marcianopolis* (3) in *Moëſia*; but raiſed the Siege in Conſideration of a Sum of Mony (4). *Jornandes* ſays farther, that the *Goths* there-

(2) Capitolinus, *in Maxim. & Balb. c.* 16. Sub his pugnatum a Carpis contra Mœſos fuit, & Scythici belli principium, & Hiſtriæ excidium eo tempore, ut autem Dexippus dicit, Hiſtricæ civitatis.

(3) Capitolinus, *in Gordiano* III. *c.* 26. Fecit iter in Mœſiam, atque in ipſo procinctu quicquid hoſtium in Thraciis fuit, delevit, fagavit, expulit, atque ſubmovit.

(4) Capitolinus, *in Gord. c.* 34. Quod ideo videbatur additum, quia in campis Philippicis ab Alanis tumultuario prœlio victus abſceſſerat.

§. XXXIII. (1) Capitolinus, *in Gord. c.* 34. *De initiis Philippi.* Et dum hæc agerentur, Argunthis (al. Argunt) Scytharum Rex, finitimorum regna vaſtabat, maxime quod compererat, Miſitheum periiſſe, cujus conſilio R. P. fuerat gubernata.

(2) Zoismus, *L. 1. p.* 33. *ſqq.* Hoc modo ſe ſtabili potiturum imperio arbitratus, ipſe contra Carpos expeditionem ſuſcepit, qui jam Iſtro vicina loca populabantur. Prœlio conſerto, quum noſtrorum impreſſionem Barbari non ſuſtinerent, fuga quoddam ad caſtellum facta, obſidebantur. Ubi ſuos hinc inde diſperſos rurſus colligi cernerent, receptis animis egreſſi de caſtello, Romanum exercitum invadebant; ſed cum impetum Maurorum ferre non poſſent, de pace componenda colloqui cœperunt. Philippus eis haud difficulter adſenſus.

(3) *Hodie Preſlaw in regno Bulgariæ: conf.* Cellarius *orb. ant. T. 1. p.* 592.

(4) Jornandes, *c.* 16. Tranſiens tunc Oſtrogotha cum ſuis Danubium, Mœſiam, Thraciamque vaſtavit; ad quem repellendum Decius Senator a Philippo dirigitur, qui veniens dum genti nil prævalet, milites proprios exemtos a militia fecit vita privata degere,

thereupon waged War with the *Gepidæ*, who were likewiſe of *Gothick* Extraction (5): that their King *Faſtida* was ſo elate at having ſubdued the *Burgundians*, and other neighbouring Nations, that he aimed at conquering the *Goths*, but was by them defeated (6).

§. XXXIV. IN the Reign of *Decius*, who, in the mean Time, ſucceeded *Philip*, *Cniva*, *Oſtrogotha*'s Succeſſor, paſſed the *Danube*, with 70,000 Men. He firſt laid Siege to *Novi* in *Lower-Moëſia*. But when he was repulſed by *Gallus*, who then commanded on thoſe Bor-

Decius is ſlain in a Battle with the *Goths*.

degere, quaſi eorum neglectu Gothi Danubium tranſiſſent, factaque, ut puta, in ſuis vindicta, ad Philippum revertitur. Milites vero videntes, ſe eſſe poſt hos labores militia pulſos, indignati, ad Oſtrogothæ, regis Gothorum, auxilium confugerunt. Qui excipiens eos, eorumque verbis accenſus, mox trigenta millia virorum armata produxit ad prœlium, adhibitis ſibi Taiphilis, & Aſtringis nonnullis. Sed & Carporum tria millia, genus hominum ad bella nimis expeditum, qui ſæpe Romanis infeſti ſunt: quos tamen poſt hæc, imperante Diocletiano, Valerius Maximinus Cæſar devicit & reipubl. Romanæ ſubjecit. Is ergo habens Gothos & Peucenos, ab inſula Peuce, quæ oſtia Danubii Ponto mergenti adjacet, Argaitum & Gunthericum nobliſſimos ſuæ gentis præfecit ductores: qui mox Danubium vaſtati, & ſecundo Mœſiam populati, Marcianopolim ejuſdem patriæ urbem, famoſam Metropolim, aggrediuntur, diuque obſeſſam, accepta pecunia ab his qui inerant, reliquere. *This* Argaitus *is perhaps the* Argunth, *whom* Capitolinus *mentions*, not. 1.

(5) JORNANDES, *c.* 17. Hi ergo Gepidæ tacti invidia, dudum ſpreta provincia, commanebant in inſula, Viſilæ amnis vadis circumacta, quam pro patrio ſermone dicebant Gepiedocos. Nunc eam, ut fertur, inſulam gens Vividaria incolit, ipſis ad meliores terras meantibus: qui Vividarii ex diverſis nationibus, ac ſi in unum aſylum collecti ſunt, & gentem feciſſe noſcuntur. *By his Relation, the* Gepidæ *ſeem to have dwelt about the Mouth of the* Viſtula, *before they marched from thence, and approached the* Goths *ſo near, that the Property of the Country occaſioned their Difference.*

(6) JORNANDES *ibid.* Ergo Gepidarum Rex, Faſtida, quietam gentem excitans, patrios fines per arma dilatavit. Nam Burgundiones pæne uſque ad internecionem delevit, aliaſque nonnullas gentes perdomuit, Gothos quoque male provocans, conſanguinitatis fœdus prius importuna concertatione violavit, ſuperbaque admodum elatione jactatus, creſcenti populo dum terras cœpit addere, incolas patriæ reddidit rariores. Is ergo miſit legatos ad Oſtrogotham, cujus adhuc imperio tam Oſtrogotha, quam Veſegothæ, i. e. utrique ejuſdem gentis populi ſubjacebant, incluſam ſe montium queritans aſperitate, ſilvarumque denſitate conſtrictum, unum poſcens e duobus, ut aut bellum ſibi, aut locorum ſuorum ſpatia præpararet. Tunc Oſtrogotha, Rex Gothorum, (ut erat ſolidi animi) reſpondit legatis, bellum ſe quidem tale horrere, durumque fore, & omnino ſceleſtum armis confligere cum propinquis, loca vero non cedere. Quid multa? Gepidæ in bella irruunt, contra quos ne nimii judicaretur, movit & Oſtrogotha procinctum, conveniuntque ad oppidum Galtis, juxta quod currit fluvius Aucha, ibique magna partium virtute certatum eſt: quippe quos in ſe, & armorum & pugnæ ſimilitudo commoverat. Sed cauſa melior, vivaxque ingenium juvat Gothos; inclinata denique parte Gepidarum, prœlium nox diremit. Tunc relicta ſuorum ſtrage, Faſtida, rex Gepidarum properavit ad patriam, tam pudendis opprobriis humiliatus, quam fuerat elatione erectus. Redeunt victores Gothi, Gepidarum diſceſſione contenti, ſuaque in patria, noſtri in pace, verſantur, uſque dum eorum prævius exiſteret Oſtrogotha. *The Places here mentioned by* Jornandes *are unknown; but this we may perceive, that after* Faſtida *had vanquiſhed the* Burgundians, *he drew, by Degrees, nearer to the* Goths.

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ders (1), and was afterwards elected Emperor, he besieged *Nicopolis*, likewise on the *Danube*. The young Emperor *Decius* (2) relieved *Nicopolis*, whereupon *Cniva* marched over Mount *Hæmus*, which separated *Moësia* from *Thrace*, into this latter Province, and formed a Design on *Philippopolis*. *Decius* pursued the *Goths*, and they came to an Engagement near *Bereæa* (3), in which *Cniva* won the Day. *Decius* hereupon retreated, over Mount *Hæmus*, into *Moësia*, to *Gallus*'s Army. The *Goths*, by this Victory, opened the Way for themselves to *Philippopolis*, which they took after a tedious Siege; and, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, 100,000 Men perished at it (4). The *Goths* now laid all *Thrace* waste, and penetrated even into *Macedonia*, where the Lieutenant, *L. Priscus*, had a secret Intelligence with them, and assumed the Imperial Dignity (5). This unfortunate News obliged the Emperor to head his Army himself (6). One of his principal Cares was to secure the Pass † from *Thessalia*, lest the *Goths* should invade *Achaia* and *Peloponnesus*. This was entrusted to *Claudius*, who afterwards attained to the Imperial Crown (7). But *Zosimus* says, to the Honour of *Decius* himself, that he was every where victorious over the *Goths*: This the Medals of his Reign confirm; and extol his Victories over the *Germans* and *Carpi*, and the great Assistance he gave

† *Termopylas.*

§. XXXIV. (1) Dux Limitis Moesiæ.

(2) V. Tillemont, *p.* 590.

(3) Jornandes, *c.* 18. Post cujus decessum Cniva, exercitum dividens in duas partes, nonnullos ad vastandam Mœsiam dirigit, sciens, eam negligentibus principibus defensoribus destitutam. Ipse vero, cum septuaginta millibus, ad Eustesium, id est Novas conscendit; unde a Gallo duce remotus, Nicopolim accedit, quæ juxta Jatrum fluvium est constituta notissima, quoniam devictis Sarmatis Trajanus eam fabricavit, & appellavit victoriæ civitatem: ubi Decio superveniente Imperatore, tandem Cniva in Hemoniæ partes, quæ non longe aberant, recessit: inde, apparatu dispositio, Philippopolim ire festinans. Cujus secessum Decius Imperator cognoscens, & ipsius urbi ferre subsidium gestiens, jugo montis transacto ad Beræam venit. Monſ. Tillemont *observes*, T. 3. P. 2. p. 592. *how Historians vary in the Circumstances, and endeavours to reconcile them.*

(4) Ammianus Marcellinus, *L.* 31. *c.* 5. Post clades acceptas, illataſque multas, & sævas, excisa est Philippopolis, centum hominum millibus (nisi fingunt annales) intra mœnia jugulatis.

(5) Aurelius Victor. *c.* 29. Per eos dies L. Prisco, qui Macedonas Præsidatu regebat, delata dominatio, Gothorum concursu, postquam, direptis Thraciæ plerisque, illo pervenerant. *This* L. Priscus *is thought to have been the Emperor* Philip's *Brother, who, being informed of the Death of the latter, aspired to the Imperial Dignity.* V. Banduri, *L. c. p.* 46.

(6) Zosimus, *L.* 1. *c.* 38. *vid. not.* 9.

(7) Treb. Pollio, *in Claudio, c.* 16. Tribunum vero Claudium, optimum juvenem, fortissimum militem, constantissimum civem, castris, Senatui & Reipublicæ necessarium, in Thermopylas ire præcepimus: mandata eidem cura Peloponnensium; scientes, neminem melius omnia quæ injungimus, esse curaturum. Huic ex regione Dardania dabis milites ducentos, ex cataphractariis centum, ex equitibus centum & sexaginta, ex sagittariis Creticis sexaginta, ex tironibus bene armatos mille.

to

to *Illyricum* (8). *Decius* endeavoured to cut them off in their Return, and commanded *Gallus* to ſeize all the Paſſes on the *Danube*, while he himſelf ſet upon them, at the Head of his main Army, in Hopes of extirpating thereby the whole Swarm. But the *Romans* were unfortunate in this Battle (9), and all Hiſtorians agree, that *Decius* and his Son were ſlain, tho' they vary in the Circumſtances; for ſome ſay, that *Gallus* ſided privately with the *Goths*, and helped to decoy the Emperor into the Moraſts, where he ſo miſerably loſt his Life.

§. XXXV. THIS Report was perhaps occaſioned, or, at leaſt, made more probable, becauſe *Gallus* (1) was proclaimed Emperor by the Army, in the Room of *Decius* (2), and inſtantly concluded a Peace with *Gallus* makes Peace with the *Goths*.

(8) *There are ſome Medals of* Decius *extant, which* Banduri, p. 2. *applies to the Succeſs* Decius *at firſt met with, againſt the* Goths, *and eſpecially thoſe with the following Reverſes:*

DACIA FELIX:
RESTITVTOR ILLYRICI:
VICTORIA GERMANICA:
VICTORIAE CARPICAE:

The Carpi *may perhaps, as uſual, have aſſociated themſelves to the* Goths. *The Medal with the Words* VICTORIA GERMANICA, *is likewiſe among thoſe of* Hoſtilianus, *which were ſtruck with his Image, whilſt he was only* Cæſar, *in* Decius's *Life-Time.* V. Banduri, p. 50.

(9) ZOSIMUS, *L.* 1. *c.* 38. *p.* 643. Quia vero plenæ perturbationis res erant, ob inertem Philippi ſecordiam in omnibus: Scythæ Tanaim tranſgreſſi, vicina Thraciæ loca prædis agendis infeſtabant, quos adgreſſus Decius, & omnibus prœliis ſuperior, præda quoque recepta, qua potiti fuerant, quo minus domum reverterentur, iter eis occludere conabatur, & univerſos ad internecionem delere cogitabat, ne denuo coactis copiis irruerent. Quumque Gallum ad Tanaidis ripam, ſatis magnis cum copiis, collocaſſet, ipſe cum reliquis ad hoſtem propius accedebat. Rebus ex animi ſententia ſuccedentibus, Gallus ad moliendum res novas converſus, legatis ad Barbaros miſſis, ut in ſocietatem inſidiarum adverſus Decium venirent, hortabatur. Illis cupidiſſime, quod imperatum erat, accipientibus; Gallus quidem cuſtodiendæ ripæ Tanaidis intentus erat: Barbari vero trifariam diviſi, quodam in loco primam aciem inſtructam collocabant, quem locum palus quædam a fronte muniebat. Ubi multos ex eis Decius interemiſſet, acies ſecunda ſupervenit, qua ipſa quoque in fugam acta, pauci quidam ex acie tertia propter paludem conſpecti ſunt. Ibi quum Gallus per indicia Decio ſignificaſſet, ut eos per ipſam paludem invaderet, imprudenter ob locorum ignorationem progreſſus, & cum copiis, quas ſecum ducebat, in luto defixus, & a Barbaris undique telis petitus, una cum iis, quos propter ſe habebat, nemine prorſus evadendi facultatem nacto, periit. Ac Decius quidem, optime adminiſtrato regno, hujuſmodi vitæ finem habuit. *We have no Room to doubt, but inſtead of* Tanais, *the* Danube *muſt here be underſtood.* Jornandes *and* Georgius Syncellus, *who followed* Dexippus's *Hiſtory, and ſeveral others agree, that the Battle was fought in* Mœſia, *and conſequently on the right Side of the* Danube. *Some name the Place, as may be ſeen in* Tillemont, p. 598.

† *Towards the Concluſion of the Year* 251.

§. XXXV. (1) C. VIBIUS TREBONIANUS GALLUS.

(2) SYNCELLUS, *p.* 376. Scythæ, captivis abductis, ſuppectiliſque immenſæ compotes facti, lares patrios repetunt, Gallum quendam Exconſulem, & cum eo Voluſianum, Decii filium, milites ſalutant Imperatorem.

the *Goths* (3). By this Treaty, he allowed them to return over the *Danube*, with all the Booty and Priſoners they had taken; and obliged himſelf to pay them annually a certain Subſidy, to prevent their farther Invaſions into the *Roman* Provinces (4). However ſcandalous this Peace may appear, ſince he did not even free thoſe Perſons of Diſtinction who were taken Priſoners at *Philippopolis*, *Gallus*, nevertheleſs, made as magnificent an Entrance into *Rome*, as if he had conquered the *Goths*, and ſome Medals are ſtill extant, which were ſtruck in Honour of this Peace (5). *Hoſtilianus*, the younger Son of *Decius*, ſhared, at firſt, the Imperial Title with him; but was ſoon obliged to give Way to *Voluſianus* (6). But *Illyricum* remained, nevertheleſs, in Confuſion (7), either becauſe the *Goths*, with whom *Gallus* had made Peace, did not obſerve it, or by Reaſon of the Irruptions of other Northern

(3) Jornandes, *c.* 19. Hi ergo mox, ut Imperium adepti ſunt, fœdus cum gente Gothorum pepigere.

(4) Zosimus, *p.* 40. Non enim cum præda tantum Gallus eis, ut ſuos intra fines redirent, permiſit: verum etiam quotannis certam pecuniæ ſummam dare promiſit.

(5) Pax Æterna. Mezzab. *p.* 259. Banduri, *p.* 60, 69.

(6) P. Banduri, L. c. p. 81, *mentions an odd Medal of him*: IMP. C. C. VA. F. GAL. VEND. VOLVSIANO AVG. *with the Reverſe*: MARTI PACIFERO. P. Banduri *reads this Inſcription thus*: Imperatori, Cæſari, Caio, Vandalico, Finnico, Galindico, Vendenico, Voluſiano Aug. *and illuſtrates it by the following Obſervation*; Ut Commodus Auguſtus, ob Sarmatas, a Marco Aurelio devictos, dictus eſt Sarmaticus: ſic Voluſianus, omnia Sarmatiæ populorum, tanquam a Gallo patre devictorum, cognomina geſtat. *PTOLEMÆUS, L.* 3. *c.* 7. inter eas gentes numerat Carpos, Phinnos, Galindas, & Vendenos. Decius autem, adverſus hos Barbaros profectus, Gallum ad Danubii ripæ cuſtodiam reliquit, ut tradit Zoſimus: Decio ab ipſis interfecto, pacem Gallus a Barbaris, non abſque Romani nominis dedecore annuo tributo emit. Typum Martis Paciferi, & epigraphen, nummus hac de re præfert, qui inter hujus Imperatoris rariſſimos recenſcendus eſt. *This Obſervation taken from* Jo. Vaillant, numiſmatibus Romanorum præſtantioribus, p. 350. *is equally learned and judicious. But we can ſcarce conceive, that the* Finni *and* Galindi, *who dwelt in* Pruſſia, *ſhould come ſo far, and ſo eminently diſtinguiſh themſelves, that a* Roman *Prince ſhould borrow a Title from them; ſince we do not find, that any Hiſtorian makes Mention of them. Whoever gives Credit to the Genealogical Account of* Gallus's *Deſcent, written by* F. Harduin, in Hiſtor. Auguſta, ex numiſm. illuſtrata, p. 840. *may, with him, explain this Inſcription thus*: IMP. CÆS. CAIVS. VALENS. FINNIVS. VIBIVS. GALLVS. VINDEX. VOLVSIANVS. AVGVSTVS.

(7) Zosimus, *L.* 1. *p.* 26. Quum autem negligenter Imperium Gallus adminiſtraret, primum quidem Scythæ nationibus ſibi vicinis terrorem incutiebant: deinde paullatim progreſſi, ad ipſum uſque mare ſitas regiones populabantur: adeo quidem, ut nulla gens Romanæ ditionis ab eis non vaſtata manſerit, ſed omnia prope dixerim oppida, deſtituta mœnibus, & iiſdem munitorum magna pars, capta fuerint. *Ibid. p.* 43. Rurſus Gothi, & Borani, & Urugundi, & Carpi, civitates in Europa diripiebant, quicquid eis ſuperabat, ſibi auferentes. *add.* Zonaras, *p.* 232. Tillemont *obſerves*, p. 697 *and* 698, *the Difference between the two Relations.*

Nations.

Nations. *Æmilianus* (8), who commanded in *Pannonia*, was ſucceſsful againſt them (9), and for the Glory he thereby obtained, proclaimed Emperor by his Army (10). He ſeems hereupon to have made Peace with the *Goths*, that he might with more Safety depart for *Italy* (11). *Gallus*, at the firſt News hereof, declared him an Enemy to his Country, and ſent *Valerianus* over the *Alps*, to lead the the Army, which was ſtationed on the *Rhine*, to *Italy*, in order to be the better able to encounter *Æmilianus*: But the latter had paſſed the *Alps*, before the Legions on the *Rhine* ſet out. *Gallus* and *Voluſianus* marched againſt him: But juſt before the two Armies met (12), both Father and Son were killed by their own Soldiers, who directly went over to *Æmiliauus* †, whom the Senat thereupon acknowledged Emperor. *Valerianus* received this News in *Rætia*, at the Head of a conſiderable Army, which would by no Means ſubmit to *Æmi-*

(8) C. JULIUS ÆMILIANUS.

(9) ZOSIMUS, *L. c. c.* 28. Scythæ vero, cum quicquid occuparunt in Europa, ſecure plane poſſiderent, & jam in Aſiam quoque tranſgreſſi eſſent, omniaque, ad Cappadociam, & Peſinuntem, & Epheſum uſque, diripuiſſent: Æmilianus regionum Pannoniæ dux, militibus ſuis, qui parum animi ad reſiſtendum proſperæ Barbarorum fortunæ habebant, quanto poterat opere confirmatis, & dignitate populi Romani eis in memoriam revocata; improviſus Barbaros, in iis locis repertos, adgreſſus eſt. Quumque magnam eorem partem occidiſſet; milites in Barbaricum tranſduxiſſet; inopinato, quicquid occurreret, obtruncaſſet; præter omnem denique ſpem, imperio Romano ſubjectos, illorum furore liberaſſet; a militibus illis Imperator dictus eſt. Itaque coactis eorum locorum copiis, quæ jam, ex parta contra Barbaros victoria, confirmatiores animis erant factæ; Italiam verſus movit, cum imparato Gallo manum conſerturus. *Jornandes*, *c.* 19. Defuncto tunc Decio, Gallus & Voluſianus Regno potiti ſunt Romanorum, quando & peſtilens morbus, pæne iſtius neceſſitatis conſimilis, ut nos ante hos novem annos experti ſumus, faciem totius orbis fœdavit, ſupra modum quoque Alexandriam, totiuſque Ægypti loca, devaſtans. Dionyſio hiſtorico ſuper hanc cladem lacrymabiliter exponente, quam & noſter conſcripſit venerabilis Martyr Chriſti, Epiſcopus Cyprianus, in libro, cujus titulus eſt de mortalitate. Tunc & Æmilianus quidam, Gothis ſæpe ob principum negligentiam Mœſiam devaſtantibus, ut vidit licere, nec a quoquam, ſine magno Reipubl. diſpendio, removeri, ſimiliter ſuæ fortunæ arbitratus poſſe evenire, tyrannidem in Mœſiam arripuit, omnique manu militari aſcita, cœpit urbes, & populos, devaſtare.

(10) BANDURI, p. 94. *explains, by theſe Exploits, the Medals, with the Reverſe:* HERCULI VICTORI, *which afterwards was ſo common on the Medals of the Emperors; likewiſe that, with the Reverſe,* MARTI PROPUGN. ib. 94. *where either* Æmilian *himſelf is repreſented under this Figure, becauſe he, as a ſecond* Mars, *whom* Thrace *particularly rever'd, protected* Illyricum *againſt the* Scythæ; *or, becauſe thoſe Victories were aſcrib'd to* Mars.

(11) BANDURI, p. 94, *refers to this the Medals,* PAX AVG. it. MARTI PACIF. p. 94 & 96.

(12) *By the Relations of* Victor *and* Eutropius *it was near* Terni: Euſebius *and* Syncellus *place it* ad Forum Flaminii, *which lay not far from* Foligno, *but is now deſtroyed.*

† *V. fin. Mai. a.* 253. *v.* Till. not. 3.

lianus; but made Choice of him for Emperor (13). He led them directly into *Italy*, and *Æmilianus* experienced the same Treachery, for which he had so lately rewarded *Gallus*'s Soldiers. For his Army, diffident of their Ability to withstand *Valerianus*, slew him near *Spoleto* (14), having enjoyed the Imperial Dignity about three Months, or little more ††, after the Decease of *Gallus* (15).

Gallienus makes War with the *Germans*. The *Roman* Generals are successful on the *Danube*.

§. XXXVI. *VALERIANUS* was thus acknowledged Emperor at *Rome*, and in the Provinces, without Bloodshed. He took his Son, *P. Lic. Gallienus*, as Assistant in the Government; to him he entrusted the Care of the Western Regions, and himself undertook to go to the *East*. *Gallienus* went in Person to the *Rhine*, where the Danger appeared greatest; but *Posthumus*, his Substitute, was, in Reality, Commander. He was a Native of *Gaul*, who had so raised himself by his Valour, and gained such a Reputation, that *Valerianus* entrusted him with the Command under his Son. This War proved fortunate for the *Romans*, as not only all Historians testify (1), but likewise some Medals (2), shew on which three different Victories gained by *Gallienus* over the *Germans*, are recorded. *Valerianus* and *Gallienus* ob-

(13) Eutropius, *L.* 9. *c.* 6. Hinc Licinius Valerianus in Rætia & Norico agens, ab exercitu Imperator, & mox Augustus est factus. Victor *in* Cæs. *c.* 31 & 32. At milites, qui contracti undique, apud Rætias ob instans bellum morabantur, Licinio Valeriano Imperium deferunt.

(14) Victor *Epit. c.* 31. Æmilianus vero, menses quatuor dominatus, apud Spoletium, sive pontem, quem ab ejus cæde sanguinarium accepisse nomen ferunt, inter Otriculum, Narniamque & urbem Romam, regione media positum, *scil. occisus*.

†† *Occ. circiter m. Augusto* 253. v. Tillem. *not.* 3. *ad vit. Galli.*

(15) Zosimus, *L.* 1. *c.* 36. Ille nulla prudentia postulatis adsensus, & inconsulto cum paucis ad Saporem profectus, quasi de pace cum eo colloquuturus, ab hostibus subito comprehenditur, & in hac fortuna captivus, apud Persas vivendi finem fecit. *Others say, that he was slain in the Battle.*

§. XXXVI. (1) Zosimus, *L.* 1. c. 30. Gallienus, videns, Germanicas gentes cæteris infestiores esse, qua adcolas Rheni, Gallicas nationes, acrius vexarent, hanc partem sibi propugnandam ab hostibus sumebat: alios, qui per Italiam, Illyricum, Græciamque, prædis agendis intenti essent, duces, cum eorum locorum exercitibus, bellum facere jussit. Ac ipse quidem, Rheni transjectus custodiens, quantum præstare poterat, interdum transitu hostes arcebat interdum transeuntibus suos instructos objiciebat. EUTROPIUS, *L.* 9. *c.* 6. Juvenis in Gallia & Illyrico multa strenue fecit, occiso apud Mursam Ingenuo, qui purpuram sumserat, & Trebelliano. VICT. *in Cæs. c.* 33. Licinius Gallienus, cum a Gallia Germanos strenue arceret, in Illyricum properans descendit: Ibi Ingenuum, quem curantem Pannonios, comperta Valeriani clade, imperandi cupido incesserat, Mursiæ devicit, moxque Regillianum.

(2) *Hither appertain those Medals of* Valerian, *with the Reverse:*

VICTORIA GERMANICA.

V. Banduri, *L. c. p.* 112, 128, 140. it. *with the Title,*

GERMANICVS MAXIMVS TER.

ib. p. 107. (1). *The same is illustrated by* Gallienus's *Medals, with the Reverse,*

VICTORIA GM.

ib. p. 183. (2).

VICTORIAE AVGG II. GERM.

ib. (5).

VICTORIAE AVGG T GERM.

ib. (6).

tained

tained hereby the Title of GERMANICUS MAXIMUS † on their Coins. *Aurelianus* ſeems likewiſe to have done eminent Services againſt the *Germans*, in theſe firſt Expeditions, becauſe *Valerianus* calls him *Reſtitutor Galliæ* (3): And he was ſo well ſatisfied with *Poſthumus*'s Services, that he appointed him Lieutenant in *Gaul* (4). *Valerianus* ſet out, in the Year 257, on his Journy to *Aſia*, thro' *Illyricum*; and he and his Generals found enough to do in their March. The Exploits of *Aurelianus*, who then commanded the Armies in *Illyricum* and *Thrace*, in the Room of *Ulpius Crinitus*, are particularly recorded (5). By the Names of ſome Generals of thoſe Troops, which he commanded, we may conclude, that they were *Germans*, who ſerved under the *Romans* (6). *Probus* is likewiſe extolled in Hiſtory, for his Valour againſt the *Quadi* and *Sarmatæ*, whereby he obtained the Command of two Legions (7). A. C. 256.

§. XXXVII. *VALERIAN*'s Expedition was chiefly intended againſt the *Perſians*; but *Aſia* was now infeſted by new Enemies, the *Goths*. One Part of them was joined by thoſe Nations, who dwelt on the Coaſts of the *Boſphorus*, and obtained of them the Aſſiſtance of their Ships. *Zoſimus* mentions the *Borani* (1) and *Gothi*; and

The *Goths* invade *Aſia*. *Valerian* marches againſt them.

(3) *In* VOPISCUS, *in vit. Aureliani*, *c.* 9. Quid enim in illo non clarum? quid non Corvinis & Scipionibus conferendum? Ille liberator Illyrici, ille Galliarum reſtitutor.

(4) POLLIO *in* XXX. *Tyr. c.* 3. Tranſrhenani limitis ducem, & Galliæ præſidem, Poſthumum fecimus, &c.

(5) VOPISCUS *in Aurelian*, *c.* 10. Habuit multos ducatus, uſque adeo, ut etiam Ulpii Criniti (qui ſe de Trajani genere referebat, ac fortiſſimi revera viri, & Trajani ſimillimi, qui pictus eſt cum eodem Aureliano in templo Solis, quem Valerianus Cæſaris loco habere inſtituerat,) vicem ſumeret, exercitum duceret, limitem reſtitueret, prædam militibus daret: Thracias bobus, equis, mancipiis, captivis locupletaret: manubias in Palatio collocaret: 500 ſervos, 2000 vaccarum, 1000 equas; ovium 10,000. caprarum 15,000 in privatam villam Valerini congereret.

(6) VOPISCUS *in Aurel. c.* 11. Habes legionem tertiam felicem, & equites cataphractarios octingentos. Tecum erit Hartomundus, Halidegaſtes, Hildemundus, Carioviſcus. Vorburg *obſerves*, p. 512. 2. *that theſe Names are met with among the* Franks; *and thereby confirms the Opinion, that they were Generals of that Nation.*

(7) VOPISCUS, *in Probo*, *c.* 5. Cum bello Sarmatico, jam tribunus, tranſmiſſo Danubio, multa fortiter feciſſet, publice in concione donatus eſt haſtis puris quatuor, coronis vallaribus duabus, corona civica una, vexillis puris quatuor, armillis aureis duabus, torque aureo uno, patera ſacrificali quinquelibri una: quo quidem tempore Valerium Flaccum, adoleſcentem nobilem, parentem Valeriani, e Quadorum liberavit manu: unde illi Valerianus coronam civicam detulit. Verba Valeriani pro concione habita: Suſcipe Probe præmia pro republica, ſuſcipe coronam civicam pro parente, quo quidem tempore, legionem tertiam eidem addidit. *Id. ib. c.* 16. In Illyrico Sarmatas, ceteraſque gentes, ita contudit, ut prope ſine bello cuncta reciperet, quæ illi diripuerant.

§. XXXVII. (1) ZOSIM. *L.* 1. *c.* 31. *ſqq.* Borani vero, & Gothi, & Carpi, & Uregundi,

and *Gregorius Thaumaturgus*, Biſhop of *Neocæſarea*, the Capital of *Pontus*, expreſsly mentions the *Goths* (2). Their firſt Attempt was on *Pithyus*, a City on the Borders of *Colchis*. The Place was well fortified, and *Succeſſianus* repell'd them with ſo much Bravery, that they ſet Sail and returned: But when the Emperor, who arrived, in the mean Time, in *Aſia*, ſent for *Succeſſianus*, and created him *Præfectus Prætorii*, the *Borani* and *Goths* made, with the ſame Fleet, a freſh Attempt. They ſail'd into the Mouth of the *Phaſis*, where there was a famous Temple of *Diana*, which, however, they could not take. They, nevertheleſs, made themſelves, this Time, Maſters of *Pithyus*. Here they augmented their Fleet, and, employing, Part

gundi, (nationum hæc nomina, propter Iſtrum ſedes habentium) nullam nec Italiæ, nec Illyrici partem, a continuis vexationibus immunem relinquebant, omnia, nemine reſiſtente, diripientes. Et quidem Borani in Aſiam quoque transjicere conabantur: idque per incolas Boſpori ſane quam facile obtinuerunt, qui metu potius, quam animi voluntate, adducti, naves eis dederunt, & in transjiciendo duces fuerunt. Quam enim diu reges illi habebant, filiis paternum in regnum ſuccedentibus, partim propter amicitiam cum populo Romano, & commerciorum opportunitatem; partim propter ea munera, quæ ab Imperatoribus quotannis eis mittebantur, Scythas, in Aſiam transjicere volentes, arcere non deſinebant: verum poſteaquam, extincto genere regio, quidam viles & abjecti principatum obtinuiſſent, ſibimet ipſi metuentes, Scythis, adeundæ per Boſporum Aſiæ, facultatem concedebant, & ſuis eos navibus tranſvehebant, quibus deinde receptis, domum remearunt. Cæterum Scythis, obvia quæque deprædantibus, qui maritima Ponti loca incolebant, ad mediterranea maximeque munita migrabant. Barbari vero Pityuntem primum adorti ſunt, muro maximo circumdatam, & portum commodiſſimum habentem. Sed quum dux militum ejus loci, Succeſſianus, cum iis copiis, quæ iſtic aderant, Barbaris obſtitiſſet, & eos inde ſubmoviſſet, veriti Scythæ, ne hujus rei fama per cætera quoque caſtella diſperſa, eorum præſidiarii, militibus Pityunteis adgregati, funditus ſe delerent, quantam maximam poterant navigiorum copiam nacti, ſummo cum periculo domum reverterunt, in hoc ad Pityuntem bello compluribus ſuorum amiſſis. Enimvero qui ad Pontum Euxinum habitabant, Succeſſiani ductu ſervati, quemadmodum expoſuimus, numquam fore ſperabant, ut rurſum Scythæ transjicerent, qui jam indicato modo repulſi fuiſſent. Borani *or* Burani *are the ſame, whom* Gregorius Thaumaturgus *names* Borades. *They are not improbably the ſame* Burii, *who are likewiſe called* Buri *or* Burri. *The* Uregundi *were perhaps* Burgundi. *The* Burgundians *were at leaſt Neighbours of the* Goths, *as appears from what has been ſaid before*, §. XXXIII. n. 6.

(2) Gregory, *Biſhop of* Neocæſarea, *the Capital of* Pontus, *wrote at that Time an Epiſtle, the Title of which is:* De iis, qui in Barbarorum incurſione idolothyta comederunt, ſive, qui in captivitate idolis ſacrificaverunt, & alia peccata commiſerunt. *We meet there with ſome Paſſages, which may give Light to Hiſtory. As at the Beginning of* c. 3. p. 123. Non cibi nos gravant, Sancte Papa, ſi captivi comederint ea, quæ, qui in eos dominium obtinent, eis appoſuerunt; maxime quando una de omnibus fama eſt, Barbaros, qui in noſtras regiones incurſiones fecerunt, idolis non ſacrificaſſe. *And* Canone V. *p.* 129. Alii autem ſe ipſos ſeducunt, pro propriis, quæ perierunt, aliena, quæ invenerunt, detinentes, ut quoniam Boradi & Gothi eis hoſtilia fecerunt, ipſi ſint aliis Boradi & Gothi.

of

of the Captives in rowing, took the Advantage of fair Wind and Weather, and bent their Course for *Trapezunt*. This large and populous City, into which all the Inhabitants of the Plains had taken Refuge, with their best Effects, had a Garrison of above 10,000 Men: But they confided too much in their double Walls, and thought themselves so secure, that the *Goths* took the Town with little or no Resistance †. According to their barbarous Custom, they set Fire to the Temples, and other publick Buildings, and returned home with an inexpressible Booty, and a great Number of Prisoners (3). The Coast of *Pontus* having thus greatly suffered, a Swarm of *Scythæ* came the next Winter over the *Danube*, passed by *Tomi* and *Anchialos*, and went as far as where *Byzantium* now is. They seized all the Vessels they found, went to Sea, and landed on the opposite Shore in *Asia*, near *Chalcedon* †. The Garrison, in a Pannick, abandoned the Place, which the *Goths* took, with the greater Ease, and plundered it. They then directed their Course to *Bithynia*, there ravaged *Nicomedia*, *Prusa*, *Apamea*, and other Places, and intended to go to *Cyzicus*; but as the Tide ran too high in the River *Rhyndacus*, they returned by the same Way they came, and, in their Passage, set

† A. C. 258.

† A. C. 259.

(3) ZOSIMUS, *L.* 1. *p.* 52. *sqq.* Sed ubi Valerianus arcessitum ad se Successianum, præfectum prætorii dixisset, & cum eo res Antiochenæ civitatis, & instaurationem ejus ordinaret: denuo Scythæ, sumtis a Bosporanis navibus, transjecerunt. Retentis autem navigiis, nec (ut factitatum prius erat) concessa potestate Bosporanis, ut eis in patriam reverterentur: propter Phasidem profecti sunt, ubi fanum Dianæ Phasianæ, cum Ætæ regia, collocatum perhibent. Hoc fanum occupare conati, sed frustra, Pityuntem recta contendunt. Castello perfacile capto, suoque præsidio denudato, pergunt ulterius: quumque magna copia navigiorum abundarent, & captivis, remigandi peritis, ad navigationem usi, commodam tempestatem toto propemodum æstivo tempore habuissent, Trapezuntem petierunt, urbem amplam & populosam, quæque præter consuetos milites, aliorum infinitum prope numerum receperat. Obsidione cœpta, ne per somnium quidem urbe se potituros sperabant, quod esset ea duabus muris circumdata; sed cum ignavia temulentiaque occupatos animadverterent milites ne murum quidem amplius conscendere, nec ullo tempore luxum & compotationes suas intermittere, arboribus, quas dudum ad hoc præparaverant, admotis muro, qua perveniri ad eum poterat, & noctu per has aliis alios exiguo numero subsequentibus, adscendentes, urbem capiunt, præsidiariis, ob repentinam & improvisam hostis irruptionem, metu perculsis, & per alias portas ex urbe fuga dilapsis cæteris ab hostibus interemtis. Urbe in hunc modum capta, ineffabilem Barbari opum captivorumque copiam adepti sunt. Nam finitimi propemodum omnes in eam, veluti locum munitum, confluxerant. Templis & ædificiis dirutis, aliisque rebus, ad elegantiam magnitudinemve comparatis; & excursionibus tota regione vexata, compluribus cum navigiis domum discessere. *The City of* Pithyus *has been so reduced, that* Justinian *says*, Nov: XXVIII. *pr.* Pithyûs, & Sebastopopolis inter castra potius, quam urbes, numerandæ sunt.

Fire

Fire to *Nicæa* and *Nicomedia* (4). *Valerianus* was at *Antioch*, in *Syria*, when he received the News. He ſent *Felix* back to *Europe*, to ſecure *Byzantium*, from the Irruptions of the Enemy; but himſelf haſtened to meet the *Goths*, and was arrived in *Cappadocia*, when he received Advice of their Retreat.

Valerianus taken Priſoner. Confuſion in the *Roman* Empire. The *Germans* invade *Italy*.

§. XXXVIII. *VALERIANUS*, hereupon, marched againſt the *Perſians*; but was ſo unfortunate to be taken Priſoner, and died in Captivity. The Medals, which honour him with the Title of *Reſtaurator Orientis* ſhew, how little Credit is to be given to thoſe *Encomiums*, if not confirmed by other Teſtimonies; and they were perhaps only deſigned to expreſs the Hopes they entertained of his Expedition. Never were the Affairs of the *Roman* Empire in greater Perplexity, than after his Misfortune. *Gallienus* was not adequate to the Burden; tho' he may have poſſeſſed more good Qualities, than are

(4) Zosimus, *L.* 1. *c.* 34. *ſqq.* Quum horum ſinitimi, Scythæ, adlatas ab eis opes conſpexiſſent, & ſimile facinus audendi cupiditas eos inceſſiſſet: navigia quidem ab eis parabantur, utentibus ad eorum ſtructuram, mancipiorum opera, quæ ſecum habebant, vel ceteroquin ipſis inopiæ cauſa ſemet adjungentium; ſed ea ratione, qua Borani fuiſſent uſi, minime navigationem inſtituendam eſſe, tam longam, tam difficilem, perque vaſtata jam ante loca, decreverunt: ſed hiemis exſpectato tempore, Ponto Euxino ad ſiniſtram relicto, pedeſtribus copiis per ipſa littora, prout fieri poterat, celeriter comitantibus, Iſtrum, Tomos, Anchialum, ad dextram prætergreſſi, ad Phileatinam venere paludem, quæ, verſus occidentem ſolſtitialem Byzantii, Ponto adjacet. Cognito autem, ejus lacus piſcatores, in adjacentibus lacui paludibus, cum iis, quas haberent navibus, abditos deliteſcere: interpoſita cautione perfecerunt, ut ſeſe ſiſterent: quumque naves eorum copiis pedeſtribus ſuis oneraſſent, tranſire per id fretum, quod Byzantio Chalcedonique interjacet, nitebantur. Erat non in ipſa modo Chalcedone præſidium, verum etiam ad fanum uſque diſpoſitum, quod ad oſtium Ponti ſitum eſt, longeque Barbaros illud adventantes viribus ſuperabat: ſed milites ipſi partim diſceſſere, quaſi qui occurrere duci ab Imperatore miſſo, vellent; partim tanta trepidatione correpti ſunt, ut ad primam rei famam citato curſu diffugerent. Quo facto, ſimul & transjecere Barbari, & Chalcedone, nullo reſiſtente, capta, opibus & armis, aliaque ſupellectile copioſiſſima potiti ſunt. Hinc Nicomediam contenderunt, urbem maximam & fortunatam, opibuſque ac rerum omnium copia celeberrimam. Sed licet præcepta fama cives jam ante diffugiſſent, cum opibus ſuis, quas auferre ſecum poterant; nihilominus Barbari repertorum ab ſe copiam mirati, omni honore atque obſervantia Chryſogonum proſequebantur, qui jamdudum eis auctor fuerat, ut Nicomediam proficiſcerentur. Quumque Nicæam, & Cium, & Apameam, & Pruſam, iiſdem incurſionibus vexaſſent, & in illis paria deſignaſſent; Cyzicum petiere. Verum quod Rhyndacus fluvius, ex imbribus auctus, ingentem aquarum vim volueret, tranjectione fruſtra tentata, retro ceſſerunt: ac Nicomediam quidem, & Nicæam, injectis ignibus ſuccenderunt; ſpoliis vero in plauſtra naveſque conjectis, domum cogitabant, hoc irruptioni ſecundæ fine impoſito. Valerianus intellectis iis, quæ in Bithynia gererentur, ex diffidentia, nemini ducum credere defenſionem illius contra Barbaros audebat: ac Felice miſſo, qui Byzantium tueretur, ipſe ab Antiochia ad Cappadociam uſque progrediebatur, & tranſitu duntaxat attritis oppidis, pedem referebat.

allowed

allowed him by *Treb. Pollio*; who depreciated them to the laſt Degree, that he might magnify *Claudius* his Succeſſor, in the Reign of whoſe Deſcendents he wrote. *Valerianus* had promoted many valiant Men; but, inſtigated partly by their own Pride, partly by the Armies under their Command, and even by the Danger that attends eminent Merit, under a weak and ſuſpicious Prince, they arrogated to themſelves, the Imperial Title, and are known, in *Roman* Hiſtory, by the Name of Tyrants. The Accounts we have from the Hiſtorians of theſe Times are as confuſed, as the State of the Empire was; inſomuch, that from them we can ſcarce carry on the Thread of our Relations. *Gallienus*, who till now had found Employment on the *Rhine*, in repelling the *Franks* and *Alemanni*, was obliged to return to *Italy*, a Swarm of foreign Nations having penetrated over the *Alps* (1). *Gallienus*, on this Occaſion, followed the Example of many of his Predeceſſors. He contracted an Alliance with a powerful *German* Prince, who was obliged to aſſiſt him in repulſing the others (2). This was perhaps the ſame Prince of the *Marcomanni*, with whom he had a good Underſtanding, and whoſe Daughter *Pipa*, or *Pipara*, he ſet his Affection upon more than on his own Wife (3). In *Illyricum*, *Ingenuus*, and after him *Regillianus*, a Native of *Dacia*, who pretended to be deſcended from *Decebalus*, and had performed noble Exploits againſt the *Sarmatæ*, aſſumed the Title of Emperors.

§. XXXIX. WHILST *Gallienus* was thus employed in *Italy* and *Illyricum*, *Poſthumus*, whom, at his Departure, he had entruſted with

Poſthumus aſſumes the Imperial Dignity in Gaul.

§. XXXVIII. (1) ZOSIMUS, *L. c. c.* 37. Et Scythæ, conjunctis animis ex univerſa gente nationeque ſua in unum congreſſi, parte quadam copiarum ſuarum Illyricum prædatum exhibant; alii civitates ejuſdem vaſtabant, alli denique Italiam ingreſſi, ad ipſam uſque Romam pergebant. At Gallieno, Tranſalpinis in locis hærente, Germaniciſque bellis intento, Senatus urbem Romam in ſummum malum conjectam videns, ex armatis quotquot erant in ea militibus, & iis præterea, qui valentiores ex plebiis erant, exercitum Barbarico majorem coegit, quem hoſtes veriti, Romam illi quidem relinquebant, ſed Italiam, prope dixerim univerſam, excurſionibus adfligebant.

(2) ZOSIMUS, *L.* 1. *c.* 30. Sed, quod ingenti cum multitudine, perexiguas ipſe copias habens, bellum gereret, in anguſtum jam coacta res ipſius erat: quum inito fœdere cum quodam de gentis Germanicæ principibus, & aliqua parte periculum minuiſſe viſus fuit. *Mſ. de* Tillemont, *p.* 721. *imagines, that this* German *Prince may have been* Attalus, *the King of the* Marcomanni, *of whom* Aurelius Victor *writes*, c. 33. Expoſitus (*ſcil.* Gallienus) Saloninæ conjugi, atque amori flagitioſo filiæ Attaliſci, Germanorum (*Epit. VICT.* Marcomannorum) Regis. TREB. POLLIO *in Salonino*, *c.* 3. Tam variæ item opiniones ſunt de Salonini nomine: ut qui ſe verius putant dicere, a matre ſua Salonina appellatum eſſe dicant, quam is perdite dilexerit, Piparam nomine, Barbari Regis filiam.

(3) *Some have thought, that this* German *Princeſs was lawful Wife of* Gallienus. *V. locum Pollion*, n. 2. *But* Tillemont *endeavours*, p. 898. *to prove the contrary.*

the Army, assumed the Imperial Dignity in *Gaul*. His many excellent Qualities would have render'd him one of the most accomplish'd Heroes, had he attained to the Government, in a legal Manner: But *Gallienus*'s Son, *Valerianus Saloninus*, who was already *Cæsar*, and whom his Father had left in *Gaul*, that all Orders might pass in his Name (1), was the first Victim of this Revolution; and was murder'd at *Cologn*, on the *Rhine* (2). We find indeed, that *Gallienus* marched against him, and that both he, and his Generals, *Aureolus* and *Claudius*, obtained some Advantages over him (3). But he, nevertheless, kept his Ground, chiefly by the Assistance of the *Franks*, whom he had gained over to his Party (4). *Gallienus*, however, when he celebrated his *Decennalia*, caused some Soldiers to be cloath'd like *Goths*, *Sarmatæ*, *Franks* and *Persians* (5), in order to represent the Splendor of a Triumph.

Posthumus maintains his Ground in *Gaul*.

§. XL. *POSTHUMUS* thus obtained, what *Claudius* and *Civilis* had, before him, in vain, attempted. *Spain* and *Britain* seem to have adhered to him, which formed a separate Empire, 'till the Time of *Aurelianus*. He defended the Provinces against the Irruptions of the *Germans*, and to that Purpose built several Forts on the other Side the *Rhine* (1).

The Wars of *Posthumus* and *C. Lælianus* with the *Germans*.

We

§. XXXIX. (1) Banduri *mentions*, p. 260. *a Medal of this* Saloninus, *with the Reverse*, VICT. GERMAN. *it refers perhaps to one of those* German *Victories mentioned in* Gallienus's *Medals*. V. §. XXXVI. n. 2.

(2) Zosimus, *L. 1. p.* 62. Secundum hæc Posthumus quoque, cui creditum esset militare apud Celtas Imperium, ad res novas animum adjecit, sumtisque secum militibus, qui cum ipso defecerant, Agrippinam contendit, urbem maximam, ad Rhenum sitam, ubi Saloninum, Gallieni filium, obsedit, minatus obsidionem se minime soluturum, nisi deditus sibi ille fuisset. Militibus obsidionis necessitate compulsis, ut & ipsum, & ipsius custodiæ præfectum a patre, Silvanum, traderent; utroque Posthumus interfecto, rerum apud Celtas potiebatur. Pollio *Trig. Tyrann. c.* 3. Hic vir, in bello fortissimus, in pace constantissimus, in omni vita gravis, usque adeo, ut Saloninum, filium suum, eidem Gallienus in Gallia positum, crederet, quasi custodi vitæ, & morum & actuum imperialium institutori. Sed quantum plerique afferunt (quod ejus non convenit moribus) postea fidem fregit, & occiso Salonino, sumsit imperium. Ut autem verius plerique tradiderunt, cum Galli vehementissime Gallienum odissent, puerum autem apud se imperare ferre non possent, eum, qui commissum regebat imperium, Imperatorem appellarunt, missisque militibus adolescentem interfecerunt. Quo interfecto, ab omni exercitu, & ab omnibus Gallis Posthumus gratanter acceptus, talem se præbuit per annos septem, ut Gallias instauraverit, cum Gallienus luxuriæ & popinis vacaret, & amore Barbaræ mulieris, consenescret. *See likewise* Zonaras, *who also differs from the Rest in some Circumstances.*

(3) *V. numos apud* Bandurium *in Gallieno passim.*

(4) Pollio *in Gallieno, c.* 7. Et quum multis auxiliis Posthumus juvaretur, Celticis ac Francicis.

(5) Pollio *in Gallieno, c.* 8. Ibant præterea gentes simulatæ, ut Gothi, Sarmatæ, Franci, Persæ.

§. XL. (1) Pollio *in* XXX. *Tyr. c.* 3. Siquidem nimius amor erga Posthumum omnium erat in Gallia gente populorum, quod

We have ſeveral Medals, which were ſtruck in Honour of his *German* Victories, ſome of which name him GERMANICUS MAXIMUS (2). Among others, thoſe are particularly remarkable, on which *Hercules Deuſonenſis* (3), and *Hercules Macuſanus* (4) are repreſented. But when *Gallienus* made a freſh Attempt, and reduced *Poſthumus* to great Streights, the latter gave *Victorinus* †, who was not inferior to him in Valour or Underſtanding, a Share in the Government (5). However, a much greater Misfortune befel him than that he was threatned with on the Side of the *Romans*. *Lælianus* cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Emperor at *Mentz*, and *Poſthumus*, defeated, indeed, theſe Rebels; but, as he would not give the City a Prey to his Soldiers, they conſpired againſt him, and ſlew him, together with his Son (6). *Lælianus* (7) thereupon maintain'd, for

quod ſubmotis omnibus Germanicis gentibus, Romanum in priſtinam ſecuritatem revocaſſet imperium. *Of thoſe Lines, which he cauſed to be thrown up, on the other Side of the* Rhine, *againſt the* Germans, *ſee* not. 6.

(2) *Apud* BANDURIUM *in Poſthumo paſſim: He bears the ſame Title on an Inſcription, mentioned by* Fabretti, p. 866.

IMP. CAES.
M. CASSIANI
VS. LATINIVS. PO
STVMVS. PIVS. FEL.
INVICTVS. AVG.
GER. MAX.
PONT. MAX.
TRIB. POT.
COS. III. P. P.
PROC. RES.
TITVIT.

(3) TRISTAN T. 3. p. 145. *Derives the Surname of* Deuſonenſis *from* Deuz, *which lies oppoſite to* Cologn, *on the* Rhine, *where* Hercules *had a Temple; which Opinion is ſeconded by* P. Banduri, L. c. p. 291. (4).

(4) *Conf.* TRISTAN. L. c. p. 146. *This* Hercules Macuſanus *is likewiſe ſuppoſed to have been one of the Gods of the ancient* Germans. Oiſelius *ſuppoſes there was a Temple of* Hercules Macuſani *near the Mouth of the* Scheld, *in the Place, which is now call'd* Weſtcappel. Menſo Altingius *mentions*, l. c. P. I. p. 31. *two ancient Stones, conſecrated to him, one of which was found at the Mouth of the* Scheld, *the other in* Guelders. *He confutes thoſe, who derive this Name from* Mentz: Præſtaret itaque, ſi attributum hoc omnino Germanicum eſſe crediderint, illud derivaſſe a junctis propinquorum ſedibus, & civilium ſocietatum coitionibus, quas communi vocabulo *Magne* dixere veteres Celtæ, atque inde Herculem *MACVSANVM*, quaſi Magorum, *i. e.* ſocietatum ſuarum cuſtodem, ſervatorem, & deum tutelarem.

† *c. A.* 264. Tillemont, *p.* 978. Banduri *computes it*, p. 317, *in the Year* 265.

(5) POLLIO *in trig. Tyr. c.* 6. Poſthumius ſenior, cum videret, multis ſe Gallieni viribus peti, atque auxilium non ſolum militum, verum etiam alterius Principis neceſſarium; Victorinum, militaris induſtriæ virum, in participatum vocavit Imperii, & cum eodem contra Gallienum conflixit.

(6) AURELIUS VICTOR *de Cæſ. c.* 33. Namque primus omnium Poſthumus, qui forte Barbaris per Galliam præſidebat, Imperium ereptum ierat: exploſaque Germanorum multitudine, Lolliani bello excipitur, quo non minus feliciter fuſo, ſuorum tumulti periit: quod, flagitantibus Moguntiacorum direptiones, quia Lollianum juverant, abnuiſſet.

(7) C. ULP. COR. LÆLIANUS, *vid.* Banduri, p. 316. *Some, whom* Tillemont *follows, reckon two Tyrants*; L. Ælian, *who rebelled*

ſome Time, the Title of *Auguſtus*, and a Part of *Gaul*, againſt *Victorinus* as well as *Gallienus*; and repelled the *Germans*, who after *Poſthumus*'s Death had paſſed the Lines (8). But as he was indefatigable, the Soldiers, being wearied out with his rigid Diſcipline, ſlew him.

Victorinus is murder'd at *Cologn*: A *Roman* Mint at *Triers*.

§. XLI. *VICTORINUS*, therefore, remained Maſter of *Gaul*. Hiſtorians attribute many laudable Qualities to him; but the Poſſeſſion of them was ſhortned by his unbounded Incontinence (1). For *Atticianus*, who had many Adherents in the Army, to revenge the Diſgrace he had ſuffered in the Perſon of his Wife, incenſed the Soldiers againſt him, who killed him and his Son near *Cologn* (2). In this Confuſion, when the tumultuous Soldiers did not know themſelves, what they would be at, one *Marius* † was proclaimed Emperor, but his Reign ended with his Life the next Day (3): For *Victorinus*'s Adherents had, in the mean While, gained ſome Reſpite. His Mother *Victoria* was not ſo terrified by the Death of her Son and Grand-Son, but that ſhe found Means of putting the Imperial Crown on the Head of a Perſon, in whom ſhe might confide, in Order to reſerve to herſelf that Share in the Government, which ſhe in her Son's Time enjoy'd. She ſo prudently diſpoſed of the Treaſures ſhe had amaſs'd, that *Tetricus* (4), one of her own Kindred, who had before been Senator and Lieutenant in *Aquitania*, was acknowledged Emperor (5). She was herſelf named *Mater Caſtrorum*,

belled againſt Poſthumus *at* Mentz, *and was defeated by him; and* Lollianus, *who, after* Poſthumus's *Death, attempted to ſucceed him. They likewiſe mention Medals of both, which may be ſeen in* Biragus. *But* Banduri, l. c. p. 315. *ſhews, pretty plainly, that both Names were made of this* Lælianus; *which Opinion we here follow.*

(8) Pollio *in trig. Tyr. c.* 5. Nam pleraſque Galliæ civitates, nonnulla etiam caſtra, quæ Poſthumius per VII. annos in ſolo Barbarico ædificaverat, quæque, interfecto Poſthumio, ſubita irruptione Germanorum & direpta fuerant, & incenſa, in ſtatum veterem reformavit.

§. XLI. (1) V. Jul. Ateriani *locus apud* Pollionem, *trig. Tyr. c.* 6. Victorino, qui Gallias poſt Junium Poſthumium rexit, neminem exiſtimo præferendum: non in virtute Trajanum, non Antoninum in clementia, non in gravitate Nervam, non in gubernando ærario Veſpaſianum, non in cenſura totius vitæ, ac ſeveritate militari Pertinacem, vel Severum. Sed omnia hæc, libido & cupiditas mulierariæ voluptatis ſic perdidit, ut nemo audeat virtutes ejus in litteras mittere, quem conſtat omnium judicio meruiſſe puniri.

(2) Pollio, *l. c. c.* 7. Extant denique ſepulchra, circa Agrippinam, brevi marmore impreſſa, humilia, in quibus unus eſt inſcriptus: Hic duo Victorini, Tyranni, ſiti ſunt.

† M. Aurelius Marius.

(3) Treb. Pollio, *l. c. c.* 8.

(4) Caius Peſuvius Tetricus.

(5) Pollio, *l. c. c.* 24. Interfecto Victorino, & ejus filio, mater ejus Victoria, ſeu Victorina, Tetricum, Senatorem, populi Romani præſidatum in Gallia regentem, ad, Imperium hortata, quod ejus erat, ut plerique loquuntur, affinis, Auguſtum appellari fecit, filiumque ejus Cæſarem nuncupavit.

and

and *Pollio* writes, that the Dy of thoſe Coins, on which ſhe bears this Title, was, in his Time, remaining, in the Mint at *Triers* (6). *Tetricus* gave his Son a Share in the Adminiſtration: but he found it ſo difficult to be ſubſervient to the fluctuating Deſires of an Army, which had hitherto proceeded without Controul, that he afterwards willingly ſubjected himſelf to *Aurelianus* (7), whereby thoſe Countries, which had been, for ſome Time, ſeparated from the *Roman* Empire, were re-united to it.

§. XLII. AFTER *Valerian*'s Captivity, the *Eaſt* was in no leſs Confuſion; and the *Goths* the more eaſily attempted a new Invaſion, as their former Irruptions had proved ſo ſucceſsful. They, or at leaſt ſome Part of them, ſeem to have landed at *Heraclea*, on the *Pontus Euxinus*, from whence they made Incurſions thro' the whole *Leſſer Aſia*, *Lydia*, and *Bithynia*, and deſtroyed the Cities of *Greece*, as well on the *Iönian* as the *Phrygian* Coaſts. A Battle, indeed, enſued in *Bithynia*, but the *Goths* carried the Day, and thereupon penetrated as far as *Galatia* and *Cappadocia* (1). We find, by a Letter of *Baſilius Magnus* (2), that *Dionyſius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, who enjoyed

A freſh Irruption of the *Goths* into *Aſia*.

(6) POLLIO, *l. c. c.* 30. Inſignita eſt præterea hoc titulo, ut caſtrorum ſe diceret matrem. Cuſi ſunt ejus nummi ærei, aurei, & argentei, quorum hodieque forma extat apud Treviros.

(7) EUTROPIUS, *L.* 9. c. 9. Superavit *(ſcil. Aurelianus)* in Gallia Tetricum apud Catalaunos, ipſo Tetrico prodente exercitum ſuum, cujus aſſiduas ſeditiones ferre non poterat: Quin etiam per litteras occultas Aurelianum ita fuerat deprecatus, ut inter alia verſu Vergiliano uteretur:

Eripe me his invicte malis, &c.

§. XLII. (1) OSORIUS, L. 7. c. 22. *mentions theſe Invaſions briefly.* Græcia, Macedonia, Pontus, Aſia, Gothorum inundatione deletur. *But* Syncellus, *who followed* Dexippus's *Hiſtory, deſcribes them more at large.* Odenatus porro, Palmyrenus, vir bellicis rebus præſtans, Romanorum ſocius, Perſarum manum non exiguam, redire tentantem, ad Euphrateſiam oppugnatam, fudit. Ex quo Orientis dux a Gallieno creatus, Romanorum nonnullos, in Phœnicia tumultuantes, ad officium reduxit. Eodem tempore Scythæ, quibus Gothis patria voce nomen, Ponticum mare transfretantes, in Bithyniam deſcenderunt, Aſiamque omnem & Lydiam excurrentes, Nicomediam, Bithyniæ urbem, cœperunt, Ioniaſque pariter civitates, has quidem mœnibus nudatas, alias aliquatenus munitas, invaſerunt. Sed nec vaſtitate quaqua verſus illata, Phrygiam, Cappadociam & Galatiam reliquerunt. Verum Odenatus, victoriis in Perſas clarus, poſt Cteſiphontem obſidione receptam, communi totius Aſiæ clade cognita, itinere per Cappadociam facto, ad Ponticam Heracleam feſtinus evolat: jamque in Scythas ex improviſo irrupturus, a quodam, cui nomen etiam Odenatus, dolis occiditur. Scythæ, ejus adventum haud expectandum rati, per Pontum proprios ſibi laris repetunt.

(2) BASILIUS MAGNUS, *ep.* 220. *oper. T.* 3. *p.* 232. Novimus partim beneficio memoriæ, per ſucceſſionem rerum, a patribus ad nos deductarum, partim per litteras edocti intelligimus, quæ ſunt etiamnum apud nos cuſtoditæ, Dionyſium; illum beatiſſimum epiſcopum, qui olim apud vos celeberrimus erat, cum ob fidem ſinceram, tum virtutes reliquas egregias, per litteras ſuas Eccleſiam noſtram Cæſareenſem curaſſe, miſiſſeque huc de ſuis, qui fratres liberaret e captivitate.

that

that See from the Year 259 to 270, comforted the Churches of *Cæſarea* and *Cappadocia*, on Account of their Sufferings, and ſent Miſſionaries, to redeem the *Chriſtian* Captives; among whom were ſeveral *Chriſtian* Divines. *Odenatus*, the magnanimous Prince of the *Saracens* about *Palmyra*, who waged a vigorous War with the *Perſians*, and ſo bravely maintained the Honour of the *Roman* Name in the *Eaſt*, that *Gallienus* admitted him to a Share in the *Roman* Empire, took Pity of the miſerable State of theſe People, and having juſt before taken *Cteſiphon* from the *Perſians*, marched towards *Cappadocia*, to oppoſe the *Goths*. They did not, however, wait for his Arrival, but haſtning to *Heraclea*, with their Booty, they embarked; and, on their Voyage, being encounter'd by the *Roman* Fleet, were diſperſed (3).

The *Goths* ſail up the *Danube*. The *Heruli* ravage the Coaſts of *Aſia* and *Greece*.

§. XLIII. The enſuing Year, 267, proved ſtill more fatal for *Europe*. A Swarm came down from the *Pontus Euxinus*, and ſailing up the *Danube*, committed Ravages throughout *Moëſia* (1), far and near. The *Heruli* came about the ſame Time, with a Fleet of 500 Sail, from the *Mæotick Lake*, into the *Pontus Euxinus*. Their Intention was, in Order to remain Maſters of the Sea, to block up the two Keys of the *Boſphorus*, *Byzantium* and *Chryſopolis*: But tho' this Attempt was unſucceſsful, yet were they not diſheartned, but ſailed thro' the *Boſphorus* unmoleſted, with a fair Wind. They landed at *Cyzicus*, on the Coaſt of *Bithynia*, ranſacked the Town, with the adjacent Diſtrict; but made no longer Stay in *Aſia*; for perceiving it was already drained by the former Incurſions, they ſet Sail for the *Archipelagus*. They plundered the Iſlands of *Lemnos* and *Scyrus*, and

(3) Pollio, *in Gall. c.* 12. Occupato tamen Odenato bello Perſico, & Gallieno, rebus ineptiſſimis, ut ſolebat, incumbente, Scythæ navibus factis Heracleam provenerunt, atque inde cum præda in ſolum proprium reverterunt, quamvis multi naufragio perierunt, navali bello ſuperati. Banduri *refers to this the Medal, with the Reverſe,* VICTORIA NEPTVNI, *p.* 183. (3) *item.* NEPTVNO COS. AVG. 219. (3)

§. XLIII. (1) Pollio, *in vit. Gallieni, c.* 13. *ſpeaks promiſcuouſly of theſe Irruptions of the* Goths, Heruli, *and other* Scythæ. Inter hæc, Scythæ per Euxinum navigantes, Iſtrum ingreſſi, multa gravia in ſolo Romano fecerunt: quibus compertis, Gallienus, Cleodamum, & Athenæum, Byzantios, inſtaurandis urbibus, muniendiſque præfecit: pugnatumque eſt circa Pontum, & a Byzantiis ducibus victi ſunt Barbari. Veneriano item duce, navali bello Gothi ſuperati ſunt; tum ipſe Venerianus militari periit morte. Atque inde Cyzicum, & Aſiam, deinceps Achaiam omnem, vaſtaverunt, & ab Athenienſibus, duce Dexippo, ſcriptore horum temporum, victi ſunt. Unde pulſi, per Epirum, Acarnaniam, Bœotiam, pervagati ſunt. Gallienus interea, vix excitatus publicis malis, Gothis, navigantibus per Illyricum, occurrit, & fortuito plurimos interemit. *This confuſed Relation is illuſtrated by the enſuing Obſervations.* Tillemont *moreover conjectures,* p. 994, *that this was the ſame* Athenæus, *of whom there is a Book of military Preparations, not yet printed.*

directed

directed their Courſe towards *Greece*. They landed at *Attica*, and went to *Peloponneſus*, where they left doleful Tokens of their Expedition, by ravaging and burning at *Corinth*, *Argos*, *Sparta*, and throughout all *Achaia*, without Reſiſtance. Yet the *Athenians* ventured to oppoſe them (2), and, under the Conduct of *Dexippus* worſted them here and there, in the narrow Paſſes; but they could not obſtruct their Paſſage thro' *Bœotia*, into *Epirus*, and farther into *Moëſia* (3). This *Dexippus* wrote the Hiſtory of his own Times, but very few Remains of it are now extant. *Trebellius Pollio*, *Jornandes* and *Syncellus* had it entire, but made ſo ill a Uſe of it, that we can ſcarce find out the true Order of the Occurrences; and leaſt of all, what became of their Fleets. *Gallienus*, who was then at War with *Lælianus* in *Gaul*, found the Neceſſity of employing his Arms againſt *Illyricum*, where the Danger encreaſed daily. He left the Command againſt the *Gauls* to his Generals, and marched himſelf againſt the *Goths* and *Heruli*. He defeated them near the City of *Naiſſus* in *Moëſia*: But ſeems, notwithſtanding this Victory, to have offered them very good Conditions of Peace; for *Naulobatus*, the General of the *Heruli*, ſubjected himſelf to him, but received in Return, among other Honours, that of the Conſulſhip (4). Of thoſe *Heruli*, who then ſurrendered to the *Romans*, the Militia that was afterwards mentioned among the foreign Nations, who ſerved in the *Roman* Wars, ſeems to have conſiſted.

(2) SYNCELLUS, *p.* 382. *D.* Eodem tempore Æruli, 500 navibus vecti, Mœotide palude trajecta, in Pontum feruntur, & Byzantium, Chryſopolimque occupant. Ibi, conſertis manibus, nonnihil retro cedere coacti ad fauces uſque Ponti Euxini, Hieron vulgo nuncupatas: poſtero vero die proſperis venti flatibus ad Cyzici, Bithyniæ inſignis civitatis, fretum primum exſcendunt, Lemnum deinde, & Scyrum inſulas depopulantur: tum in Atticam facta irruptione, Athenas, Corinthum, Spartam, Argos, Achaiamque univerſam, incendio & vaſtitate fœdant: Zoſimus *mentions this Expedition very briefly*, *L.* 1. *c.* 39. Quum autem Scythæ Græciam graviſſimis damnis adfeciſſent, ipſis etiam Athenis expugnatis, Gallienus manum cum eis, ad Thraciam uſque jam progreſſis, conſerturus acceſſit.

(3) SYNCELLUS, *p.* 382. *D.* Donec poſitis per loca difficiliora inſidiis, auxiliiſque a Gallieno miſſis, plurimos eorum Athenienſes occiderunt: & ad Neſſum alios ter mille proſtraverunt. Tillemont *ſuppoſes the River* Neſus *in* Thrace *to be here meant, but it may be better underſtood of the City* Naiſſus *in Upper-*Moëſia: *where* Gallienus, *on his March, and the* Heruli, *as they came out of* Epirus, *might more eaſily meet.*

(4) *Vid. not.* 1. & 3. SYNCELLUS, *l. c.* Sub idem tempus Naulobatus, Ærulorum dux, Gallieno Imperatori deditione facta, conſularis dignitatis honorem accepit. *We find after this, that there were* Heruli *in the* Roman *Army. This is the Expedition, which ſome other* Roman *Hiſtorians but very briefly mention, as* Victor *in Cæſ. c.* 33. Adeo, ut Thraciam Gothi libere progreſſi, Macedones, Achæoſque & Aſiæ finitima occuparent. *Eutropius*, *L.* 9. *c.* 6. Græcia, Macedonia, Pontus, Aſia, vaſtata per Gothos. Oſorius, *L.* 7. *c.* 42. *n.* 1.

The

The other *Goths*, being appriz'd of the Overthrow of the *Heruli*, resolved to return over the *Danube*, and the better to execute this Resolution, they covered themselves with a Fence made of their Waggons. *Gallienus*, whom a Rebellion recall'd to *Italy*, left the two Generals, *Marcianus* and *Claudius*, to act against them. These were at Variance with one another; for when *Claudius* advised to cut off their Retreat, *Marcianus* suffered them to escape: But both little thought, that this would give *Claudius* Occasion to gain immortal Glory (5).

Claudius obtains a Victory over the *Alemanni*.

§. XLIV. For, *Claudius* the same Year, 268, after the Murder of *Gallienus*, was proclaimed Emperor. He had no sooner subdued *Aureolus* near *Milan*, than he had to do with a Swarm of *Alemanni*, who invaded *Italy*, and were already advanced as far as the *Lago di Gardia* (1); they were either applied to for Assistance by *Aureolus*, who had formerly been Lieutenant in *Rætia*, or else intended to take Advantage of the domestick Broils in *Italy* (2). On Account of this Victory, he was, probably, surnamed *Germanicus*, which Title he bears on his Coins, before that of *Gothicus* (3). Those *Goths*, whom *Marcianus* had suffer'd to escape, contrary to the Advice of *Claudius*, as he foresaw they would, now excited all their Neighbours and Countrymen, that they might, with the greater Force, attempt a fresh Invasion. The *Goths*, together with the *Gepidæ*, *Heruli*, *Peucini*, and other *Gothick* Nations, assembled, therefore (4), on the *Niester*,

(5) Pollio *continues in the Passage, quoted* not. 1. Quo comperto, Scythæ, facta carragine, per montem Gessacum fugere sunt conati. Omnes inde Scythas Marcianus, varia bellorum fortuna, agitavit: quæ omnes Scythas ad rebellionem excitarunt. *Here seems to be something wanting, if we compare it with this Passage of the Life of* Claudius: Nam, ut superius diximus, illi Gothi, qui evaserant eo tempore, quo illos Marcianus est persecutus, quosque Clodius emitti non sinerat, ne quid fieret, quod effectum est, omnes gentes suorum ad Romanas incitaverant prædas.

§. XLIV. (1) Aurelius Victor Epit. *c.* 34. Adversum aciem Alemannorum, haud procul a lacu Benaco dimicans, tantam multitudinem fudit, ut ægre pars dimidia superfuerit. Tillem. *imagines* p. 1007. *that of this Engagement, is to be understood the Passage of* Vopiscus, *in Aurelian c.* 17. Equites sane omnes, ante Imperium sub Claudio Aurelianus gubernavit, quum offensam magistri eorum incurrissent, quod temere, Claudio non jubente, pugnassent. Item Aurelianus contra Suevos, & Sarmatas, iisdem temporibus vehementissime dimicavit, ac florentissimam victoriam retulit.

(2) *See the Medals with the Reverse:*
VICTORIA GERMANICA
in Banduri *p.* 350, 351.

(3) V. Banduri *l. c. p.* 332.

(4) Pollio *in Claudio, c.* 6. Denique Scytharum diversi populi, Peucini, Trutungi, Austrogothi, Virtingui, Sigipedes, Celtæ etiam, & Heruli, prædæ cupiditate in Romanum solum, & Rempublicam venerunt, atque illic pleraque vastarunt, dum aliis occupatus est Claudius. Salmasius *supposes* ad h. l. *that these* Trutingi, *the* Grutingi *in* Ammian.

Nieſter (5), and there equipp'd a numerous Fleet (6). What Experience they wanted, in Naval Architecture, was ſupplied by thoſe Captives, who were skill'd in it. Their firſt Attempt was made on *Tomos*, on the Coaſt of the *Pontus Euxinus*, not far from the Mouth of the *Danube*, a City noted in Hiſtory for being the Place of *Ovid*'s Exile: But they were defeated here, as well as near *Marcianopolis*, which lies on the ſame Coaſts: They ſailed afterwards farther, paſſed the *Helleſpont* and turned towards *Greece*. They repaired their Fleet at the Foot of Mount *Athos*, and then ſeparated. One Party beſieged *Caſſandria* and *Theſſalonica*, in *Macedonia*, but could not take them, notwithſtanding that they were pretty well provided with all Things requiſite for a Siege. Another Party plunder'd the Coaſts of *Greece* (7), and ſome went as far as the Iſlands of *Crete* and *Cyprus* (8); but they could not take any Cities (9) there, becauſe the Fortreſſes were every where put in a good State of Defence. This was owing to *Gallienus*'s Precaution, who had ſent *Cleodamus* and *Athenæus*, two eminent military Architects, Natives of *Byzantium*, to fortify every City in the beſt Manner poſſible. And when they came to an Engagement at Sea, they were as great Novices, and equally as unfortunate as in their Sieges.

The *Goths* ſail from the *Nieſter* into the *Black-Sea*.

Ammian. Marcell. L. 27. *and the* Pruthingi, *in* Zoſimus, *were one Nation. That the* Virthungii *were the* Vithungi, *whom* Sidonius Apollinaris *mentions, and the ſame with the* Juthungi. *Inſtead of* Celtæ *he reads* Celetæ, *which Nation dwelt in* Thrace, *about the Mountains of* Rhodope *and* Hæmus. *Whoever approves of this Conjecture, muſt pre-ſuppoſe, that the* Celetæ *did not join the* Goths, *till they had penetrated into* Thrace.

(5) ZOSIMUS, *L.* 1. *c.* 41. *D.* Hoc tempore, quotquot erant Scythæ ſuperſtites, animis propter expeditiones hactenus ſuſceptas elati, adjunctis ſibi Herulis, Peucis & Gothis; collectique propter Tyram, fluvium in Pontum ſe exonerantem, ſexies mille navibus ædificatis, ac trecentis & viginti millibus hominum in eas impoſitis, navigatione per Pontum inſtituta, Tomis, munito mœnibus oppido tentato, rejecti ſunt, &c.

(6) POLLIO *ſays*, 2000 *Ships*. ZOSIMUS, *even* 6000.

(7) ZOSIMUS, *l. c.* Progreſſi vero & Marcianopolim, Myſiæ civitatem, delati, & ne illa quidem potiti, vento uſi proſpero, navigabant ulterius. Ubi Propontidis anguſtias adtigiſſent, quod multitudo navium celeritatem fluxus ferre non poſſet; naves inter ſe collidebantur, & nullo ferebantur ordine lembi, gubernatoribus clavos dimittentibus; ita quidem, ut partim demergerentur, partim cum hominibus ipſis, partim hominum vacuæ, littoribus adpellerent, magna tum hominum, tum navigiorum multitudine, pereunte. Propter hanc cauſam a Propontidis anguſtiis Barbari recedebant, Cyzicum verſus navigantes. Quumque rebus infectis inde dilapſi fuiſſent, ac propter Helleſpontum navigatione directa, & ad montem Atho delati, naves ibi ſuas refeciſſent; Caſſandriam & Theſſalonicam obſidebant, machiniſque mœnibus admotis, parum aberat, quin eas caperent, &c.

(8) TREBEL. POLLIO *in Claud. c.* 12. Fuerunt per ea tempora & apud Cretam, Scythæ, & Cyprum vaſtare tentarunt. Sed ubique, morbo exercitu laborante, ſuperati ſunt.

(9) *But* Zonaras *writes, nevertheleſs*, p. 239. l. c. *that they beſieged* Athens. *He relates, in particular, that they laid all the Books, which they met with in the Town, upon one Pile, and were about to burn them: But that one of their Leaders adviſed them to ſuffer the* Grecians *to enjoy their learned Paſtime, by which they were diverted from the Exerciſe of Arms.*

Claudius beats the *Goths.*

§. XLV. *CLAUDIUS* sent his Brother *Quintillus* to *Illyricum*, and entrusted the Command of the whole Army there, and in *Thrace*, to *Aurelianus*, 'till he could follow himself (1). The *Goths*, who had besieged *Thessalonica* and *Cassandra*, raised the Sieges, so soon as they heard of his March, and going by Land, along the River *Axmo*, turned, near the City of *Daberus*, towards *Moësia*. A Body of *Dalmatian* Cavalry fell upon them by the Way, on which Occasion they lost 3000 Men. In *Moësia*, they found the Emperor at the Head of the grand Army, near *Naissus*. A Battle then ensued, in which they fought so bravely, that the *Romans* were forced to retreat; but the latter took a round-about Way, which every Body thought impossible for an Army, and fell so unexpectedly upon the *Goths*, that it was rather a Slaughter than a Battle. The *Goths* thereupon formed their usual Fence of Waggons, to keep the *Romans* from pursuing them, and thought to retreat into *Macedonia*: But the *Roman* Cavalry cut them off from all the Passes, and obliged them to fly towards Mount *Hæmus*, where they had before taken Refuge. The *Romans* had here likewise taken Possession of all the Passes, which soon caused a Want of Provisions among them, for Men and Cattle, and was followed by contagious Diseases. Notwithstanding these Distempers likewise infected the *Roman* Army, and the *Goths*, in the Battle which ensued, made a vigorous Resistance: And tho' *Zenobia* made herself Mistress of *Egypt*, and the City of *Autun*, in *Gaul*, implored the Emperor's Assistance against *Tetricus* (2), he could not be prevailed on to leave the *Goths*, whom he pursued, 'till they offer'd to capitulate (3). Many Persons of Distinction were forced to surrender Prisoners. The common People were partly intermix'd with the Army, and partly sent here and there into desart Places, to cultivate them. The *Goths* had, in the mean while, lost their Fleet in the *Archipelagus*, in Engagements with the *Romans* and *Athenians*. A Swarm of them remained nevertheless in *Thrace*, which were extirpated after *Claudius*'s Death. Thus *Claudius* obtained the Surname of *Gothicus*, which he bore upon Medals and other Monuments (4), more deservedly, than

§. XLV. (1) Vopiscus *in Aurel. c.* 16. Illud constat, omne contra Mœotidas bellum, divum Claudium nulli magis, quam Aureliano, credidisse.

(2) *Conf.* Tillemont. *p.* 1015.

(3) *Epist. Claudii apud* Trebell. Pollionem, *c.* 8. Claudius Broccho. Delevimus trecenta viginti millia Gothorum, duo millia navium mersimus. Tecta sunt flumina scutis; spathis & lanceolis omnia littora operiuntur. Campi ossibus latent tecti: nullum iter purum est; ingens carrago deserta est. Tantum mulierum cepimus, ut binas & ternas mulieres victor sibi miles possit adjungere.

(4) Banduri, *p.* 352. VICT. GOTHICAE.

Idem. ibid. VICT. GOTHICA.

Conf. Inscript. ap. Reinesium III. 42. *p.* 318.

DIVO. CLAVDIO. GOTHICO. MAXIMO. PIO. FELICI. VICTORI. AC. TRIVMPH. SEMPER. AVGVSTO.

than perhaps any of his Predeceſſors. As, moreover, his Surname was derived from the *Goths*, ſo likewiſe he bore the Name of *Flavius*, in Honour of the Houſe of the *Flavii* (5); and the Emperors of *Conſtantine*'s Offspring, who were Deſcendants of *Claudius*'s Siſter, tranſmitted it to their Poſterity (6), whence it devolv'd to ſeveral *German* Princes.

§. XLVI. BUT *Claudius* did not enjoy the Fruits of his Victory. The Sickneſs, which had greatly contributed to the Conqueſt of the *Goths*, turned to a Plague, which raged more and more, and reach'd the Emperor himſelf †, who died of it at *Sirmium*. His Brother, *Quintillus* ††, who was in *Italy*, aſſumed indeed the Imperial Title, but had ſcarce enjoyed it twenty Days, when he was murder'd by the Soldiers, at *Aquileia*; or, as others write, when he heard that *Aurelianus* was proclaimed Emperor, by the Army in *Illyricum*, where the greateſt Power of the *Roman* Empire was then together, he order'd his Veins to be opened. It is nevertheleſs obſerved, as an Occurrence of his ſhort Reign, that the Swarm of *Goths*, which remained in *Thrace*, and had attempted the Sieges of *Anchialus* and *Nicopolis*, were extirpated by the Inhabitants of the Country (1). *Jornandes*, by whom we might expect the moſt Circumſtances, goes over all theſe *Gothick* Irruptions very briefly; we may, however, perceive, by his Relation, that it was not the whole Nation of the *Goths*, but only an Army compoſed of their young Men, who made theſe Incurſions (2).

A Remnant of thoſe, who eſcaped, beſieges *Nicopolis*.

(5) POLLIO, *c.* 3. Ille velut futurorum memor, gentes Flavias, quæ Veſpaſiani & Titi, nolo autem dicere Domitiani, fuerant, propagavit.

(6) *Conf.* SALMASIUS *ad* POLLIONIS *in Claudio*, c. 7.

§. XLVI. † *c. m. Apr.* 270.

†† M. AURELIUS QUINTILLUS.

(1) POLLIO, *l. c. c.* 12. Sub hoc *(ſcil. Quintillo)* Barbari, qui ſuperfuerant, Anchialo vaſtata, conati ſunt Nicopolin obtinere. Sed illi provincialium virtute obtriti ſunt.

(2) JORNANDES, *L. c. cap.* 20. Hoc *(ſcil. Gallieno)* in omni laſcivia reſoluto, Reſpa, & Veduco, Thurovaroque, duces Gothorum, ſumptis navibus, Aſiam tranſiere, fretum Helleſponticum tranſvecti: ubi multis ejus provinciæ civitatibus populatis, opinatiſſimum illud Epheſi Dianæ templum, quod dudum dixeramus Amazonas condidiſſe, igne ſuccendunt: partibus Bithyniæ delati, Chalcedoniam ſubvertere, quam poſt Cornelius Avitus aliqua parte reparavit. Quæ hodieque, quamvis regiæ urbis vicinitate congaudeat, ſigna tamen ſuarum ruinarum aliquanta ad indicium retinet poſteritatis. Hac ergo felicitate Gothi, qua intravere partibus Aſiæ, præda, ſpoliiſque potiti, Helleſponticum fretum retranſmeant, vaſtantes in itinere ſuo Trojam, Iliumque, quæ vix a bello illo Agamemnoniaco aliquantulum reſpirantes, rurſus hoſtili mucrone deletæ ſunt. Poſt Aſiæ ergo tale excidium, Thraciā eorum experta eſt feritatem. Nam ibi, ad radices Hemi montis, mari vicinam, Anchialos civitatem aggreſſi, mox adeunt urbem, quam dudum Sardanapalus Rex Parthorum inter limbum maris, & Hemi radices,

The *Alemanni* invade the *Roman* Provinces. *Aurelian* defeats the *Juthungi*.

§. XLVII. *AURELIAN* had scarce taken Possession of the Throne, at *Rome*, when he found his Return to *Aquileia*, and from thence to *Pannonia*, requisite, to oppose the Irruptions of the *Goths* and other *Scythæ*. He commanded all the Cattle, Corn, and all other Provisions, to be brought into the fortified Places, that the Want of them might force the Enemy to retreat the sooner: But an Action ensued, in which both Sides behaved gallantly, till Night separated them. The Enemy hereupon passed the River, and sued for Peace (1). This was a Balk to the *Alemanni*, who had, at the same Time, prepared, with a large Swarm of other neighbouring Nations, for an Expedition against *Italy*. From the Sequel it will appear probable, that the *Juthungi*, *Marcomanni*, and *Vandals*, were in this Alliance with the *Alemanni*; and sometimes comprehended under that Name. The Emperor left as many Troops behind him, as were requisite to cover *Pannonia*, and hasten'd to encounter the *Alemanni*, against whom he fought a successful Battle, when they were not far distant from the *Danube* (2). To the History of this War, must probably be referred that Fragment of *Dexippus*'s History, which contains the Treaty between the Emperor and the *Juthungi*, a powerful Nation, noted for the Number of their Horse, after they had suffered a severe Defeat (3). The *Juthungi* are since that frequently mentioned in History, and their Irruptions into *Rætia* are particularly observed.

§. XLVIII.

ces, locasset. Ibi enim multis feruntur mansisse diebus, calidarum aquarum delectati lavacris, quæ a quintodecimo milliario Anchialitanæ civitatis sunt sitæ, ab imo sui fontis igni scaturientes, & inter reliqua totius mundi thermarum innumerabilium loca, omnino præcipue ad sanitatem infirmorum efficacissimæ. Exinde ergo ad proprias sedes regressi.

§. XLVII. (1) Zosimus, *L.* 1. *c.* 48. Aurelianus autem, confirmato Imperio, quum Roma movisset, Aquileiam contendit, & inde Pannonicas ad nationes excessit, quas a Scythis invadi cognoverat. Quumque misisset ad eos exploratores, qui nunciarent, ut annonas & jumenta, & quicquid aliud hostibus usui futurum esset, in oppida conveherent: hac ratione famem, quæ hostes urgebat, augere cogitabat. Posteaquam Barbari, flumen transjeciissent, & in Pannonia prœlio ancipiti dimicatum esset; nox interveniens victoriam utrisque dubiam reddidit. Eadem nocte Barbari, transmisso flumine, simul ac illuxisset, de pace, legatis missis, agebant. Zosimus *mentions only the* Scythæ; *but* Tillemont *understands by that Name particularly the* Goths. *This Conjecture is likewise confirmed by the Inscription, the like of which one is mentioned below*, §. 49, *where, by his Name, the Title of* Gothicus Maximus *precedes that of* Germanicus Maximus.

(2) Zosimus, *L.* 1. *c.* 49. Imperator intellecto; Alamannos, cum remotioribus & finitimis sibi nationibus, Italiam incursionibus vexare decrevisse; non abs re de Roma, viciniisque urbe locis, magis sollicitus, satis magno Pannoniæ relicto præsidio, versus Italiam perrexit: & in extremis ad Istrum partibus conserto prœlio, multa Barbarorum millia delevit. *This is perhaps the same Engagement mentioned in the following Note.*

(3) *Fragmentum ex Dexippo in Excerpt. de legation, p.* 7. Imperator Aurelianus, omnibus viribus Juthungos Scythas devicit, & in

§. XLVIII. THE Irruption of the *Marcomanni*, deſcribed by *Vopiſcus*, can likewiſe be no where more properly inſerted, than in the Relation of this War; for they fell, by the Way of *Noricum*, into *Italy*, and made their Incurſions as far as *Milan*, without Obſtruction, at a Time, when *Aurelian* was employed againſt the *Vandals*. *Rome* trembled at being thus expoſed and defenceleſs; and had Reaſon

His War with the *Marcomanni*.

in ulteriorem Iſtri ripam tranſgreſſus, cum multos in fuga interemiſſet, reliqui bellum fœdere finire voluerunt, & legatos miſerunt. Neque vero viſum eſt de pace cum eis diſceptationem inſtitui oportere. Pauci enim admodum reſtabant, & a recenti victoria valde perculſi, & proſtrati, neque dum, quia hoſtes ex omni parte eos circumſtabant, a metu liberi. Maxime, ut pecunias a Romanis acciperent, quæ ſuperioribus annis illis pendi ſolebant. Dexippus, *afterwards, not only gives us the Speeches of the Ambaſſadors, but, likewiſe the Emperor's Anſwer; where the* Juthungi, *among other Things, boaſt of their Power.* Etenim multæ nobis adhuc ſuppetunt ad bellum gerendum facultates, ſive multitudine militum, ſive viribus opus eſt. Nam &, minima noſtri parte, urbes ad Iſtrum ſitas invadentes, parum abfuit, quin omnem Italiam ceperimus. Trecenta equitum millia in pugnam educimus, quæ non ex convenis, aut imbecillibus, ſed ex Juthungis pure conſtant, quos equeſtri prœlio præſtare pure frequens fama eſt. Neque aliorum inter hos commixtionibus, ſed ſcuto, duplo majore cæteris equeſtribus copiis, adverſum quicquid eſt in veſtro exercitu roboris, quod nobiſcum decertat, nos tuemur, & tegimus. *And, moreover, of the good Offices they had done to the* Romans. Equidem, ante bellum exortum, non admodum crebras incurſiones facientes, prædas egimus, neceſſarias res comparare, qua occaſio tulit, ſtudentes, cæteroqui ad pugnam initam uſque, in ocio & quiete tempus contrivimus: niſi, quando hoſtes veſtri in vos irruerunt, contra ipſos, una cum veſtro exercitu, in acie ſtetimus. Quod & adhuc facere parati ſumus, ut veſtrum periculum levemus noſtro, & tutius vobis ſit, etiamſi maximæ copiæ contra vos convenerint. Nulla etenim alia manus par nobis, in conſerenda pugna cenſebitur. Aurelianus, *on the other Hand, boaſts, in his Anſwer, of the Glory of the* Romans, *in the Overthrow of the* Goths. Manifeſtiſſimis indiciis & teſtimoniis, in Scytharum mala intuentes, nota teſtateque dicemus. Illi exercitu trecentorum millium hominum, ab utraque parte ripæ expoſitorum, pugnantes, omnibus viribus ſunt a nobis deleti, & ſuperati. Cujus noſtræ virtutis, clara victoribus relicta ſunt monumenta, ex quibus immortalem nobis gloriam, & nunc, & ſequenti tempore, peperimus. Cum enim præpropero impetu ad ripas, furore præcipites, in certamina ruiſſent, eorum temerariam, & inconſultam ad aggrediendum irruptionem, celerior brevi poſt pœnitentia eſt conſecuta. *Towards the Concluſion he threatens the* Juthungi. Cum ſitis undique reditu in veſtras domos intercluſi, & quaſi intra portas redacti, voluntatem noſtram erga vos, quacunque, ſive bona ſive mala ſumus affecti, tolerare & æqui bonique conſulere oportet. His ab Imperatore dictis, Juthungi valde ſunt conſternati, cumque minime negotium, ut ſperaverant, confeciſſent, ſed omnino fœderis repulſam tuliſſent, ad ſua redierunt.

(4) *In order to collect whatever can illuſtrate the Hiſtory of the ancient* German *Nations, I ſhall here add* P. Banduri's *Conjecture of the* Juthungi, *l. c. p.* 234. Illud quoque non inutile fuerit monere, quos ZOSIMUS, VOPISCUS, cæterique autores Marcomannos, cum in Gallieno, tum etiam in Aureliano, vocant; hos utrobique Juthungos Scythas a DEXIPPO, horum temporum ſcriptore, appellatos fuiſſe. Sed id factum putamus, quod, cum duæ diverſiſſimæ gentes, quarum una Germaniæ tractum, qui Rætiæ propior eſt, altera Scythicas paludes olim incoluerat, in unam

Reaſon to fear the ſame Fate, which befel her in *Gallienus*'s Reign (1). The *Sibylline* Books were firſt to be conſulted, and *Aurelian* himſelf placed ſo great a Confidence in them, if the Edict, mentioned by *Vopiſcus*, be genuine, that he reproached the Senat with having delayed it ſo long, as if they were an Aſſembly of *Chriſtians*; and offered to furniſh as many Captives, for the Sacrifices, as might be required: For the Idolatry of the *Romans* was intermixed with ſo much Cruelty, that human Victims, tho' prohibited by *Adrian*, were ſtill retained in Uſe. Fear now raiſed their Superſtition to ſuch a Height, that they imagined they might put a Stop to the Progreſs of the Enemy by Magick Arts. The Predictions of the *Sibyls* were conſulted, and met with Credit, the Sacrifices there preſcribed were prepared, and they attempted, by depoſiting certain Things under Ground, and by other Conjurations, to enchant certain Places, that the Enemy ſhould not be able to paſs them. But it does not appear plainly from *Vopiſcus*, whether the Overthrow of the *Romans* near *Piacenza*, happened before or afterwards. *Vopiſcus* at once forgot the Valour of his Hero, when he writes, that the *Romans* could not, without a Miracle, have eſcaped the Fury of the *Germans*, had not their Deities confounded them by Viſions and deluſive Prodigies (2). According to another Hiſtorian, the *Germans* penetrated

unam deinde coaluiſſent, concedentibus in ditionem imperiumque Scytharum Germanis, vetuſtum regionis nomen VOPISCUS, ac cæteri retinuerunt, DEXIPPUS contra accuratiſſimam ſcribendi rationem ſectatus, genuinum ejus gentis nomen poſteritati propagandum duxit, quæ tot clades Romano Imperio ipſius ætate intuliſſet. *But the* Juthungi, *as well as the* Marcomanni, *will be farther mentioned below, where it will appear, that they were a* German *Nation.*

§. XLVIII. (1) Flav. Vopiscus *in vit. Aurel. c.* 18. Accepta eſt ſane clades ſub Aureliano, a Marcomannis, per errorem. Nam dum is a fronte non curat occurrere ſubito erumpentibus, dumque illos a dorſo perſequi parat, omnia circa Mediolanum graviter evaſtata ſunt, poſtea tamen ipſi quoque Marcomanni ſuperati ſunt. In illo autem timore, quo Marcomanni cuncta vaſtabant, ingentes Romæ ſeditiones motæ ſunt, paventibus cunctis, ne eadem, quæ ſub Gallieno fuerant, provenirent. Quare etiam libri Sibyllini, noti beneficiis publicis, inſpecti ſunt; inventumque, ut in certis locis ſacrificia fierent, quæ Barbari tranſire non poſſent.

(2) Idem, *l. c. c.* 21. Quum autem Aurelianus vellet omnibus ſimul, facta exercitus ſui conſtipatione, concurrere, tanta apud Placentiam clades accepta eſt, ut Romanum pæne ſolveretur Imperium. Et cauſſa quidem hujus periculi perfidia & calliditas Barbarici fuit motus. Nam cum congredi aperto Marte non poſſent, in ſilvas ſe denſiſſimas contulerunt; atque ita noſtros, veſpera incumbente, turbarunt. Denique niſi divina ope, poſt inſpectionem librorum, ſacrificiorumque curas, monſtris quibuſdam, ſpeciebuſque divinis impliciti eſſent Barbari, Romana victoria non fuiſſet. Finitimo prælio Marcomannico, Aurelianus, ut erat natura ferocior, plenus irarum Romam petit. *Whatever elſe is, by Hiſtorians, attributed to the* Marcomanni, *ſeems to be aſcribed by* Aurel. Victor. *in* Cæſ. *c.* 35. *to the* Alemanni, *when he ſays:* Italiam repetivit, cujus urbes Alamannorum vexationibus affligebantur.

as

as far as the River *Metaurus* in *Umbria*, and *Aurelianus* fought ſucceſsfully with them at *Fanum*, *Piacenza*, and the Plain of *Pavia* (3).

§. XLIX. WE find likewiſe, that *Aurelian* ſubdued the *Vandals* out of *Italy*; but no particular Time is aſſign'd to this War. The *Vandals* ſued for Peace; and the *Roman* Soldiers were eager to return to *Italy*, that they might enjoy the Fruits of their Victory. *Aurelian* permitted the *Vandals* to traffick in certain Cities on the *Danube*: And they, on their Side, were obliged to furniſh the Emperor 2000 Horſemen; and their Kings and Princes to leave a certain Number of their Children and Relations, as Hoſtages. *Aurelian* haſten'd, hereupon, to *Italy*, where the *Juthungi* had made a freſh Invaſion (1), of which no Circumſtances are mentioned in Hiſtory. Theſe Victories over the *German* Nations, occaſioned him to be ſurnamed

And with the *Vandals*.

(3) AUREL. VICTOR. *Epit. in Aurel. c.* 35. Iſte in Italia tribus prœliis victor fuit, apud Placentiam, juxta amnem Metaurum, ac Fanum fortunæ, poſtremo Ticinenſibus in campis. *The Action near* Piacenza *muſt, therefore, be diſtinguiſhed from that, mentioned by* Vopiſcus: *or* Aurel. Victor. *is miſtaken in aſcribing to the* Romans *the Victory, when they were vanquiſhed. This ancient Inſcription, mentioned by* Gruterus CCLXXVI. n. 3. *was intended in Honour to the Victory of* Fanum:

VICTORIAE
AETERNAE
AVRELIANI
AVG. N.
RESPVBLIC. PIS.
CVRAM AGEN.
C. IVLIO PRISCIANO
V. E. DVCEN. CVR. R. P.
PISAVR. ET. FAN. PP. M.

This is, perhaps, the ſame Victory, to which the Medal with the Reverſe, VICTORIA GERM. *refers: apud* Bandurium, *l. c. p.* 384. (3)

§. XLIX. (1) *Exc.* DEXIPPI, *p.* 12. Sub Aureliano Vandali omnibus copiis ſunt a Romanis ſuperati. Itaque legationem ad Romanos decreverunt, quæ de bello, pacificatione finiendo, ageret. Et cum multa inter ſe Imperator, & Barbari diſſeruiſſent, ſolutum eſt colloquium. Poſtridie multitudo militum Romanorum rurſus convenit: & cum eos Imperator interrogaſſet, quid illis videretur de populis, qui copiam ſui illis faciebant; cum ſtatuerent præſentem proſperitatem tueri, & rerum quibus potiebantur, fruitioni proſpici oportere, de ea re in ſententiam finiendi belli iverunt, eoque uno conſenſu ſunt delati. Itaque Barbarorum reges, & principes venerunt, & ut illis erat præceptum, ex ſuis obſides, qui non in ſecundis partibus fortunæ & dignitatis, hærebant, dederunt. Utrique enim, reges, & proximi dignitate una cum ipſis, ſine mora filios ſuos pro obſidibus tradiderunt. Poſt hæc ad Pacta, & conventiones ventum eſt, & fœdera ſunt inita: Vandali Romanis bis mille equites auxiliarios ex fœdere ſuppeditabant, quorum nonnulli, ex tota exercitus multitudine delecti, & in belli ſocietatem adſcripti, alii ſpontaneam militiam ſubeuntes, nomina dederunt. Reliquus Vandalorum exercitus, ſalvus & incolumis conſervatus, Romanorum Imperatore, mercatum ad Iſtrum præbente, domum eſt reportatus. Sed quicunque ab exercitu, violatis fœderibus, ad prædandum & rapinas faciendas, longius exceſſerunt, omnes a duce exterarum copiarum (erant autem non minus quam quingenti) ſunt cæſi, & peremti. Hi enim ſpecie amicitiæ, fiducia pacis cum Romanis factæ elati, nullo ſervato ordine, venia a ſuo duce impetrata, in repentinas quaſdam incurſiones eruperant, & non pauca regionum loca, qua iter habuerant vaſtaverant & damni

ſurnamed *Germanicus Maximus* in ſome Inſcriptions (2), one of which I ſhall here inſert:

IMP. CÆS. L. DOMITIO.
AURELIANO. PIO. FELICI.
INVICTO. AUG. PONTIF. MAXIMO.
GOTHICO. MAX. GERMANICO. MAX.
TRIB. POT. V. COS. DESIG. III. IMP. III.
P. P. PRO. CONS. RESTITUTORI. ORBIS.
INVICTISSIMO. ET. VICTORIOSISSIMO.
PRINCIPI.
FURIUS. ORFITUS. V. C. PRAEF. URB.
DEVOTUS. NUMINI. MAJESTATIQUE. EJUS.
DEDIC. KAL. FEBR.
AURELIANO. AUG. III.
ET. MARCELLINO. COS.

But the Danger, which *Rome* had been in, induced *Aurelian*, when he afterwards came thither, to cauſe the City to be ſurrounded with new Walls, that it might be at leaſt able to ſtand the firſt Attack: The Works begun under him, were entirely finiſhed by his Succeſſors (3).

Aurelian's Exploits againſt the *Goths* and *Sarmatæ*.

§. L. *AURELIAN* ſet out, in the Year 272, for the *Eaſt*. He had, by the Way, ſeveral ſucceſsful Actions with the *Gothick* and *Sarmatian* Nations, whereby he obtained the Renown of having

& damni affecerant. At ille, qui tantum facinus admiſit, eſt ab eorum rege jaculis confectus. Reliqui Vandalorum, ab invicem ſeparati, domos ſuas repetierunt. Romanorum vero Imperator, præmiſſa majore parte ſuarum copiarum, ſive pedeſtrium, ſive equeſtrium, non longo poſt eſt eas ſubſecutus intervallo, & ſecum cohortem auxiliariorum retinens, omnes haſtatos, qui ejus cuſtodiam agebant, una cum Vandalis, quotquot illi auxiliarii aderant, & nobilibus, qui illi obſides dati erant, magna celeritate in Italiam contendit, in quam Juthungi denuo irruperunt. *This Peace with the* Vandals *is likewiſe mentioned in the* Excerpta, *ex hiſtoria* Petri Patricii & Magiſtri, *p.* 25. Vandali victi, miſerunt legationem ad Aurelianum, pacem poſcentes. Aurelianus lubenti animo eos excepit, & pactione pacis cum ipſis facta, abierunt.

(2) *V. Inſcriptiones apud* Gruterum 276, & P. Pandurium, *l. c. p.* 367.

(3) VOPISCUS, *c.* 21. His actis, quum videret, poſſe fieri, ut aliquid tale iterum, quale ſub Gallieno evenerat, proveniret, adhibito conſilio Senatus, muros urbis Romæ dilatavit. & Nec tamen promœrio addidit eo tempore, ſed poſtea. Aur. Victor *ep. l. c.* Ac ne umquam, quæ per Gallienum evenerant, acciderent, muris urbem quam validiſſimis, laxiore ambitu, circumſepſit. Zoſimus *is not very accurate, when, imagining, that* Rome *had before no Walls, he writes:* Tunc & Roma muris cincta eſt, quibus antea carebat, eaque res ab Aureliano cœpta, Probo imperante perfecta fuit.

reſtored

reſtored *Illyricum* and *Thrace* to the Empire. It is obſerved in particular, that he paſſed the *Danube*, in Queſt of the *Goths*, and ſlew a *Gothick* Duke, named *Cannabaudes*, with 5000 Men (1): On which Occaſion, he ſeems to have taken thoſe Captives, and that Booty, which afterwards made Part of his Triumph (2). He went thereupon from *Byzantium* over to *Aſia*, where he had the Fortune to vanquiſh *Zenobia*, and take her Priſoner. On his Return, he again met with the *Carpi*, and repulſed them. The Senat, for this Succeſs, offered him the Surname of *Carpicus*, but he refuſed it (3). About this Time,

§. L. (1) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *extols*, L. 31. c. 6. p. 483. Aurelian's *Victories over the* Goths. Duobus navium millibus perrupto Boſporo, & litoribus Propontidis, Scythicarum gentium catervæ, tranſgreſſæ, ediderunt quidem acerbas terra, marique ſtrages: ſed, amiſſa ſuorum parte maxima, reverterunt. Ceciderunt dimicando cum Barbaris Imperatores Decii, pater & filius. Obſeſſæ Pamphyliæ civitates, inſulæ populatæ complures, inflammata Macedonia: omnis diu multitudo Theſſalonicam circumſedit, itidemque Cyzicum. Anchialos capta, & tempore eodem Nicopolis, quam, indicium victoriæ contra Dacos, Trajanus condidit Imperator. Poſt clades acceptas, illataſque multas & ſævas, exciſa eſt Philippopolis, centum hominum millibus, (niſi fingunt annales) intra Mœnia jugulatis. Vagati per Epirum, Theſſaloniamque, & omnem Græciam, licentius hoſtes externi: ſed aſſumto in Imperium Claudio, glorioſo ductore, & eodem honeſta morte prærepto, per Aurelianum, acrem virum, & ſeveriſſimum noxarum ultorem, pulſi, per longa ſæcula ſilverunt immobiles: niſi quod poſtea latrocinales globi vicina cum ſui exitio rarius incurſabant.

(2) VOPISCUS, *c.* 22. Tranſactis igitur, quæ ad ſeptiones, atque urbis ſtatum & civilia partinebant, contra Palmyrenos, id eſt, contra Zenobiam, quæ, filiorum nomine, Orientale tenebat Imperium, iter flexit. Multa in itinere ac magna bellorum genera confecit. Nam in Thraciis & in Illyrico, occurrentes Barbaros vicit: Gothorum quin etiam ducem, Cannabam, ſive Cannabaudem, cum quinque millibus hominum, trans Danubium interemit: IDEM *c.* 33. Non abre eſt cognoſcere, qui fuerit Aureliani triumphus. Fuit enim ſpecioſiſſimus. Currus regii tres fuerunt: in his unus Odenati, argento, auro, & gemmis, operoſus atque diſtinctus: alter quem Rex Perſarum Aureliano dono dedit, ipſe quoque pari opere fabricatus: tertius, quem ſibi Zenobia compoſuerat, ſperans, ſe urbem Romanam cum eo viſuram: quod illam non fefellit, nam cum eo urbem ingreſſa eſt, victa, & triumphata. Fuit alius currus, quatuor cervis junctus, qui fuiſſe dicitur regis Gothorum; quo, ut multi memoriæ tradiderunt, Capitolium Aurelianus invectus eſt, ut illic cæderet cervos, quos, cum eodem curru captos, voviſſe Jovi Opt. Max. ferebatur. Præceſſerunt Elephanti viginti, feræ manſuetæ Libycæ, Paleſtinæ diverſæ ducentæ: quas ſtatim Aurelianus privatis donavit, ne fiſcum annonis gravaret: Tigrides quatuor: Camelopardali, alces, cætera talia per ordinem ducta: gladiatorum paria octingenta, præter captivos gentium Barbararum, Blemyes, Axomitæ, Arabes, Eudæmones, Indi, Bactriani, Hiberi, Saraceni, Perſæ, cum ſuis quiſque muneribus: Gothi, Alani, Roxolani, Sarmatæ, Franci, Suevi, Vandali, Germani, religatis manibus captivi præceſſerunt: inter hos etiam Palmyreni, qui ſuperfuerant Principes civitatis, & Ægptii, ob rebellionem &c.

(3) VOPISCUS, *c.* 30. Placato igitur Oriente, in Europam Aurelianus rediit victor, atque illic Carporum copias afflixit: & quum illum Carpicum Senatus abſentem vocaſſet, mandaſſe illico fertur: ſuper eſt P. C. ut me etiam Carpiſculum vocetis. Carpiſculum enim genus calciamenti eſſe, ſatis notum eſt, quod cognomen deforme videbatur: quum & Gothicus, & Sarmaticus, & Armeniacus, & Parthicus, & Adiabenicus diceretur. *Ad quem locum v. not.* Is. Caſauboni.

moreover, he ſeems to have brought a Party of the *Carpi* over the *Danube*, and diſperſed them in the *Roman* Provinces, as a *Roman* Hiſtorian relates of him (4).

Aurelian beats the *Germans* out *Gaul*: His Triumph.

§. LI. *AURELIAN* reſolved, hereupon, to re-unite thoſe *Weſtern* Countries, which *Poſthumus* had torn from the Reſt of the *Roman* Provinces, and fell upon *Tetricus*. The latter found it very difficult to curb the Inſolence of an Army, which thought the Empire was in their Power (1); and a certain *Fauſtinus* having, at the ſame Time, rebelled againſt him, he thought it more adviſeable to conclude an advantageous Peace with *Aurelian*, than to venture all for a Title, which another might ſoon deprive him of, together with his Life (2). But if any previous Agreement was made with *Aurelian*, it muſt have been done with the utmoſt Secrecy: For they came actually to Blows, near *Chalons* on the *Marne* (3). But *Tetricus* went immediately over to *Aurelian*, and gave his terrified Army, a Prey to his Legions, whereby he not only reveng'd their intended Treachery againſt him, but likewiſe quell'd thoſe freſh Commotions, which might have broke out againſt *Aurelian*. The *German* Nations, who had invaded *Gaul*, were hereupon repelled (4); among theſe are to be comprehended the *Franks*, who, during theſe Diviſions in the *Roman* Empire, had not only made frequent Irruptions into *Gaul*, but even penetrated as far as *Spain*, and almoſt ſurprized the City of *Tarracona* (5). To theſe Actions we muſt apply the

(4) AUREL. VICTOR. *in Cæſ. c.* 39. *v.* 43. Et interea cæſi Marcomanni, Carporumque natio, tranſlata omnis in noſtrum ſolum, cujus fere pars jam tum ab Aureliano erat.

§. LI. (1) POLLIO *in Tyrann. c.* 23. Cum militum ſuorum impudentiam & procacitatem ferre non poſſet.

(2) AURELIUS VICTOR, *in Cæſ. c.* 35. Tetricus, cum Fauſtini præſidis dolo corruptis militibus plerumque peteretur, Aureliani per litteras præſidium imploraverat, eique adventanti, producta ad ſpeciem acie, inter pugnam ſe dedit: ita (ut rectore nullo ſolet) turbati ordines oppreſſi ſunt.

(3) EUTROPIUS, *L.* 9. *c.* 9. Superavit in Gallia Tetricum apud Catalaunos, ipſo Tetrico prodente exercitum ſuum, cujus aſſiduas ſeditiones ferre non poterat. Quin etiam per litteras occultas Aurelianum ita fuerat deprecatus, ut inter alia verba, Vergiliano uteretur:

Eripe me his invicte malis.

(4) AURELIUS VICTOR *in Cæſ. c.* 35. Germanis Gallia demotis.

(5) *Theſe Incurſions render'd the Arms of the* Franks *very famous. The Year cannot be juſtly aſſigned.* Aurel. Victor *in Cæſ. c.* 33. *reckons them Part of the Miſeries, the Empire ſuſtained under* Gallienus. Ut Francorum gentes, direpta Gallia, Hiſpaniam poſſiderent, vaſtato ac pene direpto Tarraconenſium oppido, nactiſque in tempore navigiis, pars in uſque Africam permearet. *According to* Eutropius's *Chronological Order*, L. 9. c. 6. *theſe Incurſions ſeem to have happened, before* Poſthumus *was proclaimed Emperor in* Gaul. Alemanni, vaſtatis Galliis, in Italiam irruperunt. Germani uſque ad Hiſpanias penetraverunt, & civitatem nobilem Tarraconem expugnaverunt. *The Name*, Germani, *is here taken in a narrow Senſe, and ſignifies the People on the* Lower-Rhine, (*as has been obſerv'd above*, §. XXV.

the honourable Mention *Vopiſcus* makes, among the Exploits of *Probus*, in *Aurelian*'s Reign, of his Valour ſhewn againſt the *Franks* (6). Thus were all the Provinces, which were rent from the *Roman* Empire, now re-united to it: And *Rome* celebrated with the greater Pleaſure the ſplendid Triumph, *Aurelian*, in Gratitude for ſo many Victories, was honoured with. Here *Zenobia* and *Tetricus*, with his Son, whom he had before admitted to a Share in the Government, appeared in Perſon, among other Captives, not only from the *Eaſtern* Countries, but likewiſe *Roxolani*, *Alani*, *Sarmatæ*, *Goths*, *Franks*, *Suevi*, *Vandals*, and other *Germans*. Of theſe, none excited more Admiration than ten *Gothick* Women, who were taken fighting, in the Midſt of the Soldiers, and were ſaid to be Deſcendants of the *Amazons*. *Aurelian* himſelf was in a Char drawn by four Stags, being Part of the Booty he had taken from a *Gothick* Prince, and he cauſed the Stags, purſuant to a Vow he had made, to be ſacrificed to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, ſo ſoon as he came to the *Capitol* (7). But *Tetricus* was afterwards in ſeveral conſiderable Poſts of Honour, under *Aurelian*, and his Son became one of the principal Members of the Senat (8).

§. XXV. not. 2.) *and is, in particular, frequently uſed to denote the* Franks. Oroſius *L.* 7. *c.* 22. *p.* 549. Capto Valeriano, Germani, Alpibus, Rætia, Italiaque, penetrata, Ravennam uſque perveniunt. Alemanni, Gallias pervagati, etiam in Italiam tranſeunt. Germani ulteriores abraſa potiuntur Hiſpania. Extant adhuc per diverſas provincias in magnarum urbium ruinis parvæ, & pauperes ædes, ſigna miſeriarum, & nominum indicia ſervantes: ex quibus nos quoque in Hiſpania Tarraconem noſtram, ad conſolationem miſeriæ recentis oſtendimus. *And when he deſcribes,* L. 7. *the Devaſtations,* Spain *at that Time ſuſtained from the* Vandals, Suevi *and* Alani, *&c. he once more mentions theſe Invaſions of the* Franks, *c.* 41. Irruptæ ſunt Hiſpaniæ, cædes, vaſtationeſque, paſſæ ſunt. Nihil quidem novum. Hoc enim nunc per biennium illud, quo hoſtilis gladius ſævit, ſuſtinuere a Barbaris, quod per ducentos quondam annos paſſæ fuerunt a Romanis, quod etiam ſub Imperatore Gallieno, per annos propemodum duodecim, Germanis evertentibus exceperunt. Valeſius *imagines* L. 1. rerum Francicarum, p. 4. *that theſe Expeditions were by Water, and that the* Franks *after having, on the Ocean, infeſted the Coaſts of* Gaul *and* Spain, *ventured at laſt even into the* Mediterranean, *and ſo came to* Tarracona. *With this agrees the Paſſage of* Nazarius Panegyricus, *c.* 17. Franci ipſi, præter cæteros truces, quorum vis cum ad bella efferveſceret, ultra ipſum Oceanum æſtu furoris evecta. Hiſpaniarum etiam oras armis infeſtas habuit. *Hence it appears, that the Name and Power of the* Franks *did, about this Time, already flouriſh on the North Sea, and the Rivers, that diſcharge themſelves into it. We ſhall, in the next Book, find how they penetrated farther into the Iſland of* Batavia.

(6) VOPISCUS, *in vit. Probi c.* 12. Teſtes Franci, inviis ſtrati paludibus, teſtes Germani, & Alemanni, longe a Rheni ſubmoti littoribus.

(7) VOPISCUS *c.* 33. *v. præced.* §. 50. *not.* 2.

(8) VOPISCUS *in Aurel. c.* 39. Tetricum triumphatum correctorem Lucaniæ fecit, filio ejus in Senatu manente.

Aurelian drives the *Germans* out of *Rætia.*

§. LII. *AURELIAN* was no leſs zealous to eſtabliſh the Power he had acquired; he paſſed once more over the *Alps*, reſtored Tranquility to *Vindelicia*, which had again been infeſted with the Irruptions of the *Germans* (1); and proceeded to *Illyricum*, to prepare for a freſh Expedition againſt the *Perſians*. He found it impracticable to defend the Country on the other Side of the *Danube*, which *Trajan* had reduced to a Province, againſt the *Goths*, who, from the Time of *Commodus*, had been ever invading it; and as *Illyricum* and *Moëſia* were not the moſt populous, he reſolved to abandon *Dacia*; notwithſtanding the great Regard, the *Romans* otherwiſe had for their Borders, and not only recalled the Soldiers, who were ſtationed there; but all the Inhabitants in general; and aſſigned them new Habitations in the Midſt of *Moëſia*, on the right Side of the *Danube*. This Country, which made a Part of the preſent *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, was, from that Time, called *Dacia* (2), and afterwards divided into *Dacia Ripenſis* and *Mediterranea*: But by the Sequel of the Hiſtory it appears, that the *Goths* made themſelves Maſters of Part of the ancient *Dacia*, on the left of the *Danube*, and from thence proved afterwards more troubleſome to the *Romans*.

After *Aurelian's* Death ſeveral *Germans* invade *Gaul*, and the *Goths Aſia* again.

§. LIII. *AURELIAN* was murder'd on this Journy, and the Army left the Election of a new Emperor to the Senat, who nomi-

§. LXII. (1) Vopiscus, *c.* 35. His geſtis, ad Gallias profectus, Vindelicos obſidione Barbarica liberavit: deinde ad Illyricum rediit. Tillemont *reckons, that, on Occaſion of this War with the* Alemanni, *the Action near* Vindoniſſa *happen'd, in which* Conſtantius, *the Father of* Conſtantine, the Great, *obtained the Victory, which* Eumenius, in Panegyr. VI. *mentions in the following Words.* Te enim tantum, ille & Imperator in terris, & in cœlo Deus, in primo ætatis ſuæ flore generavit, toto adhuc corpore vigens, illa præditus alacritate, ac fortitudine, qua cum bella plurima, tum præcipue in campis Vindonis geſſit. *This Action muſt be diſtinguiſhed from another, which he ſoon afterwards,* c. 6. *ſpeaks in Praiſe of, as follows:* Quid commemorem Lingonicam victoriam, etiam Imperatoris vulnere glorioſam? quid Vindonis campos, hoſtium ſtrage completos, & adhuc oſſibus opertos?

(2) Vopiscus, *l. c. c.* 39. Quum vaſtatum Illyricum, ac Mœſiam deperditam, videret, provinciam trans Danubiam, Daciam a Trajano conſtitutam, ſublato exercitu, & provincialibus, reliquit, deſperans eam poſſe retineri: abductoſque ex ea populos, in Mœſiam collocavit, appellavitque ſuam Daciam, quæ nunc duas Mœſias dividit. Eutropius, *L.* 9. *c.* 9. *expreſſes it thus:* Provinciam Daciam, quam Trajanus ultra Danubium fecerat, intermiſit, vaſtato omni Illyrico, & Mœſia, deſperans eam poſſe retineri. Abductoſque Romanos, & urbibus & agris Daciæ, in Mœſia media collocavit, appellavitque eam Daciam, quæ nunc duas Mœſias dividit, & eſt dextra Danubio in mare fluenti, cum ante fuerit læva. Aurel. Victor. *in Cæſ. c.* 33. *imputes the Loſs of* Dacia *to* Gallienus: *Amiſſa trans Iſtrum, quæ Trajanus quæſiverat.* The Goths *and their Allies may have been firmly eſtabliſhed in* Dacia, *under* Gallienus; *but the Province was not abandoned 'till* Aurelian's *Time.*

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nated *M. Claudius Tacitus* (1), a Deſcendant of the famous *Roman* Hiſtorian. He found the whole Empire in Diſorder: The *Germans*, on the *Rhine*, had ſcaled the *Roman* Lines, and invaded *Gaul* (2); and, in the *Eaſt*, a Swarm paſſed the *Mæotick-Lake*, came into *Colchis*, and pretended, that *Aurelian* had deſired their Aſſiſtance againſt the *Perſians*. They extended themſelves thro' *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Galatia* and *Cilicia* (3). *Tacitus* went, therefore, himſelf to *Aſia*, and defeated the *Goths*, but left to his Brother *Florianus*, whom he made *Præfectus Prætorii*, the Care of extirpating them. *Zoſimus* and *Zonaras* mention here, indeed, only in general the *Scythæ*, under which common Name were included the *German* as well as *Sarmatian* Nations, who dwelt about the *Black-Sea* and the *Mæotick-Lake*: But as we find on *Tacitus*'s Coins, the Reverſe VICTORIA GOTHICA (4), and as he ſeems himſelf to have aſſumed the Surname of *Gothicus* (5), ſo probably the *Goths* are again in particular to be underſtood under the Name of *Scythæ*. *Tacitus* died on his Return, or was, as others pretend, murdered by his Soldiers. His Brother *Florianus*, who was then employed, on the Coaſts of the *Boſphorus*, to cut off the Retreat off the *Goths*, aſſumed thereupon the Imperial Dignity: But as the Army in the *Eaſt*, and in *Egypt*, had proclaimed *Probus* Emperor, he marched to encounter him. The *Goths* hereby gained an Opportunity of returning Home: But *Florianus* was ſo unfortunate in his Expedition, that he loſt his new-aſſumed Title, together with his Life.

§. LIII. (1) *The Senat, who hoped to recover their former Authority, was ſo elate upon it, that they gave Notice of this Event to the Senators of the principal Cities, and among others, to thoſe of the City of* Triers. Vopiſcus *in Floriano*, *c.* 5. Senatus ampliſſimus Curiæ Trevirorum. Ut eſtis liberi, & ſemper fuiſtis, lætari vos credimus; creandi Principis judicium ad Senatum redit, ſimul etiam Præfecturæ Urbanæ appellatio univerſa decreta eſt, &c.

(2) *Velius Cornificius Gordianus Conſul in Orat. ap.* Vopiſcum, *in vit. Tacit. c.* 3. Limitem trans Rhenum Germani rupiſſe dicuntur, occupaſſe urbes validas, nobiles, divites, & potentes.

(3) VOPISCUS *in Tacit. c.* 13. Quoniam a Mæotide multi Barbari eruperant, hos eoſdem conſilio atque viribus, ut eo redirent, compulit. Ipſi autem Mæotidæ ita congregabantur, quaſi accitu Aureliani ad bellum Perſicum conveniſſent, auxilium daturi noſtris, ſi neceſſitas poſtularet. Zoſimus, *L.* 1. *c.* 63. Tacito autem Romanum Imperium conſecuto, Scythæ, transjecta palude Mæotide, per Pontum in Ciliciam uſque incurſionibus omnia vexarunt, quos adgreſſus, partim debellatos ad internecionem delevit, partim Floriano, Præfecto Prætorio, debellandos tradidit. Florianus *was at War with them, when, after* Tacitus's *Death, he marched againſt* Probus. Zoſimus, *L.* 1. *c.* 61. Ambobus ad bellum inſtructis, Tarſi Florianus veniens, ibidem caſtra locanda ſtatuit, victoria contra Scythas in Boſphoro ſemiperfecta relicta, quare factum eſt, ut jam circumceſſis ad ſua redeundi copiam concederet.

(4) VICTORIA GOTHI: *ap.* BANDURI, *p.* 427.

(5) GRUTERUS CLXXXXII. 5.

§. LIV.

Probus drives the *Germans* out of *Gaul*: A Battle enſues with the *Franks*, *Lygii*, *Burgundians* and *Vandals*.

§. LIV. *PROBUS* was no ſooner in quiet Poſſeſſion of the Empire, than he ſet out himſelf for the Army in *Gaul*: In which War he not only drove the *Germans* again out of the *Roman* Provinces, but likewiſe viſited them in their own Countries. Hiſtorians mention only an Action or two of this War. *Zoſimus* relates, that *Probus* overcame the *Lygii* in Battle, and took their Prince *Semno* Priſoner, with his Son: But, upon their promiſing to return all the Booty they had made, and, in a certain Manner, to acknowledge the *Roman* Supremacy, they were releaſed (2). According to the ſame Hiſtorian, the *Roman* Generals defeated the *Franks*, whilſt *Probus* was himſelf employed againſt the *Vandals* and *Burgundians*. *Probus*'s Army was not very numerous; but the Fury of the *Germans* was the Cauſe of the Succeſs of their Enemies. They were ſo eager for a Battle, that they paſſed a River, which ſeparated them from the *Romans* (3), to encounter *Probus*. The latter watched his proper Time, and attacked them, before they were all over, and beat them before they had Time to draw up in Order of Battle. Thoſe, who ſurvived,

§. LIV. (1) ZOSIMUS, *L.* 1. *c.* 67. Acres etiam pugnas commiſit, primum contra Logiones, nationem Germanicam: quibus devictis, quum Semnonem, eorum ducem, cum filio, vivum in poteſtatem redigiſſet, ſupplices factos in fidem recepit; & captivis omnique præda recuperata, quam habebant, certis eos conditionibus dimiſit, ipſo quoque cum filio, Semnone reddito. Alterum contra Francos prœlium pugnavit, quibus opera ducum ſtrenue victis; ipſe cum Burgundorum, Vandilorumque copiis dimicavit. Quumque vires ſuas inferiores videret, partem quandam ab hoſtibus avellere cogitabat, & cum ea prœlio decernere. Qua in re conſilio principis fortuna non defuit. Quum enim exercitus utramque fluminis ripam occupaſſent, Barbaros, in adverſa ripa caſtra metatos, ad pugnam Romani provocabant. Hac illi reperciti, quotquot ſane poterant, transjiciebant; ſigniſque collatis Barbari partim cædebantur, partim vivi Romanorum in poteſtatem veniebant. Reliqui, quum pacem ea lege petiiſſent, ut prædam cum captivis, quos habebant, redderent: impetrato, quod poſtulaverant, non omnia reſtituerunt. Quamobrem indignatus Imperator, diſcedentes adortus, merito ſupplicio multavit; ipſis trucidatis, & Igillo duce capto. Quotquot vivos in poteſtatem redigere poterat, in Britanniam miſit; qui ſedes ea in inſula nacti, quoties deinde ſeditionem aliquis moliretur, utiles Imperatori fuerunt.

(2) P. BANDURI, *refers hither a Silver Medal of* Probus, *in the Cabinet of the celebrated* Monſ. de Foucault; *whoſe Reverſe I ſhall deſcribe in his own Words:* Probus Paludatus, & laureatus, ex humili ſuggeſtu, Præfecto Prætorio retro ſtante, dextram attollens, adloquitur milites: adſtant a dextris, cum equo & ſigno militari, milites tres galeati, captivum nudum, & barbatum, manibus poſt tergum revinctis, ad ſuggeſtum ſiſtentes: a ſiniſtris duo milites alii, cum equo & ſignis militaribus duobus, captivum alterum, pariter nudum, ſed imberbem, manibus poſt tergum revinctis, ad eundem ſuggeſtum producunt, in ſuperiori nummi parte milites alii quinque galeati. *He ſuppoſes, in the adjoined Note, that theſe two Figures repreſent the two Captive* German *Princes.*

(3) *This River is not named in Hiſtory:* Tillemont, *indeed, takes it,* p. 1127. *for the* Rhine: *but another River may be as eaſily underſtood.*

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were obliged to capitulate, and obtained a Peace, on Condition, that they ſhould return all the Priſoners and Booty, they had taken: But they not performing this, he purſued them, ſlew great Numbers, and took their Leader *Igillus* Priſoner. He ſent Part of the Priſoners to *Britain*; where they were afterwards very ſerviceable to the *Romans* (4). *Camden* is of Opinion, that *Vandelsbury*, near *Cambridge*, may have taken its Name from this Colony (5). The *Vandals* were, after that, more and more mentioned in Hiſtory, as well as the *Burgundians*, whom *Pliny* includes under the Name of *Vandals* (6); and who, it will appear, in the next Book, bordered on the *Alemanni*. *Vopiſcus* boaſts in general of *Probus*'s having freed ſixty Cities in *Gaul*, and of his having not only drove the *Alemanni* out of that Country, but purſued them beyond the *Neckar*. According to that Hiſtorian, he ſeems to have extended the Boundaries on the *German* Side of the *Rhine* (7), to have raiſed Forts there (8), and

(4) ZOSIMUS, *l. c. in not.* 1.

(5) CAMDENUS, *l. c. T.* 1. 137.

(6) *See above*, L. 1. §. 2. n. 4.

(7) VOPISCUS, *c.* 13. His geſtis, cum ingenti exercitu Gallias petit: quæ omnes, occiſo Poſthumio, turbatæ fuerant; interfecto Aureliano, a Germanis poſſeſſæ. Tanta autem illic prœlia feliciter geſſit, ut a Barbaris ſexaginta per Gallias nobiliſſimas reciperet civitates: prædam deinde omnem qua illi, præter divitias, etiam efferebantur ad gloriam. Et cum jam in noſtra ripa, imo per omnes Gallias ſecuri vagarentur, cæſis prope quadringentis millibus, qui Romanum occupaverant ſolum, reliquias ultra Nicrum flavium & Albam removit; tantum his prædæ Barbaricæ tulit, quantum ipſi Romanis abſtulerant: contra urbes Romanas, & caſtra, in ſolo Barbarico poſuit, atque illic milites collocavit. Agros & horrea, & domos, & annonam Tranſrhenanis omnibus fecit, iis videlicet, quos in excubiis collocavit: nec ceſſatum eſt unquam pugnari, cum quotidie ad eum Barbarorum capita deferrentur, jam ad ſingulos aureos ngula, quamdiu reguli novem, ex diverſis gentibus venirent, atque ad pedes Probi jacerent: quibus ille primum obſides impetravit, qui ſtatim dati ſunt: deinde frumentum, poſtrema etiam vaccas, atque oves. Dicitur juſſiſſe his acrius, ut gladiis non uterentur, Romanam exſpectaturi defenſionem, ſi eſſent ab aliquibus vindicandi. Sed viſum eſt, id non poſſe fieri, niſi ſi limes Romanus extenderetur, & fieret Germania tota Provincia. Maxime tamen ipſis Regibus conſentientibus, in eos vindicatum eſt, qui prædam fideliter non reddiderunt. Accepit præterea ſedecim milla tyronum, quos omnes per diverſas provincias ſparſit, ita ut numeris, vel limitaneis militibus quinquagenos, & ſexagenos interſereret, dicens, ſentiendum eſſe, non videndum, cum auxiliaribus Barbaris Romanus juvatur.

(8) *Vid. locus* VOPISCI, *not.* 7. *In what Manner the* Romans *raiſed thoſe Forts, appears from* R. H. S. notis ad Hyginum & Polybium de caſtris Romanis, p. 122. ſqq. *But, as to the* Limes, *which* Probus *fortified, that was intended to keep the* Germans *from the Upper-*Rhine, *and, as appears from* Vopiſcus's *Words,* §. ſequ. not. 1. *from* Rætia. *There are ſtill ſome Remains of a* Roman *Fortification of this Kind, which, according to* Aventinus's *Deſcription, in the* German *Edition of his Hiſtory of* Bavaria, p. 117. b. *begun near* Pföring, *on the* Danube, *and, as the Coins of it, which may ſtill be ſeen, here and there, in the Dioceſe of* Eichſtadt, *in* Nordgau, *in the Dominions of* Anſpach, *and in* Suabia, *demonſtrate, extended itſelf as far as the* Neckar: *The Conjecture, that* Probus, *at leaſt, compleated theſe Limes, or enlarged them, is likewiſe confirmed by his Coins, which are dug up thereabouts. Conf.* Lederlinus *de vallo & muro Adriani & Probi.*

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to have placed ſecure Garriſons in them. The Country itſelf was ſhared among the Soldiers, and they had certain Parcels of Land, with Cattle and other Neceſſaries, aſſigned them, to improve for their Subſiſtence; for which they were bound to ſerve in the Wars (9). The *Roman* Soldiers, who were garriſon'd in theſe Frontier-Towns, made deep Incurſions into *Germany*, where the Emperor gave a *Roman* Guilder of Gold for every Priſoner; and they ſo much infeſted the neighbouring Nations, that nine *German* Princes ſued to *Probus* for Peace, gave Hoſtages, and were obliged to pay a Contribution of Corn and Cattle, in which their Riches, at that Time, almoſt ſolely conſiſted. But this ſeems chiefly to be underſtood of the *Alemanni*, and perhaps of their Neighbours, who dwelt neareſt to the *Roman* Provinces; as well as when *Vopiſcus* ſays, that *Probus* had almoſt a Mind to reduce *Germany* to a Province, and to appoint a particular Lieutenant over it (10).

§. LV.

(9) *V. loc.* Vopiscı, *not.* 7. *I treated in* Book IV. §. XI. *of the* Agri limitanei *of the* Romans. Alex. Severus *granted all the Lands, which he took from the Enemy, to the Soldiers, who were to defend the Borders, as* Lampridius *teſtifies,* in Alex. c. 58. Sola, quæ de hoſtibus capta ſunt, limitaneis ducibus, & militibus donavit, ita, ut eorum ita eſſent, ſi heredes eorum militarent, nec unquam ad privatos pertinerent: dicens, attentius eos militaturos, ſi etiam ſua rura defenderent. Addidit ſane his & animalia, & ſervos, ut poſſent colere, quod acceperant; ne, per inopiam hominum, vel per ſenectutem poſſidentium, deſererentur rura vicina barbariæ: quod turpiſſimum ille ducebat. *And what is ſaid of* Probus *is illuſtrated in another Paſſage of* Vopiſcus, *c.* 16. Veteranis omnia illa, quæ anguſta adeunt Iſauriæ loca, privatis donavit, addens, ut eorum filii ab anno octavo decimo, mares duntaxat ad militiam mitterentur. *From theſe* Agri limitanei, *not only* Is. Caſaubonus; *but alſo thoſe eminent Lawyers,* Franc. Duarenus, *de ſacris eccleſ. miniſteriis,* L. 2. c. 3. Ja. Gothofredus, *in comm. ad tit. cod. Theodoſ. de terris limitaneis;* Hertius *de feudis oblatis,* Part 1. §. 2. *pretend to derive the Origin of Feodal Tenures.* Add Gundlingiana, P. 1. l. 1. *and* P. 15. 2. *And, indeed it is very probable, that the* Germans, *when they made themſelves Maſters of the* Roman *Provinces, imitated the* Romans, *in that, as they did in other Things; and granted ſuch Lands in Fee, to the moſt valiant of their Soldiers, on Condition of their Performing certain military Services: With which afterwards, the* Goths, Franks, Burgundians *and* Longobards *(of whoſe Manner of dividing the Countries they conquer'd, I ſhall ſpeak below) introduced their reſpective Cuſtoms, whence, in Time, aroſe the many Species of Feodal Laws.*

(10) *Probus in litteris ad Senatum ap.* Vopiscum, *c.* 19. Ago Diis immortalibus gratias, patres conſcripti, quia veſtra in me judicia comprobarunt. Subacta eſt omnis, qua tenditur late, Germania: novem Reges gentium diverſarum, ad meos pedes, imo ad veſtros, ſupplices, ſtratique, jacuerunt. Omnes jam Barbari vobis arant, vobis jam ſerunt, & contra interiores gentes militant. Supplicationes igitur veſtro more decernite. Nam & quadringenta millia hoſtium cæſa ſunt, & ſedecim millia armatorum nobis oblata, & ſeptuaginta urbes nobiliſſimæ, captivitate hoſtium vindicatæ, & omnes penitus Galliæ liberatæ. Coronas, quas mihi obtulerunt omnes Galliæ civitates aureas, veſtræ, Patres Conſcripti, clementiæ dedicavi & has Jovi O. M. cæteriſque Diis, Deabuſque immortalibus, veſtris manibus conſecrate. Præda omnis recepta eſt, capta etiam alia, & quidem major, quam

§. LV. *PROBUS* took his Way thro' *Rætia*, made proper Regulations there, and went thereupon to *Illyricum*. The Fame he had acquired in theſe Countries, in former Reigns, and the Report of his *German* Victories, cauſed thoſe Nations, who border'd, on that Side, on the *Roman* Provinces, to be greatly in Fear of his Arms, before they had experienced them. He repell'd the *Sarmatian* Nations, who had paſs'd the *Danube*; and, partly by Treaties, partly by Force of Arms, eſtabiſhed a Peace with the *Gothick* Nations (1). For the latter, we appeal to a Medal, which was ſtruck in Honour of a Battle with the *Goths* (2). Hereupon he departed for *Aſia*: And when he returned to *Europe*, he brought 100,000 *Baſtarnæ* over the *Danube*, and diſperſed them in thoſe Countries, which were become deſolate by the Wars and Peſtilence. This Project was likewiſe ſucceſsful: The *Baſtarnæ* conformed to the *Roman* Laws and Manners, and by Degrees became, with the other Inhabitants of the Country, one and the ſame Nation: But the *Gepidæ*, *Grutungi* and *Vandals*, whom he had ſettled, here and there, in the *Roman* Dominions, cauſed great Diſorders (3). *Probus* celebrated thereupon a Triumph (4), on Account of his Victories over the *Germans*, and the *Blemmyæa* Nation of *Africa* (5).

Farther Wars of *Probus*, with the *Germans*, and *Goths*.

quam fuerat ante direpta. Arantur Gallicana rura Barbaris bobus, & juga Germanica captiva præbant noſtris colla cultoribus: paſcuntur ad noſtram alimoniam gentium pecora diverſarum: equinum pecus noſtro jam fœcundatur equitatui: frumento Barbarico plena ſunt horrea. Quid plura? ſola relinquimus ſola, nos eorum omnia poſſidemus. Volueramus, P. C. Germaniæ novum Præſidem facere, ſed hoc ad pleniora vote diſtulimus, quod quidem credimus conferre, cum Divina providentia noſtros uberius ſecundarit exercitus.

§. LV. (1) VOPISCUS, *c.* 16. Poſt hæc Illyricum petiit, & prius quam veniret, Rætias ſic pacatas reliquit, ut illic ne ſuſpicionem quidem ullius terroris relinqueret. In Illyrico Sarmatas, cæteraſque gentes, ita contudit, ut prope ſine bello cuncta reciperet, quæ illi diripuerant. Tetendit deinde iter per Thraciam, atque omnes Geticos populos, fama rerum territos, & antiqui nominis potentia preſſos, aut in deditionem, aut in amicitiam, recepit. His geſtis Orientem petiit.

(2) BANDURI, p. 444. *not* 7. *mentions a Golden Coin of* Probus, *with the Reverſe*;

VICTORIA GOTHICA.

(3) VOPISCUS, *c.* 18. Facta igitur pace cum Perſis, ad Thracias rediit, & centum millia Baſtarnarum in ſolo Romano conſtituit, qui omnes fidem ſervaverunt. Sed cum & ex aliis gentibus pleroſque pariter tranſtuliſſet, id eſt, ex Gepidis, Gautungis, & Vandalis, illi omnes fidem fregerunt; & occupato bellis tyrannicis Probo, per totum pæne orbem, pedibus & navigando, vagati ſunt; nec parum moleſtiæ Romanæ gloriæ intulerunt: quos quidem ille, diverſis vicibus, variiſque victoriis, oppreſſit, paucisdomum cum gloria redeuntibus, quod Probi evaſiſſent manus. *Inſtead of* Gautungi, Salmaſius *reads* Grutungi. *The* Juthungi *might likewiſe be underſtood. Of the* Baſtarnæ, Zoſimus, *ſays*, L. I. c. 71. Baſternas, gentem Scythicam, quæ illi ſe ſubjecit in Thracia, ſedibus conceſſis, reliquit. Hi Romanorum moribus atq; legibus conſtanter uſi ſunt.

(4) TILLEMONT *places this Triumph in the Year* 279. P. Banduri *mentions*, p. 444 *and* 445. *Medals which ſeem to have been ſtruck in Honour thereof. The Conjecture of* P. Banduri, *that* Probus *triumph'd at his* Quinquennales, *is very probable; and conſequently the Triumph ought to be placed later.*

(5) VOPISCUS, *l. c. c.* 19. Triumphavit de Germanis & Blemyis: omnium gentium drungos, uſque ad quinquagenos homines, ante triumphum duxit.

What Share the *Germans* had in the Wars between *Probus*, *Proculus* and *Bonosus*.

§. LVI. But his Affairs recall'd him soon after to *Germany*. *Proculus* had assumed the Title of Emperor in *Gaul*; as, about the same Time, *Bonosus*, who commanded the Roman Troops in *Rætia*, had done there. They seem to have conspired together; perhaps that they might be the better able to defend themselves against *Probus*, as *Posthumus* and *Victorinus* had done before with Success. *Probus* had, during this War, good Assistance from the *German* Nations (1). *Eutropius* and *Aurel. Victor* mention a pitch'd Battle near *Cologn* (2). *Vopiscus* relates, that *Proculus* applied for Succour to the *Franks*, and expected to obtain it the more readily, as he pretended to be of *Franconian* Extraction; but that the *Franks* betrayed him to the Emperor (3). *Bonosus* stood his Ground somewhat longer, but was at last subdued by *Probus*. His Wife *Hunila*, who was of a *Gothick* Princely Race, acquired more Fame by her excellent Qualities, than her Husband by his Rebellion. And the Emperor *Probus* extended his Mercy to her, and allowed her an annual Pension (4).

Piracies of the *Germans*, and particularly of the *Franks*.

§. LVII. It happened, in the mean Time, that some of those *Germans*, who, as I before said, were dispers'd in the *Roman* Provinces,

§. LVI. (1) Vopiscus, *l. c. c.* 19. Deinde, cum Proculus & Bonosus, apud Agrippinam in Gallia Imperium arripuissent, omnesque sibi jam Britannias, Hispanias, & braccatæ Galliæ provincias vindicarent, Barbaris semet juvantibus, vicit. Ac ne requiras plura vel de Saturnino, vel de Proculo, vel de Bonoso, suo eosdem inseram libro, pauca de iisdem, ut decet, imo ut poscit necessitas, locuturus. Unum sane sciendum est, quod Germani omnes, cum ad auxilium essent rogati a Proculo, Probo potius perservire maluerunt, quam cum Bonoso, et Proculo esse.

(2) Eutropius, *L.* 9. *c.* 11. Bella deinde civilia, equidem plurimo sanguine duo gessit, contra quosdam Imperatores, ab exercitu creatos. Unum in Oriente adversus Saturninum, alterum adversus Proculum & Bonosum Agrippinæ, quos magnis certaminibus oppressit. *See* Aur. Victor's *Testimony below* § LVIII. *not.* 2.

(3) Vopiscus, *in Proculo c.* 13. Non nihilum tamen Gallis profuit. Nam ALEMANNOS QUI TUNC ADHUC GERMANI DICEBANTUR, non sine gloriæ splendore contrivit, nunquam aliter, quam latrocinandi pugnans modo. Hunc tamen Probus fugatum, usque ad ultimas terras, & cupientem in Francorum auxilium venire, a quibus originem se trahere ipse dicebat, prodentibus Francis, quibus familiare est ridendo fidem frangere, vicit & interemit. *The Words*, QUI TUNC ADHUC GERMANI DICEBANTUR, *are so inconsistent, that* Spanheim *conjectures*, l. c. T. 2. diss. 12. p. 508. *that they were at first placed in the Margin by some illiterate Reader, and afterwards inadvertently inserted in the Text.*

(4) Vopiscus, *in Bonos. c.* 15. Hic idem, cum quodam tempore in Rheno Romanas lusorias Germani incendissent, timore, ne pœnas daret, sumsit Imperium: idque diutius tenuit, quam merebatur. Nam longo gravique certamine a Probo superatus, laqueo vitam finivit. Tunc quidem jocus exstitit: amphoram pendere, non hominem. Filios duos reliquit, quibus ambobus Probus pepercit, uxore quoque ejus in honore habita, & usque ad mortem salario præstito. Fuisse enim dicitur (ut & avus meus dicebat) fœmina singularis exempli, & familiæ nobilis, gentis Gothicæ: quam illi Aurelianus uxorem idcirco dederat, ut per eum a Gothis cuncta cognosceret. Erat Enim illa virgo regalis.

took

took a raſh Reſolution, to venture all, or to regain their Liberty. They quitted, therefore, the Habitations aſſigned them, made themſelves Maſters of as many Ships and Veſſels, as they could, and ſubmitted their Fortune to the Wind and Waves. It appears, indeed, from *Vopiſcus*, that theſe *Germans* were of various Nations (1): But the *Franks* are mentioned in particular (2), becauſe they were either the Authors of the Deſign, or diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the Reſt by their Valour, and had the good Fortune, after one of the moſt ſurprizing Voyages, to reach their native Home. They ravaged the Coaſts of *Aſia* and *Greece*, and landed in *Africa*: But here they were encounter'd by thoſe Troops, which lay at *Carthage*, and repuls'd. They landed in *Sicily*, plunder'd *Syracuſa*, and ſlew many of the Inhabitants: They ſailed from thence, out of the *Mediterranean*, into the Weſt-Sea, round the Coaſts of *Spain* and *Gaul*, and happily reached the *German* Shoar. This was a more adventurous Voyage than that of the *Argonauti*, ſo fam'd in the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets: And we need not doubt, but it was extoll'd in the Songs of Heroick Feats, among the *Germans* of thoſe Times, nor that theſe *Franks*, who perhaps, after that Time, form'd a particular Nation, did not a little boaſt of it. Hence perhaps it is, as Fables generally have ſome Foundation in Hiſtory, that ſome have ſince confounded the Arrival of this Body, with the Origin of the whole Nation; and this gave probably Riſe to thoſe fictitious Relations, which derive the *Franks* from *Pannonia*, or from the *Mæotick* Sea, or even from *Troy* or *Macedon*.

§. LVIII. NOTWITHSTANDING the Succeſs, which *Probus* met with againſt his foreign Enemies, and thoſe who contended with him for the Imperial Title; yet could he not eſcape the Fate which all Governments, that are at the Mercy of an Army, are liable to; but was murder'd by his own Soldiers. His Memory is ſtill agreably preſerved, in

Vinyards about the *Rhine* and *Moſel*, firſt planted by *Probus*.

§. LVII. (1) VOPISCUS, *in Probo c.* 18. *See above* §. LV. *not.* 3.

(2) ZOSIMUS, *L.* 1. *c.* 7. Itidem, quum Franci ad Imperatorem acceſſiſſent, & ab eo ſedes obtinuiſſent: pars eorum quædam defectionem molita, magnamque navium copiam nacta, totam Græciam conturbavit. In Siciliam quoque delata, & urbem Syracuſanam adorta, magnam in ea cædem edidit. Tandem, quum & in Africam adpuliſſet, ac rejecta fuiſſet, abductis Carthagine copiis, nihilominus domum redire, nullum paſſa detrimentum, potuit. Eumenius, *who lived about this Time, mentions, in his Panegyrical* Oration on Emperour Conſtantius, *more Circumſtances*: Pan. 4. c. 18 Recurſabat quippe in animos illa, ſub divo Probo & paucorum ex Francis captivorum, incredibilis audacia, & indigna felicitas, qui, a Ponto uſque correptis navibus, Græciam Aſiamque populati, nec impune pleriſque Libyæ littoribus appulſi, ipſas poſtremo navalibus quondam victoriis nobiles ceperant Syracuſas, & immenſo itinere pervecti, Oceanum, qua terras irrupit, intraverant: atque ita eventu temeritatis oſtenderant, nihil eſſe clauſum piraticæ deſperationi, quo navigiis pateret acceſſus. *Theſe* Franks *fell perhaps into* Probus's *Hands on Occaſion of the* Gallick *Wars; and were probably among the* 16,000 *Men which were deliver'd to* Probus.

Germany; for, as he ſuffer'd Vinyards to be planted in *Gaul*, and other Provinces (1), ſo do the Vinyards about the *Rhine* and *Moſel*, and thoſe planted from them in other *German* Countries, owe their Riſe to him, as to a ſecond *Bacchus*. An ancient Hiſtorian compares him in this Reſpect to *Hannibal*, who cauſed Olive-Trees to be planted in *Africa*, in Order to furniſh the Soldiers, in Time of Peace, with profitable Employment (2). *Strabo* (3) writes, that in his Time no Vines grew in *Gaul*, excepting in the Country about *Lions*: Yet *Pliny* (4) mentions Vines planted by the *Biturices*: But *Domitian* had prohibited the cultivating of Vinyards in the Provinces (5), which proved in moſt Places ineffectual (6).

Troubles in *Germany* under *Carus* and *Carinus*.

§. LIX. After the Deceaſe of *Probus*, all the unciviliz'd Nations, on the *Rhine* and on the *Danube*, were in Arms. *M. Aurelius* his Succeſſor, ſent his eldeſt Son, *C. Carinus*, to *Gaul* (1), and went himſelf, with *Numerianus*, the younger Son, to the *Eaſt*, to continue the War with the *Perſians*, begun by *Probus*; and, on his March, he repelled the *Sarmatian* Nations, who had paſſed the *Danube*, with an Intent, if poſſible, to invade *Italy* (2). It that *Medal* of *Numeri-*

anus,

§. LVIII. (1) Vopiscus, *c.* 18. Gallis omnibus, & Hiſpanis, ac Britannis, hinc permiſit, ut vites haberent, vinumque conficerent. Ipſe Almum, montem in Illyrico, circa Sirmium, militari manu foſſum lecta vite conſevit. *Inſtead of* Britannis *ought probably to be read* Pannoniis: *which Province* Aurel. Victor *mentions by Name in the Paſſage quoted in the next Note.*

(2) Aurelius Victor, *in Cæſ. c.* 37. Poſt quam Probum, in Illyrico factum, accepere, ingenti belli ſcientia, exercitandiſque varie militibus, ac duranda juventute, prope Hannibalem alterum. Namque ut ille oleis, Africæ pleraque, per legiones, quarum otium Reipublicæ atque ductoribus ſuſpectum rebatur; eadem modo hic Galliam, Pannoniaſque, & Mœſorum colles, vinetis replevit: poſtea ſane quam Barbarorum attritæ gentes ſunt, quæ noſtris principibus, ſuorum ſcelere interfectis, inruperant; ſimul cæſis Saturnino, per orientem; Agrippinæ Bonoſo *(cum)* exercitu; nam utrique dominatum tentaverant, ſumpta, cui duces præerant, manu.

(3) Strabo, *L.* 4. *p.* 268. Narbonenſis Gallia omnia fructuum genera, quæ in Italia naſcuntur, profert. Inde verſus ſeptentrionem & Cemmenum montem progreſſus, ſolum, omnium rerum, oleo & ficu demptis, ferax invenies. Sed & vitis ibi non facile uvas ad maturitatem perducit.

(4) Plinius, *L.* 14. *c.* 4. Aliquando cœli aut ſoli opera non fallunt vetuſtatem, ſicubi Pecenia, & cum ea florens vitis Biturica, acino rarior, &c.

(5) Suetonius, *in Domitian. c.* 7. Ne quis in Italia novellaret, utque in provinciis vineta ſuccciderentur.

(6) V. Tillemont, *p.* 160.

§. LIX. (1) Vicc. *in C. c.* 38. Et quoniam, cognita Probi morte, Barbarorum quiſque opportuna invaſerant, miſſo ad munimentum Galliæ majore filio, Numeriani comitatu, in Meſopotamiam pergit protinus. Vopiſcus *in Caro, c.* 7. Ubi primum accepit Imperium, conſenſu omnium militum bellum Perſicum, quod Probus parabat, aggreſſus eſt, Cæſaribus liberis nuncupatis: & ita quidem, ut Carinum ad Gallias tuendas, cum viris lectiſſimis, deſtinaret: ſecum vero Numerianum adoleſcentem, cum lectiſſimum, tum etiam diſſertiſſimum, duceret.

(2) Vopiscus *in Caro, c.* 8. Ingenti apparatu, & totis viribus Probi, profligato magna

anus, which was ſtruck in Honour of a Victory gained over the *Quadi* (3), refers to this War, as it is not unlikely, the *Quadi* had probably a Share, as well in the Enterprizes of their Neighbours, the *Sarmatæ*, as of their Overthrow. *Carus* was fortunate againſt the *Perſians*; and, after his Death, *Numerianus* continued the War, with the like Succeſs. That *Carinus* was not unactive, on his Part, may be concluded from what *Nemeſianus*, the Poet, who dedicated his Poems to him and *Numerianus*, ſays in Praiſe of both, that they ſubdued the Nations, dwelling about the *Rhine* and *Tygris*; and of *Carinus*, in particular, that he fought valiantly in the *Northern* Parts of the Empire (4). *Nnmerianus* loſt his Life in the *Eaſt*, and *Dioclesian* was proclaimed Emperor in his Room; who, after a bloody War, having at length ſubdued *Carinus*, made great Alterations in the Conſtitution of the *Roman* Empire; an Account of which will be requiſite in the Courſe of the *German* Hiſtory.

na ex parte bello Sarmatico, quod gerebat, contra Perſas profectus, nullo ſibi occurrente, Meſopotamiam cepit, & Cteſiphontem uſque pervenit: c. 9. *he again mentions this* Sarmatian *War*: Bonum Principem Carum fuiſſe, cum multa indicant, tum etiam illud, quod ſtatim adeptus Imperium, Sarmatas, adeo morte Probi feroces, ut invaſuros ſe non ſolum Illyricum, ſed Thracias quoque, Italiamque minarentur, ita inter bella patiendo contudit, ut pauciſſimis diebus Pannonias ſecuritate donaverit, occiſis Sarmatarum XVI millibus, captis diverſi ſexus XX. *In Honour of theſe Victories the* Ludi Sarmatici *were perhaps inſtituted at* Rome, *which* Vopiſcus *mentions in Carino*, *c.* 19. Exhibuit & ludum Sarmaticum, quo dulcius nihil eſt.

(3) *On the one Side is the Emperor's Image, with the Title*, IMP. C. NUMERIANUS. P. F. AUG. COS. *On the Reverſe two Princes are repreſented, ſeated in a triumphal Char, drawn by four Horſes, with the Inſcription*; TRIUMPHUS QUADORUM. V. Banduri, l. c. p. 516. *he produces* l. c. n. 3. *the various Conjectures of the Learned about the Explanation of this Reverſe.*

(4) NEMESIANUS *in libro Cynegeticôn*, *v.* 63-83.

Mox veſtros meliore lyra memorare triumphos,
Accingar, Divi fortiſſima pignora Cari,
Atque canam noſtrum geminis ſub finibus orbis
Litus, & edomitas fraterno numine gentes,
Quæ Rhenum, Tigrimque bibunt, Arariſque remotum
Principium, Nilique bibunt ab origine fontem.
Nec taceam primum quæ nuper bella ſub arcto
Felici, Carine, manu confeceris, ipſo
Pæne prior genitore Deo; utque intima frater
Perſidos, & veteres Babylonos ceperit arces,
Ultus Romulei violata cacumina regni.
Imbellemque fugam referam, clauſaſque pharetras
Parthorum, laxoſque arcus, & ſpicula nulla.
Hæc nobis noſtræ libabunt carmina Muſæ,
Cum primum vultus ſacros, bona Numina terræ,
Contigerit vidiſſe mihi. jam gaudia nota
Temporis impatiens ſenſus, ſpretorque morarum,
Præſumit: videorque mihi jam cernere fratrum
Auguſtos habitus, Romam, clarumque Senatum,
Et fidos ad bella duces, & milite multo
Agmina, queis fortes animat devotio mentes.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ANCIENT GERMANS.

BOOK VI.

To the Concluſion of the Wars which the FRANKS and ALEMANNI waged with JULIAN.

SECT. I. THE Burgundians, Alemanni *and* Heruli *invade* Gaul. II. *The* Franks *and* Saxons *infeſt the Coaſts of the* Roman *Provinces. The Origin of the* Saxons. III. Carauſius *enters into a League with the* Germans, *particularly the* Franks. IV. Maximian *is ſucceſful againſt the* Franks, *and* Diocletian *againſt the* Alemanni. V. Carauſius *maintains his Poſſeſſion of* Britain. VI. *Domeſtick Wars of the* Goths, Vandals, Thuringi, Alemanni *and* Burgundians. VII. Diocletian *changes the Conſtitution of the Empire: Diviſion of the Provinces.* VIII. Conſtantius *arms himſelf againſt* Carauſius: *Makes War with the* Franks. IX. Galerius *ſubdues the* Marcomanni, Carpi, Quadi *and* Baſtarnæ. X. Conſtantius *recovers* Britain: *The* Romans *ſurprize the* Franks *in* London. XI. Conſtantius *beats the* Alemanni *near* Langres. XII. *Affairs with the* Goths, Marcomanni, *&c.* XIII. Diocletian *and* Maximian *reſign the Imperial Title to* Conſtantius *and* Galerius. XIV. Conſtantine *ſucceeds his Father in the Empire: Services done him, on this Occaſion, by the* Alemanni. Galerius *allows him the Title of* Cæſar. XV. *He paſſes the* Rhine *againſt the* Franks. XVI.

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against

against the Quadi *and* Sarmatæ: LVI. *And drives the* Sarmatæ Limigantes *out of the Neighbourhood of the* Theis. LVII. *They are soon after exterminated.* LVIII. Julian *surprizes the* Salii, *in* Toxandria; *and defeats an Army of the* Chamavi. LIX. *He obliges* Suomarus *and* Hortarius, *two Princes of the* Alemanni, *to sue for Peace*: LX. *And causes the* Roman *Forts along the* Rhine *to be rebuilt.* LXI. *He thereupon passes the* Rhine: LXII. *Ravages* Alemannia, *as far as the Confines of the* Burgundians; LXIII. *And is proclaimed Emperor in* Gaul. LXIV. *Fresh Commotions among the* Alemanni. Julian *invades their Dominions*: LXV. *And from thence advances farther against* Constantius.

The *Burgundians*, *Alemanni*, and *Heruli* invade *Gaul.*

§ I. THE *Alemanni* and *Franks* are introduced in the preceding Book, as infesting the *Upper* and *Lower-Rhine*: The *Burgundians* join the former: The *Juthungi* and *Vandals* attempt, together with the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi*, to pass the *Danube*: The *Goths* plunder *Mæsia* and *Thrace*; and the neighbouring *Sarmatæ* act, in most of these Wars, in Community with the *Germans*. As the *Roman* Historians mention them all only on Occasion of their Wars, I have been obliged almost always to represent them in the Field; and as we have no other Accounts of them, but from their Enemies, I could not avoid taking too frequent Notice of their Defeats. But the Sequel of the History itself, in which these Nations, whose total Extirpation is so often boasted of, always appear again with fresh Vigour, puts me in mind of the Confession of *Tacitus*; that *Rome* beheld more *German* Victories, in the Triumphs of her Emperors, than were actually obtained in the Field. This Book will give more explicit Accounts of the *Alemanni*, and of the growing Power of the *Franks*. The *Burgundians* and *Vandals* distinguish themselves more and more: The Name of the *Thuringians* makes its first Appearance: The *Saxons* acquire Fame by their Naval Expeditions; and even the *East-Sea*, which has been hitherto viewed only at a Distance, in *German* History, becomes more known, by the Irruptions of the bordering Nations. We shall here more particularly find the Rise of the *German* Churches, when the *Christian* Religion gained Ground, under *Constantine*; and the Churches in *Germany*, *Rætia* and *Noricum*, which, together with the greatest Part of the People, who owe their Conversion to them, at present appertain to the *German* Empire, begun to make a considerable Figure. But the *German* History is still so connected with that of the *Romans*, that, to illustrate the former, I shall be obliged frequently to take Notice of the latter. *Diocletian*, imagining the Government to be too great a Weight for one Person,

immediately

immediately † admitted *Maximian* (1), whoſe Valour he was well † A. C. 286.
aſſured of, and from whom, at the ſame Time, he had nothing to fear, to a Share in the Empire. *Maximian* was at firſt dignified with the Title of *Cæſar* only; and, in Honour of *Hercules*, he aſſumed the Surname of *Herculeus*, as *Diocletian* did that of *Jovianus* in Honour of *Jupiter*. *Diocletian* gave him the Command in *Gaul*, where, during the domeſtick Broils, the Populace had taken up Arms, and *Maximian* was ſo fortunate, that, in the enſuing Year, he entirely quelled thoſe Commotions (2).

HE had ſcarce put an End to them, when the *Burgundians*, as in the Time of *Probus*, again allied themſelves to the *Alemanni*, who, together with them, border'd on the Confines of *Rætia*, and invaded *Gaul*; while the *Heruli* and *Chaibones* advanced, at the ſame Time, from the *Northern* Parts of *Germany*, where they dwelt near the *Eaſt-Sea*. The great Number of the *Burgundians* and *Alemanni* proved fatal to themſelves; for being deſtitute of ſufficient Proviſions, Famine cauſed infectious Diſeaſes among them, whereby they periſhed without the Aſſiſtance of the *Roman* Sword: But *Maximian* marched himſelf againſt the *Heruli* and *Chaibones*; and his Panegyriſt ſays, he ſo entirely routed them, that not ſo much as one ſurvived to carry home the News of their Overthrow (3).

§. (1) M. AVRELIVS VALERIVS MAXIMIANVS.

(2) CLAUD. MAMERTINI *panegyricus*, *inter* 12. *panegyricos veteres*, I. c. 4.

(3) IDEM. *c.* 5. Cum neque ſolum Burgundiones & Alamani, ſed etiam Chaibones Erulique, viribus primi barbarorum, locis ultimi, præcipiti impetu in has provincias irruiſſent, quis Deus tam inſperatam ſalutem nobis attuliſſet, niſi tu adfuiſſes? Tu enim divinæ providentiæ, imperator, conſilio prius, quam vi bellum gerendum ratus, cæteros quidem perduelles, quibus ipſa peſtifera multitudo, ire paſſus es in profundam famem, & ex fame in peſtilentiam, mox ad triumphi ornamenta capienda militum manibus uſurus; Chaibones tamen Eruloſque non dignatus pari aſtu perdere: atque, ut interim divina virtus tua exercitatione ſolita non careret, aperto Marte atque uno impetu perculiſti, non univerſo ad id prœlium uſus exercitu, ſed paucis cohortibus. . . . . Ita cuncti Chaibones, Erulique cuncti tanta internecione cæſi interfectique ſunt, ut exſtinctos eos relictis domi conjugibus ac matribus non profugus aliquis e prœlio, ſed victoriæ tuæ gloria nuntiaret. *He calls them afterwards* Caviones. vid. infra, §. V. not. 3. Phil. Cluverius *ſuppoſes*, *with great Probability*, *theſe* Chaibones, *or* Caviones, *were the ſame Nation*, *which* Tacitus de M. G. c. 40. *calls* Aviones; *and mentions as Neighbours of the* Angli *and* Varini. *The* Heruli *dwelt on the* Eaſt-Sea, *called by the Panegyriſt* Sinus Codanus; *and* Sidonius Apollinaris *ſays of them*, L. 8. ep. 9.

Hic glaucis Herulus genis vagatur
Imos oceani colens receſſus
Algoſo prope concolor profundo.

Cluverius *imagines them to be the People*, *whom* Tacitus *calls* Lemovii, *and who dwelt on the right Side of the* Viſtula. *It appears moreover from hence*, *that what has been ſaid above*, L. 5. §. 43. *in* Gallienus's *Times*, *of the Overthrow of the* Heruli, *is not meant of the whole Nation*, *but of one Colony only*, *which ſwarmed as far as the* Pontus Euxinus.

The *Franks* and *Saxons* inſeſt the Coaſts of the *Roman* Provinces.

§. II. The *Saxons*, and other *German* Nations, who dwelt on the *North-Sea*, infeſted, about the ſame Time, the *Belgick* and *Armorick* Coaſts of *Gaul*. It will be neceſſary to make a ſhort Digreſſion, at this firſt Mention of a Nation, whoſe Colonies in *Britain* founded one of the moſt conſiderable Kingdoms of the *Weſt*; which afterwards became ſo powerful in *Germany* itſelf, that their Princes, for a Time, moſt deſervedly filled the Imperial Throne. Various and ſtrange were formerly the Conjectures about the Origin of the *Saxons* (1); ſome deriving them from the *Saci* in *Aſia*, and even *Wittekind*, their moſt ancient Hiſtorian in *Germany*, mentions his having been informed, that the *Saxons* were of *Grecian* Extraction, and their Riſe from the Army of *Alexander* the Great: But I need not now go about to prove, what is already ſo well known, that they were originally *Germans*, who took their Appellation from thoſe Knives or Swords, which they made Uſe of, and were, in their Language, called *Sachs* (2). The Name of *Saxons* is not mentioned in *Tacitus*, *de Moribus Germanorum*: But *Ptolemy* ſpeaks of them as a People, who dwelt on the right Side of the *Elb*, in *Cherſoneſus Cimbrica*, where *Holſtein* is now ſituated, and in the oppoſite Iſles of the *North-Sea* (3). In this Country, they became ſo renowned, that other Nations, and, it ſeems, even the Remainder of the *Cimbri*, mentioned by *Tacitus*, were included in the Name of *Saxons*. They bordered, towards the *North*, on the *Danes*, and the Geographer of *Ravenna* aſſigns, in his Time, the preſent *Eyder* for the Confines of both Nations (4); whoſe Affinity may beſides

§. II. (1) V. Nicol. Schatenius, *in hiſt. Weſtphalica*, L. 3. p. 172.

(2) Vitechindus, *L.* 1. Fuerunt autem, qui ab hoc facinore nomen illis inditum tradunt. Cultelli enim noſtra lingua SAHS dicuntur, ideoque Saxones nuncupatos, quia cultellis tantam multitudinem fudiſſent. *In* Nennius's Hiſtoria Britonum, *the* Saxon *Prince*, Hengiſt, *is introduced as giving the Word of Command to his Men:* NIMED EVRE SAHES. in Excerpt. Leibn. p. 35. Nic. Schatenius *ſays*, l. c. p. 177. *that, in his Time, the Word* Sachs *was uſed, in ſome Places of* Weſtphalia, *to ſignify a Knife.* Uſus hujus vocis hodiedum in Saterlandia obtinet, apud incolas priſci ſermonis retinentiſſimos, apud quos, ut coram audivi loquentes, SACHS cultrum ſonat. *This Derivation appeared likewiſe very probable to Mr.* Leibnitz, *in not. ad excerpta e Vitichindo*, p. 71.

(3) Ptolemæus, *L.* 2. *c.* 2. Poſt hos Cauchi, qui appellantur parvi, uſque ad fluvium Viſurgim: poſt hos Cauchi majores dicti, uſque ad Albim fluvium. Deinde ſupra dorſum Cimbricæ Cherſoneſi SAXONES. Stephanus Byzantinus, *p.* 586. Saxones, *gens habitans in Cimbrica Cherſoneſo. Of theſe Iſlands* Ptolemy *ſays, l. c.* Inſulæ Germanicæ adjacent juxta Albis fl. oſtia tres, SAXONUM appellatæ. *Mr.* Leibnitz *obſerves in* excerpt. ad h. l. p. 17. *that the Iſlands* Strand *and* Heiligen Land, *are underſtood here.*

(4) Geograph. Ravennas, *L.* 4. *c.* 17. Confinalis prænominatæ Daniæ eſt patria, quæ nominatur Saxonia. Quæ antiquitus & ipſa ex Dania pertinere dicebatur. Quæ patria,

beſides be proved from the ancient Reſemblance of their Languages and Manners. As other *German* Nations ſought their Fortunes by Land, the *Saxons*, on the contrary, aggrandized themſelves by their Navigation, which they followed with no leſs Application, than their Neighbours, the *Chauci* and *Friſii*: For they, together with the *Angles*, eſtabliſhed themſelves in *Britain*, and, if we may give Credit to the Relation of *Wittekind*, came likewiſe by Sea to the *German* Countries on the other Side of the *Elb* (5).

Carauſius enters into a League with the *Germans*; particularly the *Franks*.

§ III. *MAXIMIAN* employ'd *Carauſius*, an experienced Seaman, to clear the Ocean of the *Saxons* and *Franks*. He was a Native of the Country of the *Menapii*, had, from his Youth, ſerved at Sea (as it ſeems) among the *Batavi* (1), and afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the War with the *Bagaudæ* (2). *Carauſius* way-laid the *Germans*, near *Bologne*, when they were returning home from their Piracies, and took all their Booty from them: But he kept moſt of it for his own Uſe; inſomuch that neither the Loſers, nor the Imperial Treaſury, were the better for it. This gave Room for a Suſpicion, that *Carauſius* had purpoſely ſuffered the *Franks* and *Saxons* to paſs unmoleſted, at their ſetting out, that, on their Return, he might take their Booty, or ſhare it with them. *Maximian* is ſaid to have given Orders to put him to Death; but *Carauſius*, being apprized of them, ſailed with the Fleet, which 'till then was intended to ſecure the *Gallick* Coaſt, over to *Britain*, where he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Emperor (3). He had before made himſelf Maſter of *Bologne*, and

patria, ut ait Marcomiras, Gothorum philoſophus doctiſſimus, quidem profert homines, & audaces, ſed non ſic veloces, ut ſunt Dani, qui juxta DINA fluvium. *Mr.* Leibnitz *ſuppoſes*, p. 29. in not. (h) *that this River*, Dine, *or* Dena, *gave Riſe to the Name of* Danes, *and proves, not improbably, that it afterwards received the Name of the* Eyder.

(5) VITICHINDUS *Annal. L.* 1. Pro certo autem novimus, Saxones his regionibus navibus advectos, & loco primum applicuiſſe, qui uſque hodie nuncupatur HADOLAUM. *But* Wittekind's *Relation ſeems, in the Circumſtances which follow, to be ſomewhat fabulous.*

§. III. (1) *An ancient Orator calls him* Alumnus Bataviæ. *See the Paſſage*, ad §. VIII. not. 3.

(2) AUREL. VICTOR. *in Cæſ. c.* 39. Quo bello Carauſius, Menapiæ civis, factis promtioribus enituit: eoque eum, ſimul quia gubernandi gnarus habebatur, parandæ claſſi, ac propulſandis Germanis, maria infeſtantibus, præfecere.

(3) EUTROPIUS, *L.* 9. *c.* 13. Per hæc tempora etiam Carauſius, qui viliſſime natus, in ſtrenuæ militiæ ordine famam egregiam fuerat conſecutus, cum apud Bononiam, per tractum Belgicæ & Armoricæ, pacandum mare accepiſſet, quod FRANCI & SAXONES infeſtabant, multis barbaris ſæpe captis, nec præda integra aut provincialibus reddita, aut imperatoribus miſſa, ſuſpicio eſſe cœpiſſet, conſulto ab eo admitti barbaros, ut tranſeuntes cum præda exciperet, atque hac ſe occaſione ditaret, Maximiani Herculii metu, a quo ſe cædi juſſum compererat, purpuram ſumſit, & Britannias, hauſto imperio, capeſſivit.

thereby ſecured the *Streight*, on both Sides, and opened a free Paſſage into *Gaul*. The *Britons*, to a Man, and even the *Roman* Legions, garriſon'd there, declared for him. They thought themſelves now the more ſecure from Piracies, ſince the whole Naval Power of the *Romans*, in thoſe Seas, was come to *Britain*. *Carauſius* made, moreover, a League with the *Germans*, by whom we are here chiefly to underſtand the *Franks*, *Saxons* and *Friſii*. He furniſhed them with Ships and experienced Sea-Officers, who inſtructed them more and more in Navigation, and the Manner of fighting at Sea (4). Theſe not only infeſted the Coaſts of *Gaul*; but the *Franks*, on this Occaſion, likewiſe invaded *Batavia*, from which Province the *Romans* might otherwiſe have had their greateſt Succour, towards the intended Equipment of a new Fleet. The Sequel will ſhew, how *Conſtantius* at laſt drove them out of *Batavia*.

† A.C. 288. *Maximian* is ſucceſsful againſt the *Franks*, and *Diocletian* againſt the *Alemanni*.

§. IV. In the next enſuing Year †, *Maximian* made all poſſible Preparations for fitting out a Fleet againſt *Carauſius*, and had, in the mean Time, ſeveral Differences with ſome of the *German* Nations. He defeated a Body of the Enemy, which had advanced to the Neighbourhood of *Triers*, on the very Day of his ſecond Acceſſion to the Conſulſhip (1). He paſſed the *Rhine*, the ſame Year, and penetrated

(4) Eumenius *orat. inter paneg.* 4. *c.* 12. Iſto vero nefario latrocinio abducta primum a fugiente pirata (*Carauſio*) claſſe, quæ olim Gallias tuebatur, ædificatis præterea plurimis in noſtrum modum navibus, occupata legione Romana, intercluſis aliquot peregrinorum militum cuneis, contractis ad dilectum mercatoribus Gallicanis, ſollicitatis, per ſpolia ipſarum provinciarum, non mediocribus copiis barbarorum, atque iis omnibus ad munia nautica flagitii illius auctoris magiſterio eruditis, exercitibus autem noſtris, licet invictis virtute, tamen in re maritima novis, malam coaluiſſe ex indigniſſimo latrocinio belli molem audiebamus, licet de exitu fideremus.

§. IV. (1) Mamert. *I. c.* 6. Illum tamen primum conſulatus tui auſpicalem diem tacitus præterire nullo modo poſſum: quo tu ſolus omnium conſecutus es, ut, quod tempus antea incipiendis tantummodo rebus aptum videbatur, tunc primum potuerit ſufficere peragendis; unoque ſol corriculo ſuo eoque breviſſimo, & officia te conſulis inchoantem videret, & imperatoris implentem. Vidimus te, Cæſar, eodem die pro republica & vota ſuſcipere, & conjuncta debere, quod enim optaveras in futurum, feciſti continuo tranſactum: ut mihi ipſa deorum auxilia, quæ præcatus eras, præveniſſe videaris, &, quidquid illi promiſerant, ante feciſſe. Vidimus te, Cæſar, eodem die & in clariſſimo pacis habitu, & in pulcherrimo virtutis ornatu. Bona venia Deum dixerim, ne Jupiter quidem ipſe tanta celeritate faciem cœli ſui variat, quam facile tu, imperator, togam prætextam ſumpto thorace mutaſti, haſtam poſito ſcipione rapuiſti, a tribunali temet in campum, a curuli in equum tranſtuliſti, & rurſus ex acie cum triumpho rediiſti: totamque hanc urbem, repentina tua in hoſtes eruptione ſollicitam, lætitia & exſultatione, & aris flagrantibus, & ſacrificiis, & odoribus accenſis numini tuo, impleſti. Ita utroque illius diei ſupremo tempore bis divina res pari religione celebrata eſt, Jovi, dum pro futuris vovetur; tibi, dum pro victoria ſolvitur.

pretty

pretty far into *Germany*, where he encounter'd the *Franks*; as appears from the Panegyrick, ſpoken by *Mamertinus*, in the Honour of him, at *Triers*, where he kept his Court (2). And there we find, moreover, that a *Franconian* Prince, was, by *Maximian*'s Authority, reſtored to his Dominion over that Nation, which before had been diſputed (3): And, by another Paſſage, that *Maximian* peopled ſeveral Deſarts, belonging to the *Treviri* and *Nervii*, with a good Number of *Franks* (4). *Diocletian* invaded, about the very ſame Time, from the other Side, by the Way of *Rætia*, the Country of the *Alemanni* (5), and

(2) *He praiſes this Expedition*, panegyr. *I. c.* 7. Tale igitur auſpicium illius anni quid ſequebatur, niſi novum aliquod & ingens miraculum? Quod autem majus evenire potuit, illa tua in Germaniam tranſgreſſione? qua tu, primus omnium imperatorum, probaſti Romani imperii nullum eſſe terminum, niſi qui tuorum eſſet armorum. Atqui Rhenum antea videbatur ipſa ſic natura duxiſſe, ut eo limite Romanæ provinciæ ab immanitate barbariæ vindicarentur. Et quis unquam ante vos principes non gratulatus eſt, Gallias illo amne muniri? quando non cum ſummo metu noſtro Rheni alveum minuit diu ſerena tempeſtas? quando non cum ſecuritate noſtra illius diluvia creverunt. *And he proceeds thus:* Tu autem, imperator invicte, feras illas indomitaſque gentes vaſtatione, prœliis, cœdibus, ferro ignique domuiſti. Herculei generis hoc factum eſt, virtuti debere quod vindicat. Exinde igitur ſoluto animo ac libero ſumus. Licet Rhenus areſcat, tenuique lapſu vix læves calculos perſpicuo vado pellat, nullus inde metus eſt. Quicquid ultra Rhenum proſpicio, Romanum eſt.

(3) ID. *ib. c.* 10. Per te regnum recepit Genobon: *al. Genobaudes*, Eſatech *al. Atceb.* vero munus accepit. Quid enim ille aliud expetivit ad conſpectum cum omni ſua gente veniendo, niſi ut tunc demum integra autoritate regnaret, cum te, Maximiane, placaſſet? oſtendi ille te identidem ut audio popularibus ſuis, & intueri diu juſſit, & obſequia diſcere, cum tibi ipſe ſerviret.

(4) *V. locum infr.* § VIII. *not.* 4.

(5) PANEGYR. I. *c.* 9. Ingreſſus eſt nuper illam, quæ Rætis eſt objecta, Germaniam; ſimilique virtute Romanum limitem victoriæ protulit. *In another Panegyrick theſe Exploits of* Maximian, *on the one Side, and* Diocletian, *on the other, are ſpoken of promiſculouſly:* Panegyr. *II. c.* 5. Taceo tropæa Germanica, in media defixa barbaria. tranſeo limitem Rætiæ, repentina hoſtium clade promotum. omitto Sarmatiæ vaſtationem, oppreſſumque captivitatis vinculis Saracenum: etiam illa, quæ armorum veſtrorum terrore facta ſunt, velut armis geſta, prætereo, Francos ad petendam pacem cum rege venientes, Parthumque vobis munerum miraculis blandientem. *And in the ſame Oration, c. 7. the Oratior praiſes the two Emperors for ſo equally ſharing the Fruits of their Victories:* Laurea illa, devictis accolentibus Syriam nationibus, & illa Rætica, & illa Sarmatica te, Maximiane, fecerunt pio gaudio triumphare. Itidem hic gens Cavionum Erulorumque deleta, tranſrhenana victoria, & domitis oppreſſa Francis bella piratica, Diocletianum votorum compotem reddiderunt. *Hither muſt be likewiſe referr'd* Eumenius's *Words*, IV. *c.* 3. O Kalendæ Martiæ, ſicuti olim annorum volventium, ita nunc æternorum auſpices imperatorum! quanta enim, invictiſſimi principes, & vobis & reipublicæ ſæcula propagatis, orbis veſtri participando tutelam? cujus licet eſſet, omni hoſte perdomito, certa ſecuritas, nimios tamen in diverſa diſcurſus vel reviſenda poſcebat. Partho quippe ultra Tigrim redacto, Dacia reſtituta, porrectis uſque ad Danubii caput Germaniæ Rætiæque limitibus, deſtinata Bataviæ Britanniæque vindicta, gubernacula majora quærebat aucta, atque augenda reſpublica, & qui Romanæ potentiæ terminos virtute protulerant, imperium filio pietate debebant.

extended

extended the *Roman* Confines to the Source of the *Danube*. On Account of theſe Victories, both Emperors aſſumed the Surnames of *Francicus*, *Alemannicus*, and *Gothicus*, and bore them on their Inſcriptions (6), one of which I ſhall here tranſcribe:

IMPP. CAESARES. C. AURELIUS. VALERIUS. DIOCLETIANUS. JOVIUS. ET. M. AURELIUS. VALERIUS. MAXIMIANUS. HERCULIUS. IIV. IMPERATORES. PII. FELICES. AUGUSTI. PERSICI. FRANCICI. ALEMANNICI. GOTHICI. GERMANICI.

Carauſius maintains his Poſſeſſion of *Britain*. † A. C. 289.

§. V. The Fleet, which *Maximian* had equipp'd againſt *Carauſius*, put to Sea, the next enſuing Year †; but prov'd ineffectual againſt ſo experienc'd a Sea-Commander, whoſe Fleet was beſides much better mann'd; which even the Emperor's Panegyriſt himſelf could not conceal (1). A Medal is yet extant of *Carauſius*, referring to a Peace, between the three Emperors (2); from whence we may conclude, that *Maximian* made Peace with him, and allow'd him the Imperal Title, with a quiet Poſſeſſion of *Britain* (3), which he actually enjoy'd for ſeveral Years.

Domeſtick Wars of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Thuringi* and *Burgundians*.

§. VI. An Oration ſpoken about this Time, in Honour of *Maximian*, the Emperor *, acquaints us with the bloody Wars carried on among thoſe *German* Nations, who dwelt between the *Elb*, the Eaſt-Sea, and the *Danube*, as far as the Black-Sea (1). The *Goths* fell upon, and ſub-

(6) Ex Onuphrio Panvinio *conf.* Hadr. Valeſius *rerum Francicarum*, lib. I. p. 22.

§. V. (1) *See above*, §. IV. *not.* 5.

(2) PAX AUGGG.

(3) *Chronologiæ, a Card.* Norifio *aſſertæ, rationem ulterius reddit* Tillem. in not. 8. ad vit. Diocl.

§. VI. * Cl. Mamertini *genethliacus Maximiano Aug. dictus inter panegyricos veteres* no. 2. *De anno, quo habitus, non conſtat. Apparet tamen, poſt quinquennalia Maximiani & ante decennalia dictum.*

(1) Mamertinus 2. *c.* 16. Illud vero, non ſuggeratur licet, quoquo modo dicam antequam deſinam: tantam eſſe imperii veſtri felicitatem, ut undique ſe barbaræ nationes viciſſim lacerent, & excidant, alternis dimicationibus & inſidiis clades ſuas duplicent & inſtaurent, Sarmaticas veſtras, & Ræticas & tranſrhenanas expeditiones furore percitæ in ſemet incitentur. Sancte Jupiter, & Hercules bone, tandem bella civilia ad gentes, illa veſania dignas tranſtuliſtis, omnemque illam rabiem extra terminos hujus imperii in terras hoſtium diſtuliſtis. Etenim quod ait ille Romani carminis primus autor:

A ſole exoriente ad uſque Mæotis paludes;

id nunc longius protendere licet, ſi quis hoſtilem in mutua clade veſaniam toto orbe percenſeat. Etenim ab ipſo ſolis ortu non modo hac citra Mœotin ſub extrema ſeptentrionis plaga, qua fervidum caput Danubius evoluit, quaq; horridus ſecat Albis Germaniam, ſed etiam ſub ipſo lucis occaſu, qua Tingitanum litus Calpetano monti obvium latus in mediterraneos ſinus admittit oceanum, ruunt omnes in ſanguinem ſuum populi, quibus nunquam contigit eſſe Romanis, obſtinatæque feritatis pœnas nunc ſponte perſolvunt.

dued

dued the *Burgundians*, in Favour of whom the *Alemanni* took up Arms: And the *Thuringi*, a *Gothick* Nation, aſſiſted by the *Thaifali*, waged War with the *Vandals* (2) and *Gepidæ* (3). Tho' we cannot relate any farther Circumſtances of theſe Wars, yet, by this brief Account, we have the leſs Reaſon to wonder, when we find theſe Nations who inhabited the extream Borders of the Eaſt-Sea, approaching the *Rhine* and the *Danube*. It was not long before the *Burgundians* attack'd the *Alemanni*, and took from them a Tract of Land: But theſe, recovering again, diſpoſſeſs'd the Conquerors (4). We ſhall, in the Sequel, meet with more explicit Relations of the Bickerings between theſe two bordering Nations; particularly, that they were frequently at War, on Account of ſome Salt-Springs, on their Borders (5).

§. VII. IN the Year 292, the *Roman* Empire was in a perilous State, on every Side. *Narſes*, King of *Perſia*, extended his Power in the *Eaſt*: *Achilleus* aſſumed the Imperial Dignity, in *Egypt*: The *Quingentiani* were in Arms in *Africa*, and *Italy* itſelf was not free from Troubles: But *Maximian* could not well leave *Gaul*, whilſt *Carauſius* was Maſter of *Britain*. *Diocletian*, therefore, ſo far altered the Conſtitution of the Empire, that he gave *Maximian* the Title of *Auguſtus*, and created two new *Cæſars*, who were inveſted with the ſupreme Command over the Armies and Lieutenants in the Provinces. This Honour was conferr'd on *Conſtantius Chlorus* and *Galerius*, both Natives of *Pannonia*. *Galerius* was adopted by *Diocletian*, and *Conſtantius* by *Maximian*: And that their Alliance might be ſtill more firmly fix'd, both were obliged to abandon their Wives; and *Conſtantius* to marry *Maximian*'s Daughter, *Theodora*, as *Galerius* was to marry *Valeria* the Daughter of *Diocletian*.

Diocletian changes the Conſtitution of the Empire: Diviſion of the Provinces. A. C. 292.

(2) PROCOPIUS, *who knew the* Goths *as well as the* Vandals, *and has related the Wars carried on by* Juſtinian *againſt both, ſhews*, L. I. Vandal, *that the* Vandals *and* Goths *uſed one Language*; *and* de bello Gothico L. IV. *c.* 5. *he likewiſe ſays*; Hinc longius ſiti erant Gothi, Viſigothi, Vandali, aliique omnes populi Gothici.

(3) MAMERT. *II. c.* 17. Gothi Burgundios penitus exſcindunt. Rurſum pro victis armantur Alamanni: itemque Theruingi, pars alia Gothorum, adjuncta manu Thaifalorum, adverſum Vandalos Gipedeſque concurrunt. Ha. Valeſius, *is indeed*, rer. Fr. Lib. I. p. 51. *of Opinion, that inſtead of* Alemanni, *we ought here to read* Alani: *But the common Reading is ſafer: As the* Burgundi *and* Alamanni *are beſides known to have been Neighbours about this Time.*

(4) IDEM. *l. c.* Burgundiones Alemanorum agros occupavere, ſed ſua quoque clade quæſitos. Alamanni terras amiſere, ſed repetunt. O magnam vim numinis veſtri! non iſtæ modo, aliæque gentes, viribus armiſque terribiles, fiducia inſtructæ ad perniciem immanitatis utuntur, ſed etiam Blemyes illi, (ut audio) levibus modo adſueti ſagittis, adverſus Æthiopas, quærunt, quæ non habent arma, & pæne nudis odiis prœlia internecina committunt. *And c.* 18. *he ſays*, p. 53. Barbari ad arma concurrunt, ſed invicem dimicaturi: vicere barbari, ſed conſanguineos ſuos.

(5) *See* L. 7. §. 8.

They

They were both, at the ſame Time, dignified with the Titles of *Imperator*, *Pater Patriæ*, *Pontifex Maximus*, and inveſted with the *Tribunitia Poteſtas*; which, till then, had been enjoy'd by none but Emperors-Regent. The Empire itſelf was now divided; an Attempt no Emperor had before dar'd to make: And, according to the beſt Conjectures, *Diocletian* retained for himſelf all the Countries beyond the *Ægean* Sea: *Galerius* obtain'd *Thrace* and *Illyricum*: *Maximian* kept *Africa*, *Italy*, and probably *Noricum*, *Rætia* and *Upper-Pannonia*; and left to *Conſtantius*, *Gaul* and *Spain*; with the *Tingetanian Mauritania*, which was reckon'd as a Dependancy of the latter: But tho' the Government itſelf was divided among four Princes, and each, to the great Oppreſſion of the Provinces, kept a ſeparate Court; yet did it ſo far retain the Appearance of an united Monarchy, that, what one of the Emperors undertook, was carried on in the Name of both; and likewiſe whoever expected a Favour of one, addreſs'd his Petition to both.

Conſtantius arms himſelf againſt *Carauſius*: makes War with the *Franks*.

§. VIII. AFTER this Partition, *Galerius* march'd to the *Eaſt*, againſt the *Perſians*; in which War, *Jornandes* repreſents the *Goths* as highly ſerviceable to him (1). *Maximian* undertook the carrying on of the War in *Africa*, and left *Conſtantius* in *Gaul*. The latter attempted to recover *Britain*; the Peace with *Carauſius* being either not fully concluded, or ſoon after broken. He took indeed *Bologne*; but, as the Fleet was not in Readineſs; could not yet paſs over to *Britain*. In the mean Time, while Ships were building every where on the Coaſts (2), he fell upon the *Franks*, who, by the Aſſiſtance of *Carauſius*, had eſtabliſh'd themſelves in *Batavia*, that they might not be in a Condition, to make a powerful Diverſion, during the enſuing War (3). He was ſo fortunate to ſubdue them, and tranſported ſeveral Thouſands of them

§. VIII. (1) *See the Words of* Jornandes, §. XIII. *not.* 2.

(2) EUMEN. VI. *c.* 5. Qui aſcitus imperio, primo adventu ſuo innumerabili hoſtium claſſe ferventem excluſit oceanum, exercituque illum, qui Bononienſis oppidi litus inſederat, terra pariter ac mari ſepſit. IDEM 4. *c.* 6. Statim itaque Gallias tuas, Cæſar, veniendo feciſti. Siquidem illa celeritas, qua omnes ortus atque adventus tui nuntios prætervertiſti, cepit oppreſſam Geſoriacenſibus muris pertinacem tunc errore miſero manum piraticæ factionis, atque illis olim mari fretis adluentem portas ademit oceanum. In quo divina providentia tua, & par conſilio effectus apparuit, qui omnem ſinum illum portus, quem ſtatis vicibus æſtus alternat, defixis in aditu trabibus, ingeſtiſque ſaxis, invium navibus reddidiſti, atque ipſam loci naturam admirabili ratione ſuperaſti, quum mare fruſtra reciprocum prohibitis fuga quaſi illudere videretur, jamque nullo uſu juvaret incluſos, quaſi redire deſiiſſet. *And*, Chap. 7, *he proceeds thus*: Potuiſſet illo virtutis ac felicitatis tuæ impetu totum peragi bellum, niſi ædificandis navibus dari tempus rei neceſſitudo ſuaviſſet.

(3) EUMENIUS *panegyr.* VI. *c.* 5. Dum ædificandis claſſibus Britanniæ recuperatio comparatur, terram Bataviam, ſub ipſo quondam alumno ſuo *Carauſio* a diverſis Francorum gentibus occupatam, omni hoſte purgavit.

to

to *Gaul*, where they were eſtabliſhed in ſome Countries belonging to the *Treviri* and *Nervii*, which had been laid entirely waſte, during the late Wars (4). *Eumenius* (5), his Panegyriſt, ſays, in Honour to him, that he led an Army over the *Rhine*, ravaged the whole Country quite to the *Danube*, and took one of the moſt potent *German* Princes Captive. By this Victory, he obtained the Name of *Germanicus*, as we ſee by the following Inſcription, erected in Honour of his Conſulate, A. 294, at *Nicomedia*.

OPTIMO. BENIGNISSIMOQ. PRINCIPI. FLAVIO.
VALERIO. CONSTANTIO. NOB. CAESARI.
GERMANICO. MAX. CONS. COLONIA.
NICOMEDIENSIUM. D. N. M. Q. EIUS.

§. IX. AT the ſame Time, while *Conſtantius* was at War with the *Franks*, *Diocletian* was employed to ſecure the Confines on the

Galerius ſubdues the *Marcomanni*, *Carpi*, *Quadi* and *Baſtarnæ*.

(4) *The ſame Orator deſcribes this Expedition more at large.* panegyr. 4. *c.* 8. *ſq.* Quanquam illa regio divinis expeditionibus tuis, Cæſar, vindicata atque purgata, quam obliquis meatibus Vahalis interfluit, quam divortio ſuo Rhenus amplectitur, pæne (ut cum verbi periculo loquar) terra non eſt. Ita penitus aquis imbuta permaduit, ut non ſolum, qua manifeſte paluſtris eſt, cedat ad nixum, & hauriat preſſa veſtigium, ſed etiam ubi paulo videtur firmior, pedum pulſu tentata quatiatur, & ſentire ſe procul mota pondus teſtetur. Ita, ut res eſt, ſubjacentibus innatat, & ſuſpenſa late vacillat, ut merito quis duxerit, exercendum fuiſſe tali ſolo militem ad navale certamen. Sed neque illæ fraudes locorum, nec quæ plura inerant perfugia ſilvarum barbaros tegere potuerunt, quo minus ditioni tuæ divinitatis omnes ſeſe dedere cogerentur; & cum conjugiis ac liberis ceteroque examine neceſſitudinum, ac rerum ſuarum, ad loca olim deſerta tranſirent: ut, quæ fortaſſe ipſi quondam deprædando vaſtaverant, culta redderent ſurviendo. *He thereupon deſcribes* Cap. 9. *very elegantly, how the Priſoners were diſpoſed of, and concludes:* Arat ergo mihi nunc Chamavus, & Friſius, & ille vagus, ille prædator, exercitio ſqualidus operatur & frequentat nundinas meas pecore vænali, & cultor barbarus laxat annonam. Quin etiam ſi ad dilectum vocetur, accurrit, & obſequiis teritur, & tergo coercetur, & ſervire ſe militiæ nomine gratulatur. Maximian *had already tranſplanted many. See* Eumenius's panegyr. IV. c. 21. *Of the* Coloniæ Letorum, Tillemont *may be conſulted*, IV. part. 1. art. 8.

(5) EUMENIUS *paneg.* IV. *cap.* 2. Quamquam multa mihi ex illis quoque hoc in tempore neceſſario tranſeunda ſunt, ac potiſſimum ea, quibus officio delati mihi a divinitate veſtra honoris interfui, captus ſcillicet rex ferociſſimæ nationis inter ipſas, quas moliebatur, inſidias, & a ponte Rheni uſque ad Danubii tranſitum Guntienſem, devaſtata atque exhauſta penitus Alamania: nam & majora ſunt, quam ut enarrari inter alia poſſint, &, ne meis quoque ſtipendiis videar gloriari, ſufficit conſcientiæ meæ illa vidiſſe. Cellarius *in orb. ant. T. I. p.* 520. *ſuppoſes, that this Paſſage was in the Place, where the* Guntz *falls into the* Danube, *and where* Guntzburg *now lies.*

Danube (1). This gave Occaſion to his Battles with the *Marcomanni* (2) and *Quadi* (3): But the *Sarmatæ* ſeem to have given him the moſt Trouble (4): However, that he vanquiſh'd them, at laſt, is evident, not only from the Surnamegiven *Diocletian* of SARMATICUS MAXIMUS, but likewiſe from his Medal with the Reverſe, VICTORIA SARMATICA (5). Among other Accounts we find, that *Galerius* was ſucceſsful againſt the *Carpi*; and we may regard the entire Submiſſion of that Nation to the *Romans*, in the Year 295 (6), as a Conſequence of his Victories. *Diocletian* led them over the *Danube*, and diſperſed them in *Pannonia* (7), which *Aurelian* had, in ſome Meaſure, done before. We find, in the Reign of *Valens*, Mention made of a *Vicus Carpcrum*, on the *Danube*, towards the Confines of *Moëſia*, where a Reſidue of theſe *Carpi* probably dwelt.

§. IX. (1) *The* Idatii faſti *relate, in the Year* 294, CONSTANTIO & MAXIMIANO COSS. IIIS COSS caſtra facta in Sarmatia contra Acinco & Bononia. *Where* Acincum, *or* Aquincum *was ſituate, is uncertain. Some ſuppoſe it to be the preſent* Ofen, *others place it in the Country, where* Gran *now lies.* Bononia *is at preſent call'd* Bonmoſter. v. TILLEMONT. l. c. art. 12. p. 48.

(2) Aurel. Vitcor *in Cæſ. c.* 39. Interea cæſi Marcomanni, Carporumque natio tranſlata omnis in noſtrum ſolum, cujus fere pars jam tum Aureliano erat.

(3) Eumenius, *whoſe Words are quoted in the next Note, mentions the* Quadi.

(4) Eutrop. *L.* IX. *c.* 15. Varia deinceps & ſimul, & viritim bella geſſerunt, Carpis & Baſternis ſubactis Sarmatis victis, quarum nationum ingentes captivorum copias in Romanis finibus locaverunt. Eumenius *likewiſe takes Notice of the Overthrow of the* Carpi. *panegyr.* IV. *c.* 5. Adoratæ ſint igitur mihi Sarmaticæ expeditiones, quibus illa gens prope omnis exſtincta eſt, & pæne cum ſolo nomine relicta, quo ſurviat. Dent veniam tropæa Niliaca, ſub quibus Æthiops & Indus intremuit. Contenta ſit voce gloriæ ſuæ etiam proxima illa ruina Carporum. Reſervetur nuntiis jamjam venientibus, Mauris immiſſa vaſtatio. *That the* Quadi *were Partners of their Misfortunes, appears from the ſame Panegyrick.* Nunc vero totoorbe terrarum, non modo qua Romanus fuerat, virtute veſtra recepto, ſed etiam qua hoſtilis, edomito: quum toties proculcata eſſet Alemannia, toties obtrita Sarmatia, Juthungi, Quadi, Carpi toties profligati, ſubmittente ſe Gottho pace poſcenda, ſupplicante per munera rege Perſarum; urebat animum (quod nunc denique confitemur) una illa tanti imperii contumelia, eoque nobis intolerabilior videbatur, quod gloriæ ſola reſtabat.

(5) *There are not only Medals extant of* Diocletian, *with the Reverſe,* VICTORIA SARMAT. ap. BANDUR. T. II. p. 14. n. 4. it. VICTORIAE SARMATICAE ib. n. 5. *but we meet likewiſe with ſome of* Maximian *with the ſame Inſcription.* v. Banduri. l. c. p. 51 & 53. *For the two Emperors partook of each other's Surnames and Victories.*

(6) *In the* Idatii faſti, *the Overthrow of the* Carpi, *is placed in the Year* 295.

TUSCO & ANNULINO COSS.

His COSS. Carporum gens univerſa in Romania ſe tradidit. *And that of the* Marcomanni, *in the Year* 299.

DIOCLETIANO VII.
& MAXIMIANO VI. COSS

His COSS. *victi Marcomanni.*

(7) Jornandes de rebus Geticis *c.* 16. *aſcribes theſe Victories particularly to* Galerius, *when he ſays of the* Carpi: Quos, imperante Diocletiano, Galerius Maximinus Cæſar devicit, & R. P. Romanæ ſubjecit. *See the ſecond Note.*

§. X. In

§. X. IN the Year 298. *Conſtantius* undertook another Expedition into *Britain*; and *Maximian*, in the mean While, went to *Gaul*, to prevent any Attempt of the *Germans*, to paſs the *Rhine*, in the Abſence of *Conſtantius* (1). He embarked at *Bologne*; and a thick Fog, which aroſe about the ſame Time, fortunately hinder'd the *Britiſh* Fleet, which lay at Anchor near the *Iſle of Wight*, from diſcovering that of the *Romans*. They landed without any Oppoſition, and, in the Battle, which enſued, were ſo ſucceſsful, that they vanquiſhed not only *Allectus*, who, after the Murder of *Carauſius*, had uſurp'd his Dignity, but likewiſe thoſe *German* Auxiliaries, whom he had drawn over into that Iſland (2). Another Body of *Romans*, who were not at this Engagement, met, at *London*, with thoſe *Franks*, who had eſcaped by Flight, ſlew Part of them (2), and tranſported the reſt to *Gaul*. Thus was *Britain* re-united to the *Roman* Monarchy, after having been ſeparated from it about ten Years, to the great Prejudice both of *Gaul* and *Spain*, which had ſuffer'd, in the mean Time, more than ever, from their Piracies. All mechanick Arts had made greater Improvements in that Iſland, than in *Gaul*; and *Conſtantius* now eſteem'd the Convenience of having Architects and other Artificers from thence, as one of the Fruits of his Victory: He employed them in re-building the ruin'd Cities of *Gaul*, particularly *Autun*, and the Fortreſſes on the *Rhine* (4). *Conſtantius* recovers Britain. A. C. 298.

§. XI. ACCORDING

§. X. (1) v. PAGI *ad h. a. n.* 6. Eumen. 4. *c.* 13. Tu enim ipſe, tu domine Maximiane, imperator æterne, novo itineris compendio adventum divinitatis tuæ accelerare dignatus, repente Rheno inſtitiſti, omnemque illum limitem non equeſtribus, neque pedeſtribus copiis, ſed præſentiæ tuæ terrore tutatus es. Quantoſlibet valebat exercitus Maximianus in ripa. Tu vero, invicte Cæſar, inſtructis armatiſque diverſis claſſibus ita hoſtem incertum conſiliique inopem reddidiſti, ut tunc denique ſenſerit, quod non munitus eſſet oceano, ſed incluſus.

(2) EUMENIUS *panegyrico* IV. *c.* 16. Sed cum veteribus illis conjurationis autoribus, & mercenariis cuneis barbarorum, tanti apparatus oblitus irruit.

(3) IDEM, *c.* 17. Enimvero, Cæſar invicte, tanto deorum immortalium tibi eſt addicta conſenſu victoria omnium quidem, quos adortus fueris, hoſtium; ſed præcipue internecio Francorum, ut illi quoque milites veſtri, qui per errorem nebuloſi, ut paulo ante dixi, maris abjuncti, ad oppidum Londinienſe pervenerant, quicquid ex mercenaria illa multitudine barbarorum prœlio ſuperfuerat, quum direpta civitate fugam capeſſere cogitarent, paſſim tota urbe confecerint: & non ſolum provincialibus veſtris in cæde hoſtium dederint ſalutem, ſed etiam in ſpectaculo voluptatem. O victoria multijuga, & innumerabilium triumphorum, qua Britanniæ reſtitutæ, qua gentes Francorum penitus exciſæ, qua multis præterea gentibus in conjuratione illius ſceleris deprehenſis, impoſita eſt neceſſitas obſequendi, denique ad perpetuam quietem maria purgata ſunt.

(4) EUMENIUS *ſpeaks in Praiſe of the Reign of* Diocletian *and* Maximian, *becauſe:* Alarum cohortiumque caſtra, toto Rheni, & Iſtri, & Euphratis, limite reſtituta. *The two Emperors had already,* A. 295, *rebuilt, from the Foundation, the Walls of* Vitodurum, *which Place*

Constantius beats the *Alemanni* near *Langres.*

§. XI. According to the Order observed by *Eumenius*, in his Panegyrick, *Constantius* seems to have visited the *Franks*, in their own Country, after he had recover'd *Britain*. The Words he makes Use of are the more remarkable, as they plainly denote, that the *Franks* came from a Country, into which the *Romans* had not yet penetrated (1). After this, he defeated the *Alemanni*, near *Langres* (2), and again near *Vindonissa*, now called *Vindisch*, situate in the Dominions of *Bern* *; And he, moreover, reduced a Swarm of *German* Nations, who had made a fresh Irruption into the Island of *Batavia*, to the Necessity (3) of surrendring one Part of their Company Prisoners, in Order to obtain a free Departure for the Rest.

Affairs with the *Goths.*

§. XII. The *Roman* Emperors maintain'd, on the other Hand, a Friendship with the *Goths*. *Eumenius* boasts of *Diocletian*'s having compell'd them to sue for Peace (1); and the Army, raised by *Galerius*,

is now call'd Wintethur, *and is situate in the Dominions of* Zurch; *of this we find the following Inscription, in* Gruterus CLXVI. 7.

IMP. CAES. C. AVRE. VAL. DIOCLETIANVS. AVG. PONT. MAX.
SAR. MAX. PERS. MAX. TRIB. POT. XI. IMP. X. COS. V. P. P. ET.
IMP. CÆSAR. M. AVR. VAL. MAXIMIANVS. AVG. PONT. MAX. SAR.
MAX. PERS. MAX. TRIB. POT. X. IMP. VIII. COS. IIII. P. P. ET. IMPP.
FL. VAL. CONTANTIVS. ET. GAL. VAL. MAXIMIANVS. FILII
CAESS. MVRVM. VITVDVRENSEM. A. SOLO. INSTAVRARVNT.
CVR. AVRELIO. PROCVLO. V. C. PROV. MAX. SEQ.

§. (1) XI. Eumenius *panegyrico* VI. *c.* 6. Quid loquar rursus intimas Franciæ nationes, non jam ab his locis, quæ olim Romani invaserant, sed A PROPRIIS EX ORIGINE SUIS SEDIBUS, atque ab ultimis barbariæ litoribus avulsas, ut in desertis Galliæ regionibus collocatæ & pacem Romani imperii cultu juvarent, & arma dilectu?

(2) *The Action near* Langres *is described by* Eutropius, *Lib.* 9. *c.* 15. Per idem tempus a Constantio Cæsare in Gallia pugnatum est circa Lingones: die una adversam & secundam fotunam expertus est. Nam cum repente barbaris ingruentibus, intra civitatem esset coactus tam præcipiti necessitate, ut clausis portis in murum funibus tolleretur; vix quinque horis mediis, adventante exercitu, sexaginta fere millia Alamannorum cecidit. Eumenius *proceeds thus*, l. c. Quid commemorem Lingonicam victoriam, etiam imperatoris ipsius vulnere glorioſam? quid Vindonis campos, hostium strage completos, & adhuc ossibus opertos?

* *Near the Conflux of the* Rüss *and the* Aar.

(3) Eumenius *ib. c.* 6. Quid immanem ex diversis Germanorum populis multitudinem, quam duratus gelu Rhenus illexerat, ut insulam, quam divortio sui idem amnis amplectitur, pedestri agmine ausa transmittere, repente laxato flumine clauderetur, &, demissis statim obsessa navigiis, ita se dedere cogeretur, ut, quod difficilius est, SORTE COMMUNI, eligeret ex se, quos captivitati traderet, relatura cum reliquiis suis infamiam proditionis suorum. *The Island, here described by the Orator, seems to have been no other, than the* Insula Batavorum.

§. XII. (1) *See above*, §. IX. not. 4.

A. 297,

A. 297, in *Illyricum*, to be employ'd againſt the *Perſians*, conſiſted, in a great Meaſure, of *Gothick* Auxiliaries (2). We find it beſides related of the *Goths*, that they expell'd a neighbouring Nation, whoſe Name is not mentioned, and that thoſe People thereupon ſubmitted to the *Romans* (3). Moreover, as theſe Succeſſes on the *Danube*, whereby the Banks of that River were ſecured againſt the *Marcomanni*, *Quadi*, *Sarmatæ* and *Goths*, gave Occaſion to the Surnames of *Gothicus* and *Sarmaticus*; we have no Room to doubt, but that Images, repreſenting the *Danube*, as well as the *Rhine*, were a Part of the ſplendid Triumph, celebrated at *Rome*, by the two Emperors, A. 303, on Occaſion of their Entrance into the twentieth Year of their Reigns (4).

§. XIII. IN the Year 305, *Diocletian* and *Maximian* reſigned the Government, and are called in the Inſcriptions, erected after that Time, *Seniores Auguſti*. *Conſtantius* and *Galerius*, on the other Hand, who earneſtly wiſh'd for ſuch a Change, aſſumed the Imperial Title. *Galerius*, at the ſame Time, procured for *Fl. Valerius Severus*, and for *C. Galerius Valerius Maximinus*, his Siſter's Son, in both whom he thought he could ſafely confide, the Honour of being nominated *Cæſars*: Notwithſtanding that, *Magnentius*, Son of *Maximian Herculius*, and *Conſtantine*, the Son of *Conſtantius*, were of an Age, in which they might have hoped this Dignity. The Solemnity was performed on the firſt of *May*. *Diocletian* reſign'd the Imperial Dignity at *Nicomedia*, after having conferr'd on *Galerius*, the Name of *Auguſtus*, and on *Maximinus* that of *Cæſar*: He then retired, as a private Perſon, into his native Country, where he lived nine Years longer, and reſided in his Palace, not far from *Salona* (1). *Maximian*

Diocletian and *Maximian* reſign the Imperial Title to *Conſtantius* and *Galerius*.

(2) JORNANDES *de reb. Get. c.* 21. Poſthæc a Maximiano imperatore ducuntur in auxilia Romanorum contra Parthos rogati, ubi datis auxiliariis fideliter decertaverunt. Sed poſtquam Cæſar Maximianus pæne cum eorum ſolatio Narſem regem Perſarum, Saporis magni nepotem, fugaſſet, ejuſque omnes opes, ſimulque uxores & filios deprædaſſet, Achillemque in Alexandria cum Diocletiano ſuperaſſet, & Maximianus Herculius in Africa quinquegentianos adtriviſſet, pacem reipublicæ nacti, cœpere quaſi Gothos negligere.

(3) LACTANTIUS de mort. perſec. *c.* 38. *ſays of* Maximinus: Mediocrium filias, ut cuique libuerat, rapiebat. Primariæ, quæ rapi non poterant, in beneficiis petebantur; nec recuſari licebat ſubſcribente imperatore, quin aut pereundum eſſet, aut habendus gener aliquis barbarus. Nam fere nullus ſtipator in latere ei, niſi ex gente eorum, qui a Gothis tempore vicennalium terris ſuis pulſi, Maximiano ſe tradiderunt, malo generis humani, ut ille barbaram ſervitutem fugientes, in Romanos dominarentur. His ſatellitibus & protectoribus cinctus orientem ludibrio habuit. *By the Name of* Maximian, *in this Paſſage*, Galerius *is meant.*

(4) EUTROP. L. IX. *c.* 16. Poſt triumphum inclutum, quem Romæ ex numeroſis gentibus egerant, pompa ferculorum illuſtri, qua Narſei conjuges ſororeſque & liberi ante currum ducti ſunt.

§. XIII. (1) *Where* Spalatro, *which took its Riſe from the Ruins of* Salona, *and where we ſtill meet with conſiderable Remains of this Palace, is now ſituate.*

resigned the Government at *Milan*, having given *Constantius* the Name of *Augustus*, and *Severus* that of *Cæsar*. *Constantius* left *Italy* and *Africa* to *Severus*; retained *Gaul*, *Spain* and *Britain* for himself, and fix'd his Residence at *Triers*.

Constantine succeeds his Father in the Empire. Services done him on this Occasion by the *Alemanni*.

§. XIV. Constantius, in the Year 306, was just departing for *Britain*, to keep the *Picts* in Aw, when his Son *Constantine*, by *Helen* his first Wife, who had, till then, been a kind of Hostage to *Galerius*, arrived fortunately at Court: For *Constantius* died on this Expedition, at *York*, on the Fifth of *July*, and the Army immediately proclaimed *Constantine* Emperor; to which *Erocus*, King of the *Alemanni*, who had accompanied *Constantius* to *Britain*, with some Auxiliaries, did not a little contribute (1): But when *Constantine* notified his Accession to *Galerius*, and sent him, according to the Custom of those Times, his Picture, with the Imperial Robes, the latter, who bore a secret ill Will, to the Family of *Constantius*, refused to acknowledge him Emperor; and, had not the great Affection, expres'd by all the Soldiers, towards *Constantine*, induced him to refrain his Wrath, had caused it to be thrown into the Fire. He therefore declared *Severus* Emperor, and allowed *Constantine* the Title of *Cæsar*, with which he was for some Time contented.

He marches against the *Franks*: A Bridge laid over the *Rhine*: *Ludia Francici.*

XV. He first displayed his Valour among the *Franks*, who had taken firm Possession of the Island of *Batavia*, and, whilst the *Romans* were busied in *Britain*, had passed the *Rhine*. We may easily gues the Cruelties, which were at that Time committed, under the Pretence of military Discipline, when we find him giving those Princes of the *Franks*, whom he had taken Prisoners, a Prey to the wild Beasts, at a publick Shew (1). In the *Panegyricks* spoken in Honour of him, this Barbarity is commended, as a Means to restrain the turbulent

§. XIV. (1) Aurelius Victor *in epit. c.* 41. Cunctis, qui aderant, annitentibus, sed præcipue Eroco *(al Croco)* Alamannorum rege, auxilii gratia Constantium comitato, imperium capit.

§. XV. (1) Eutrop. *L.* 10. *c.* 2. Cæsis Francis atque Alamannis, captisque eorum regibus, quos etiam bestiis, cum magnificum spectaculum muneris parasset, objecit: Eumenius *and* Nazarius *mention this Cruelty several Times. The following Passage of* Eumenius, *in particular, affords us more Circumstances. For after having said before,* Panegyr. VI. c. 10. Adfeciisti pœna temeritatis reges ipsos Franciæ, qui per absentiam patris tui pacem violaverant: non dubitasti ultimis punire cruciatibus: nihil veritus gentis illius odia perpetua & inexpiabiles iras. Cur enim ullam reputet justæ severitatis offensam imperator, qui quod fecit, tueri potest? *He afterwards proceeds:* Hoc boni confert pœna hostibus irrogata, ut non solum inimici ferocire non audeant, sed etiam amici impensius revereantur. Inde est igitur, imperator, pax ista, qua fruimur. Neque enim Rheni jam gurgitibus, sed nominis tui terrore munimur. Quamlibet ille aut arescat æstu, aut resistat gelu,

bulent Diſpoſitions of the *German* Nations. Some modern Writers juſtify this Proceeding, from the Rigour of the ancient *Roman* military Diſcipline, which allowed very little Mercy to Captive Princes (2), as is evident from the Example of *Jugurtha*: But ſucceeding Times have ſhewn, that thoſe Actions ſerved only to juſtify whatever inhuman Reſentment the Enemy, on the next Opportunity, expreſs'd. *Conſtantine*, after the Concluſion of the War with the *Franks*, was engaged in one with their Neighbours. The *Bructeri*, *Chamavi* and *Tubantes*, who were afterwards included under the Name of the *Franks*, drew the *Alemanni* and *Chaibones* into an Alliance with them, and prepared for War: But *Conſtantine* paſs'd the *Rhine*, before they were aware of him, and, in a bloody Battle, diſperſed them; on which Occaſion thoſe *Germans*, who died on the Spot, were more fortunate, than thoſe who were taken Priſoners: For, as *Conſtantine* would not venture to incorporate them with his Militia, and found them too unruly for Servitude, he cauſed them to be thrown to the wild Beaſts, at the publick Amphitheatres, where they were obliged to encounter with them, 'till they were torn in Pieces (3).

After

gelu, neutro hoſtis audebit uti vado. Nihil enim tam inſuperabili vallo natura præcludit, quod non penetrat audacia, cui aliqua conandi ſpes relinquatur. Ille eſt inexpugnabilis murus, quem extruit fama virtutis. Sciunt, poſſe Franci tranſire Rhenum, quos ad necem ſuam libenter admittas; ſed nec victoriam ſperare poſſunt, nec veniam. Quid ipſos maneat, ex regum ſuorum cruciatibus metiuntur, ideoque tantum abeſt, ut amnis tranſitum moliantur, magis ut cœpto ponte deſperent. Ubi nunc eſt illa ferocia? ubi ſemper inſida mobilitas? Jam ne procul quidem Rhenum audetis accolere, & vix ſecuri flumina interiora potatis. Contra hinc per intervalla diſpoſita magis ornant limitem caſtella, quam protegunt. Arat illam terribilem aliquando ripam inermis agricola, & toto noſtri greges flumine bicorni merſantur. Hæc eſt tua, Conſtantine, de Aſcarici Regaiſique ſupplico quotidiana atque æterna victoria, omnibus quondam ſecundis prœliis anteponenda. Semel acie vincitur, ſine fine documento. Cladem ſuam, quamvis multi pereant, vulgus ignorat: compendium eſt, devincendorum hoſtium duces ſuſtuliſſe.

(2) TILLEMONT, *l c. p.* 151.

(3) NAZARIUS IX. *c.* 18. Quid memorem Bructeros? quid Chamavos? quid Cheruſcos, Vangionas, Alamannos, Tubantes? bellicum ſtrepunt nomina, & immanitas barbariæ in ipſis vocabulis adhibet horrorem. Hi omnes ſigillatim, dein pariter armati, conſpiratione fœderatæ ſocietatis exarſerant. Tu tamen imperator, cum tantam belli molem videres, nihil magis timuiſti, quam ne timereris. Adis barbaros, & diſſimulato principis habitu, quam proxime poteras, cum duobus accedis. Nunquam eſt excelſior principatus, quam quum ſe publico ſubmittit officio. Facis verba, ſpem illorum agitas, & verſas credulitatem, negas, te eſſe præſentem. vere cæca barbaria, quæ in illo vultu ſigna principis non videris, quem nec ſic quidem ſenſeris, quum intra jactum teli ſecurus ſui ſtaret, Conſtantinum eſſe... Innumeræ ſimul gentes ad bellum coactæ, ſed uno impetu tuo fuſæ, dum collativam vim comparant, compendioſam victoriam præſtiterunt. Eumenius *panegyr. VI. c.* 12. Ut tamen omnibus modis barbarorum immanitas frangeretur, nec ſola hoſtes regum ſuorum ſupplicia mœrerent, etiam immiſſa

Bructeris

After this, *Conſtantine* begun to lay a Bridge over the *Rhine*, near *Cologn* (4); but the *Germans* were ſo terrified, that they could not ſo much as think of a Revenge. *Conſtantine* inſtituted, in Commemoration of theſe Victories over the *Franks*, certain Games, which were

Bructeris vaſtatione feciſti, imperator invicte. In quo prima conſilii tui fuit ratio, quod exercitu repente trajecto inopinantes adortus es, non quod aperto Marte diffideres, ut qui palam congredi maluiſſes, ſed ut illa natio, perfugiis ſilvarum & paludium bellum ſolita fruſtrari, fugæ tempus amitteret. Cæſi igitur innumerabiles; capti plurimi, quidquid fuit pecoris, captum, aut trucidatum eſt. Vici omnes igne conſumti. Puberes, qui in manus venerunt, quorum nec perfidia erat apta militiæ, nec ferocia ſervituti, ad pœnas ſpectaculo dati, ſævientes beſtias multitudine ſua fatigarunt. Hoc eſt, imperator, fretum eſſe virtute ſua atque fortuna, hoc eſt, non pacem emere parcendo, ſed victoriam quærere provocando.

(4) IDEM *panegyr. VI. c.* 13. Inſuper etiam Agrippinenſi ponte faciundo reliquiis adflictæ gentis inſultas, ne unquam metus ponat, ſemper horreat, ſemper ſupplices manus tendat, quum tamen hoc tu magis ad gloriam imperii tui, & ornatum limitis facias, quam ad facultatem, quoties velis, in hoſticum tranſeundi: quippe cum totus armatis navibus Rhenus inſtructus ſit, & ripis omnibus uſque ad oceanum diſpoſitus miles immineat. Sed pulchrum tibi videtur, & revera pulcherrimum eſt, ut Rhenus ille non ſolum ſuperioribus locis, ubi aut latitudine vadoſus, aut vicinia fontis exiguus, ſed etiam ibi novo ponte calcetur, ubi totus eſt, ubi jam plurimos hauſit amnes: quos hic noſter ingens fluvius, & barbarus Nicer, & Mœnus invexit, ubi jam immani meatu ferox, & alvei unius impatiens in ſua cornua geſtis excedere. Servit profecto, Conſtantine maxime, ipſa rerum natura numini tuo, quum in illa gurgitum altitudine tantarum molium fundamenta jaciuntur, fidam & ſtabilem firmitatem habitura. *It is generally thought,* Conſtantine *built* Duiz, *for the Security of this Bridge: Which is confirmed by* Rupertus, *Abbot of* Duiz, in vita *S. Heriberti,* Tom. II. operum, p. 887. Poro de conſtructione caſtri diverſa opinio eſt, aliis opinantibus, fuiſſe opus Julii Cæſaris, aliis aſſerentibus, quod tempore, quo imperator Conſtantius & filiis ejus Conſtantinus, expeditionem in Galliis habuerunt, conſtructum fuerit ab eodem Conſtantino, devictis Francis. Hanc opinionem firmiorem eſſe, aſſerit titulus, non multos ante annos inventus in tabula lapidea, inter fragmenta murorum, & ipſa inpartes diuiſa, ita tamen, ut partes ipſa ad invicem conjungi poſſent, qui hujuſmodi erat:

CONSTANTINVS. PIVS. ROMANORVM. IMPER. AVGVSTVS. DEVICTIS. FRANCIS. CASTRVM. DITENSIVM. IN. TERRIS. EORVM. FIERI. IVSSIT. MILITES. TVRRIM. CVM. INTERTVRRIO. FECERUNT.

Browerus *has nevertheleſs,* annal. Trevirens. L. 3. c. 114. *repreſented this Inſcription in the following different Manner:*

VIRTVTE. DN. CONSTANTINI. MAX. PII. FEL. INVIC. AVG. SVPPRESSIS. DOMITISQ. FRANCIS. IN. EORVM. TERRIS. MIL. CASTR. DIVITENSIVM. SVB. PRAESENTIA PRINCIPIS. SVI ---- DEVOTI. NVMINI. MAJESTATIQ. EJVS DVODEVIGINTI. HAEC. VOTA FECER.

He refers, on this Occaſion, to B. Rhenanus, L. 3. rerum Germanicarum. Valeſius, *indeed, ſuſpects, that* Rupertus *invented this Inſcription: But* Tillemont *ſeems to think his Suſpicion not ſufficiently grounded. The Hiſtorians of* Cologn *pretend, that this Bridge was there till the Time of* Otto III, *whoſe Brother,* Bruno, *Archbiſhop of* Cologn, *demoliſhed it, and that he applied Part of the Stones to the Building of a Monaſtery at* S. Pantaleon. v. Ægid. Galenii ſacrar. ſynt. 9. Stephanus Brœlmannus *has made diligent Enquiries into the Remains of it, and from the Conjectures he thence formed, has given a Draught of the whole Bridge.*

celebrated

celebrated annually, from the Fourteenth to the Twentieth of *July*, and were called *Ludi Francici* (5).

§. XVI. HE was ſoon after involved in more weighty Concerns: *Maxentius*, the Son of *Maximian*, who could not but think himſelf highly aggrieved, that he was neglected at the Change in the Government, aſſumed the Imperial Dignity at *Rome*, and perſuaded his Father to retake the Purple, which he had reſigned, not without great Reluctance (1). *Severus*, who, with *Galerius*, had 'till then, alone bore the Title of *Auguſtus*, marched againſt them, but was ſo unfortunate, that he was obliged to ſurrender himſelf to *Maximian*, at *Ravenna*, and, ſoon after, to ſuffer his Veins to be opened, and to bleed to Death. *Maximian* knew very well, that *Galerius* would not paſſively bear with this, and therefore went to *Gaul*, to ſecure his Intereſt. He gave him his younger Daughter, *Fauſta*, in Marriage; honoured him with the Title of *Auguſtus*, A. 307, on the Thirty-firſt of *March*; and the Panegyrick ſpoken, in the Preſence of *Maximian* and *Conſtantine*, on Occaſion of theſe Nuptials, is ſtill extant (2): Thus did five Princes, at that Time, bear the Imperial Title, *Maximian*, *Galerius*, *Maximinus*, *Maxentius* and *Conſtantine*. *Diocletian* ſtill remained in his Solitude, and had he not employed his Thoughts more, at that Time, on cultivating certain Plants in his Garden, than on the State of the *Roman* Provinces, would have found ſufficient Reaſon, to deplore the fatal Effects of the Form of Government he had introduced.

Changes in the West: Conſtantine aſſumes the Imperial Title.

§. XVII. *GALERIUS*, in the mean Time, led in Perſon his Army into *Italy*; but found his Soldiers ſo little inclined to attack *Maxentius*, at *Rome*, that he haſtened back with the utmoſt Expedition, fearing leſt they might go over to the Enemy, and thereby precipitate him into *Severus*'s Fate, which he was come to revenge. When *Maximian* returned, ſoon after, to *Rome*, from *Gaul*, he found *Maxentius* more regarded than himſelf, and ſuffering his Paſſion to get ſo much the better of his Reaſon, as to diveſt his Son of the Im-

Maxentius keeps his Ground at Rome.

(5) *Calendar. Romanum vetus ab* Ægidio Bucherio *editum in Commentario de doctrina temporum. Antw.* 1664.

§. XVI. (1) *Pan. inc. V. c.* 11. Quouſque, Maximiane patiar me quati, te quieſcere, mihi libertatem adimi, te uſurpare tibi illicitam miſſionem? an quod divo Auguſto poſt ſeptuaginta ætatis, quimquaginta imperii non licuit annos, tam cito licuit tibi? Ideo te mihi ille, cujus tot aras, tot templa, tot nomina colo, Hercules dedit, ut tu in ſuburbano otioſus ſedens uſum dicatæ mihi virtutis amitteres? Redde te gubernaculis meis, & quoniam tranquillo mari portum intrare properaſti, vade per fluctus, mei quidem amore ſollicitus, ſed tua majeſtate ſecurus.

(2) *Panegyricus incerti auctoris numero V.*

perial Robes, in the Preſence of the Army, they took his Part, and obliged *Maximian* to fly. He now had his Recourſe to *Galerius*, who was then at *Carnuntum*, in *Pannonia*, whither he had, likewiſe, invited *Diocletian*: But his Endeavours proved ineffectual, and *Galerius* nominated *Licinius*, his ancient and intimate Friend, to ſucceed *Severus*, which did but encreaſe the Diſſentions among the *Roman* Princes: For *Maximinus*, who thought he had Right to this Dignity, as he was already *Cæſar*, publickly declared his Diſſatisfaction at this Proceeding. *Maximian* made, thereupon, a Tour to *Gaul*, to *Conſtantine*, and once more reſigned the Government; but ſhewed ſoon after, that he was again not in Earneſt (1).

Commotions in *Germany*. *Conſtantine* endeavours to reſtore *Gaul*.

§. XVIII. THE *Franks* were, in the mean Time, ſeditious, and ſeemed inclined to War, when they ſaw *Conſtantine* at the other Extremity of *Gaul*. *Conſtantine* marched againſt them with a ſmall Number of Men, to keep them in Aw: But *Maximian* no ſooner imagined that he was paſſed the *Rhine*, than he reſumed the Title of *Auguſtus*, and endeavoured to bring over the Troops, which remained behind, to his Intereſt: *Conſtantine* was apprized of it, before he had proceeded to any Hoſtilities with the *Franks*, and inſtantly haſtened back, to oppoſe his treacherous Father-in-Law, who was obliged to ſurrender at *Marſeilles* (1). But when he, ſoon after, formed a Deſign againſt the Life of *Conſtantine*, and was convicted of it, the only Mercy he could obtain, was the Choice, what Manner of Death he would die. His Option was the Halter, and he

§. XVII. (1) TILLEMONT, *l. c. p.* 161.

(2) XVIII. (1) LACT. *l. c. c.* 29. Quare impeditus conſiliis ſenex Maximianus, tertiam quoque fugam moliebatur, redit in Galliam, plenus malæ contagionis & ſceleris, ut Conſtantinum imperatorem, generum ſuum, generi filium, dolo malo circumveniret; & ut poſſet fallere, deponit regiam veſtem. Francorum gens in armis erat. Perſuadet nihil ſuſpicanti, ne omnem ſecum exercitum duceret, paucis militibus poſſe barbaros debellari, ut & ipſe haberet exercitum, quem occuparet, & ille opprimi poſſet, ob militum paucitatem. Credit adoleſcens, ut perito ac ſeni: paret ut ſocero, proficiſcitur relicta militum parte majore. Ille paucis diebus expectatis, cum jam Conſtantinum æſtimaret intraſſe fines barbarorum, repente purpuram ſumit, theſuaros invadit, donat ut ſolet large, fingit de Conſtantino, quæ in ipſum protinus reciderunt. Imperatori propere quæ geſta ſunt nuntiantur. Admirabili celeritate cum exercitu revolat. Opprimitur homo ex improviſo, nondum ſatis inſtructus; milites ad imperatorem ſuum redeunt. Occupaverat Maſſiliam, & portas obſeraverat. Accedit propius imperator, & in muro adſtantem alloquitur, non aſpere, nec hoſtiliter; ſed rogat, quid ſibi voluiſſet, quid ei defuiſſet, cur faceret, quod ipſum præcipue non deceret. Ille vero ingerebat maledicta de muris. Tum ſubito a tergo ejus portæ referantur, milites recipiuntur. Adtrahitur ad imperatorem rebellis imperator, pater impius, ſocer perfidus. Audit ſcelera, quæ fecit, detrahitur ei veſtis, & increpito vita donatur.

ſeems

ſeems, according to *Lactantius*, to have hanged himſelf (2). The *Franks* had, indeed, in the mean Time, upon the Emperor's being obliged again to retreat from the *Rhine*, augmented their Preparations; but he returned too ſoon for them, and thereby, for this Time at leaſt, wholly removed the Apprehenſions of an approaching War (3). *Conſtantine* embraced this Opportunity of the quiet State of *Gaul*, to reſtore the Country and Cities to a better Condition. Among other Things, we find, by a Panegyrick, held by *Eumenius*, about this Time, in the Preſence of *Conſtantine*, at *Triers*, what magnificent Buildings he had erected in that Place (4): And his Voyage to *Britain* ſeems, likewiſe, to have been about the ſame Time (5).

§. XIX. IN the mean While, *Galerius* died, in the Year 311. *Maximinus* at laſt agreed with *Licinius*, that the Streight of *Chalcedon*, which ſeparates *Aſia* from *Europe*, ſhould likewiſe be the Confines between their Dominions, and that *Licinius* ſhould retain the Countries in *Europe*, and *Maximinus* have thoſe in *Aſia*. Thus there remained four Emperors: For, beſides theſe two, *Conſtantine* bore that Title in *Gaul*, *Spain* and *Britain*, as *Maxentius* did in *Italy*. The

Marches againſt *Maxentius*.

(2) LACTANTIUS, *l. c. c.* 30. Poſtremo datur ei poteſtas liberæ mortis,

Ac nodum informis lethi, trabe nectit ab alta.

PAGIUS ad A. 307. n. 9. & ſeq. *compares this Relation with the Accounts met with in other Hiſtorians, and proves that* Maximian's *Death was in the Year* 310.

(3) EUMENIUS *panegyrico 6. c.* 21. Dum a limite paulliſper abſceſſeras, quibus ſe terroribus barbarorum perfidia jactaverat: ſcilicet, dum ſibi illa proponunt, quando perveniet? quando vincet quando feſſum reducet exercitum? quum repente, audito reditu tuo, velut attoniti conciderunt. Nec tuum pro rep. votum amplius quam unius noctis cura tetigit. Poſtridie enim quam accepto illo nuntio geminatum itineris laborem ſuſceperas, omnes fluctus reſediſſe, omnem quam reliqueras tranquillitatem, rediiſſe didiciſti. Conſtantine, *at that Time, ſtill returned Thanks to* Apollo *for the Victories he obtained, which* Eumenius *praiſes in the afore-cited Place.* Vidiſti, Conſtantine, Apollinem tuum, comitante Victoria, coronas tibi laureas offerentem, quæ tricenûm ſingulæ fuerunt omen annorum ..... Merito igitur auguſtiſſima illa delubra tantis donariis honeſtaſti, ut jam vetera non quærant: jam omnia te vocare ad ſe templa videantur, præcipueque Apollo noſter, cujus ferventibus aquis perjuria puniuntur, quæ te maxime oportet odiſſe.

(4) EUMENIUS *panegyr.* VI. *c.* 22. Sicut hic video hanc fortunatiſſimam civitatem, [*Trevirenſium*] cujus natalis dies tua pietate celebratur, ita cunctis mœnibus reſurgentem, ut ſe quodammodo gaudeat olim corruiſſe, auctior tuis facta beneficiis. Video circum maximum, æmulum, credo, Romano: video baſilicas, & forum, opera regia, ſedemque juſtitiæ in tantam altitudinem ſuſcitari, ut ſe ſideribus & cœlo digna & vicina promittant. Quæ certe omnia ſunt præſentiæ tuæ munera. Quæcunque enim loca frequentiſſime tunm numen illuſtrat, in his & omnibus omnia & mœnibus & muneribus augentur.

(5) EUSEBIUS *de vita Conſtantini M. L. 1. c.* 19. *mentions this Voyage:* Iſtis ratione & conſilio ab eo rite compoſitis, reliquias orbis partes ante oculos proponens, tandem trajecit ad Britannos.

latter committed unheard of Cruelties in *Italy*, and much worse in *Africa*; after his Soldiers had murder'd *Alexander*, who had laid Claim to the Empire there: And he, at the same Time, threatened to make War with *Constantine*, in *Gaul*, under the specious Pretence of revenging his Father's Death (1). *Constantine*, who likewise earnestly wished to be Master of *Italy*, and was encouraged to it by the Instigations of many great Men, who were disaffected to *Maxentius*, marched thither, with his Army, towards the Conclusion of the Year 311, or the Beginning of the ensuing Year; and, by several successful Battles, opened his Way to *Rome*, whither *Maxentius*, indeed, went to meet him, but was defeated †, and, endeavouring to escape, drowned in the *Tyber*. The very next Day, *Constantine* made his Entrance into *Rome*; when the Senat made a Decree, in which the Precedence, among the Emperors, is granted to him (2), and, to his Honour, they caused a triumphal Arch to be erected, which remains there to this Day.

† *Octob.* 2.

Constantine's Conversion to Christianity.

§. XX. This may, likewise, be regarded, as a Trophy of Victory for the *Christian* Religion. *Constantine*, from his Youth, had shewn a favourable Disposition to the *Christians*, and, 'till then, entertained the same Principles with his Father; tho', to all outward Appearance, he professed the Religion, which then alone prevailed, in the *Roman* Empire: But his War with *Maxentius* was providentially intended for the Time of his Conversion. I will not here detain the Reader with an Enquiry into the Story of the Cross, which *Constantine* is said to have seen in the Air. The Learned vary too much in their Opinions. Some give Credit to *Eusebius*, who says, that *Constantine* assured him, with an Oath, that he actually saw it; and *Bucherius* even pretends to prove, that it happened near *Nimagen*, on the *Mosel*, three *German* Miles below *Triers* (1). Others, with *Lactantius*, who lived at *Constantine*'s Court, believe it to have been a Dream: And some modern Writers even look upon it, as a Piece of Policy, in *Constantine*, to render his Conversion more acceptable to the Army (2). This, at least, all Authors concur in, that,

§. XIX. (1) Lactantius, *l. c. c.* 43.
(2) Idem, *c.* 44.

§. XX. (1) Bucher. *in Belgio Rom.* L. 8. c. 6.

(2) *These several Opinions are collated by Dr.* Fabricus, *in dissertatione, qua disputatur, crucem, quam in cœlis vidisse se juravit Constantinus imperator, fuisse phœnomenon naturale in halone solari. He himself is of Opinion, that* Constantine *did actually see a Cross in the Heavens; but that it was a natural* Phœnomenon, *which may be seen in the Circle about the Sun, and some of which Kind have been frequently observed when there has been a seeming Appearance of two Suns.*

on

on this Occaſion, he cauſed a new Standard to be made, on which was figured the Sign of the Holy Croſs, with the two *Greek* Initial Letters of our Saviour's Name; and that he repreſented this Sign to the Soldiers as a certain Pledge of a Victory to be expected. This was the Origin of the *Labarum*, which has ſince ſerved the Emperors not only as a Token of the ſupream Power, but likewiſe as a chief Banner to the Army. The fortunate Event of the War favoured this Change, and when *Conſtantine* made his Entry into *Rome*, the Senat, which had always been accuſtomed to bend the Knee to the Images of the Emperors, affixed to their Standards, was then obliged to adore the Croſs placed above it. *Conſtantine*, as one of the firſt Fruits of his Victory, put a Stop to the Perſecution of the *Chriſtians*: But the Hiſtory of his Tranſactions, at that Time, at *Rome*, is interſperſed with many Fables, among which the exploded Deed of Donation is, perhaps, the moſt notorious (3): Since no one dares, at this Time, venture to defend it, even Cardinal *Baronius* himſelf confeſſing, that the Church of *Rome* has received more Injury than Benefit by it (4). He would not, however, undertake to root out the *Pagan* Worſhip of the *Romans*, among whom the Sacrifices, Auguries from the Flight and Cry of Birds, and other *Heatheniſh* Cuſtoms, were retained, 'till the Reign

(3) AUGUSTIN. STEUCHUS *libr. adverſus Laurentium Vallam de donatione Conſtantini*; Jac. Gretſerus *in tr. de munificentia principum in ſedem apoſtolicam appendice I. item in apologia pro Bellarmino*, c. 21. *and* Nicolaus Schatenius *in Carolo magno Romano-catholico*, L. 2. c. 6. *have indeed formerly attempted to defend this Act of Donation; but with ſo little Succeſs, that the moſt learned Men, in the* Roman *Church, unanimouſly reject it; as* Iſaac Habertus, *in not. ad archieraticon eccleſiæ Græcæ*, p. 24. Jo. Morinus, *in hiſtoria liberatæ per Conſtantinum eccleſiæ, deque origine ac progreſſu poteſtatis ſæcularis Romani pontificis*, c. 8. Petrus Joſephus Cantelius *hiſt. urbium metropolitanarum* P. II. diſſ. 2. n. 7. *not to mention* Natalis Alexander ſæc. IV. diſſ. 25. Petrus de Marca, Antonius Pagi, Tillemont *and others. Conf.* Cl. Fabricii, *confeſſio & donatio Conſtantino ſuppoſita*, l. c. p. 4. ſq.. Fabricus *obſerves, that the firſt Mention of it is met with in* Æneas Pariſienſis's *Book, which was wrote about the Year* 854. adverſus decem objectiones Græcorum. Tillemont, *in the Life of* Conſtantine the Great, art. XXIX. *ſuppoſes, that it proceeded from the ſame Hand, which wrote the fictitious Collection of* Decretalia, *that was publiſhed with the Name of* Iſidorus Mercator. *To Dr.* Fabricius's *Remarks on this Deed of Donation, may be properly added, that the famous Great Chancellor of the Kingdom of* Poland, *Prince* Oſolinski, *in a Speech of his to Pope* Urban VIII, *which is the firſt among his printed Orations, pretends, that* Vladiſlaus, *when he took the City of* Moſcow, *found the Original of this Deed of Donation in the* Ruſſian *Treaſury: His Words are*, p. 2. qui [ſc. *Vladiſlaus*] denique deſertori populo, Græcum Conſtantinianæ donationis diploma, e ſuperba gaza eripuit, tanquam pro Romano pontifice pugnaſſet, cui Romam, hoſtium etiam ſpoliis aſſervit.

(4) *Conf.* BARONIUS *ad A.* 324. §. 13. & 118.

of

of *Theodosius*. He left it to the same Providence, which had so wonderfully effected his Conversion, to move the Hearts of his Subjects: And the *Christian* Religion, which had extended itself, even in the Midst of Persecution, was yet unacquainted with Compulsion, and waited for a compleat Victory, from the Truth of its Doctrine, which had begun to gain Ground at Court, and from that Purity of Morals which is inseparable from it. Nay, *Constantine*, as well as the succeeding *Christian* Emperors, 'till *Gratian*, assumed the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, that they might be the more enabled to cultivate their Religion (5).

He enters into an Alliance with *Licinius*, and puts a Stop to the Persecution of the *Christians*. A. C. 313.

§. XXI. *CONSTANTINE* set out from *Rome*, in the Beginning of the Year 313. At *Milan* he met with *Licinius*, who, after the Death of *Galerius*, had earnestly sought his Friendship; and both had now equal Reason to employ their united Force against *Maximinus*. A Marriage had been agreed on between *Licinius* and *Constantina*, Sister of *Constantine*, which was now celebrated at *Milan*. The Emperors had invited *Diocletian* to the Wedding: But too great an Enmity subsisted before between him and *Constantine*; and the Edict issued by him and *Licinius*, at *Milan*, in Favour of the *Christian* Religion (1), would, alone, have sufficed to render them odious in the Eyes of this Persecutor. He therefore excused himself, under

(5) *Conf.* Baronius *ad A.* 312. §. 93. Pagi's *Objections to this, in* Critici annal. Baronii ad h. A. §. 15, 19. *with whom* Tillemont, in not. 34. *likewise agrees, are confuted by* Banduri, p. 246. n. 6.

§. XXI. (1) *It will, perhaps, not be unacceptable to the Reader, to see the most remarkable Words of this Edict, as we find them in* Lactantius, l. c. c. 48. Cum feliciter tam ego Constantinus augustus, quam etiam ego, Licinius augustus, ante Mediolanum convenissemus, atque universa, quæ ad commoda & securitatem publicam pertinerent, in tractatu haberemus; hæc inter cætera, quæ videbamus pluribus hominibus profutura, vel in primis ordinanda esse credidimus, quibus divinitatis reverentia continebatur; ut daremus & Christianis, & omnibus liberam potestatem sequendi religionem, quam quisque voluisset; quo quicquid divinitatis in sede cœlesti nobis atque omnibus, qui sub potestate nostra sunt constituti, placatum & propitium possit existere. Itaque hoc consilio salubri ac rectissima ratione ineundum esse credidimus, ut nulli omnino facultatem abnegandam putaremus, qui vel observationi Christianorum, vel ei religioni mentem suam dederet, quam ipse sibi aptissimam esse sentiret; ut possit nobis summa divinitas, cujus religioni liberis mentibus obsequimur, in omnibus solitum favorem suum benevolentiamque præstare. Quare scire dignationem tuam convenit, placuisse nobis, ut amotis omnino conditionibus, quæ prius scriptis, ad officium tuum datis, super Christianorum nomine videbantur, nunc caveres, ut simpliciter unusquisque eorum, qui eandem observandæ religionis Christianorum gerunt voluntatem, citra ullam inquietudinem ac molestiam sui, id ipsum observare contendant. Quæ sollicitudini tuæ plenissime significanda esse credidimus, quo scires, nos liberam atque absolutam colendæ religionis suæ facultatem

under the Pretext of old Age. The two Emperors wrote him, thereupon, a Letter, ſhewing their Reſentment, and adding ſome Threats; which, together with the infirm State of Health he laboured under, had ſuch an Effect on him, that he died ſoon after (2): And, of all his great Projects, carried nothing to the Grave with him, but a melancholy Conviction of the evil Conſequences of them.

§. XXII. A REPORT, that the *Franks* were preparing to paſs the Lower-*Rhine*, occaſioned *Conſtantine* to haſten back over the *Alps*, and his ſpeedy Return deterred them from their Deſign: But, as he reſolved, once for all, to reduce theſe turbulent Neighbours into ſuch a Condition, that he might have no farther Apprehenſions on their Account, and looked upon this as the moſt proper Time to execute his Reſolution; he pretended he had no Manner of Suſpicion of them, but was directing his March towards the Upper-*Rhine*, where the *Alemanni* had given ſome Cauſe of Uneaſineſs. The *Franks* immediately ſwallowed the Bait, and paſſed the *Rhine*; but the Officers, left behind by *Conſtantine*, aſſembled, with the utmoſt Expedition, a Number of Men ſufficient to cut off their Retreat: While he himſelf ſailed, with his Fleet, down the *Rhine*, and invaded their own Country, which being then deſtitute of its braveſt Inhabitants, was expoſed to the Sword and Plunder (1). From this Time, *Conſtantine* bore the Surname

Conſtantine invades the Country of the *Goths*.

tem hiſce Chriſtianis dediſſe. Quod cum hiſdem a nobis indultum eſſe pervideas, intelligit dignatio tua, etiam aliis religionis ſuæ, vel obſervantiæ poteſtatem, ſimiliter apertam & liberam, pro quiete temporis noſtri eſſe conceſſam, ut in colendo quod quiſque diligeret, habeat liberam facultatem. .... Et quoniam iidem Chriſtiani non ea loca tantum, ad quæ convenire conſueverunt, ſed alia etiam habuiſſe noſcuntur, ad jus corporis eorum, i. e. Eccleſiarum, non hominum ſingulorum pertinentia; ea omnia lege, qua ſuperius comprehendimus, citra ullam prorſus ambiguitatem, vel controverſiam, hiſdem Chriſtianis, i. e. corpori, & conventiculis eorum, reddi jubebis, ſupradicta ſcil. ratione ſervata, ut ii, qui eadem ſine pretio, ſicut diximus, reſtituerint, indemnitatem de noſtra benevolentia ſperent, &c.

(2) *Hiſtorians vary in the Circumſtances.* Tillemont *has collated the ſeveral Relations*, in vita Dioclet. p. 85. ſqq.

§. XXII. (1) *Paneg. inc. c. VIII. c.* 22. Ruperat fidem gens levis & lubrica barbarorum, & robore atque audacia, lectis eruptionis auctoribus, inſtitiſſe Rheno nuntiabantur. Illico obvius adfuiſti, & præſentla tua, ne auderent tranſitum, terruiſti. Etiam videbaris rem votis tuis feciſſe contrariam, quod inhibita eruptione non foret materia victoriæ: ſed inopinato conſilio uſus. Abeundo enim, ſimulato nuntio, majoris in ſuperiore limite tumultus occaſionem ſtolidis ac ferinis mentibus obtuliſti in noſtra veniendi; relictis in occulto ducibus, qui ſecuros adorirentur. Quo quum veniſſent, conſilium tuum ſequitur fortuna. Toto Rheni alveo oppleto navibus, devectus terras eorum ac domos mæſtas lugenteſque populatus es, tantamque cladem vaſtitatemque perjuræ genti intuliſti, ut vix poſt illud nomen habitura ſit. *And further*, *c.* 23. Ite nunc omnes, ſi placet, barbaræ nationes, & exitiales vobis movete conatus, habetis exemplum. Quamvis enim imperator noſter

name of *Francicus*, and he'l ſpent the Remainder of the Year at *Trier*, as appears from ſome of his Edicts, which were ſigned there in the Months of *November* and *December* (2). A Panegyrick was likewiſe ſpoken there, in Honour to him, about the ſame Time, from whence theſe Circumſtances are borrowed; and that Orator, moreover, aſcribes it as praiſe-worthy, in *Conſtantine*, that he again cauſed the captive *Franks* to be inhumanly butcher'd in the publick Shews.

Licinius defeats *Maximinus*, and ſhares the Empire with *Conſtantine*. A. C. 314.

§. XXIII. On the other Hand, *Licinius*, at his Return from *Milan*, found *Maximinus* to be a powerful Enemy: But when it came to a Battle, the latter was defeated, and, in a few Months afterwards, came to a terrible End, at *Tarſos*, leaving the whole *Eaſt* open to the Conqueror. *Conſtantine* and *Licinius* were now the ſole Maſters of the Empire; but they ſoon fell at Variance (1), and *Conſtantine*, after a bloody War, compelled *Licinius* to a new Partition, by which *Mœſia prima*, *Illyricum*, *Dardania*, *Macedonia*, and the Reſt of *Greece*, were added to that Share, which he before enjoyed (2). As a Confirmation of this renewed good Underſtanding, *Conſtantine*'s two Sons, *Criſpus* and *Conſtantine*, and *Licinius*'s Son, of the ſame Name, were, by both Emperors, dignified with the Title of *Cæſar*.

And repels the *Goths* from *Mœſia*: *Ludi Gothici*. A. C. 323.

§. XXIV. Whilst *Conſtantine* made a Progreſs thro' his Provinces, and was buſied not only to ameliorate their State, but to eſtabliſh the *Chriſtian* Religion, of which the many excellent Laws he promulgated

noſter amicorum regum admittat obſequia: idque ipſum valeat ad laudem victoriæ, quod a nobiliſſimis regibus timetur & colitur; augeri tamen gloriam virtutis ſuæ gaudet, quoties provocatur. Nam quid hoc triumpho pulchrius, quod cædibus hoſtium utitur etiam ad noſtrum omnium voluptatem, & pompam munerum de reliquis barbaricæ cladis exaggerat, tantamque captivorum multitudinem beſtiis objicit, ut ingrati & perfidi non minus doloris ex ludibrio ſui, quam ex ipſa morte patiantur? Inde eſt, quod quum exitum differe liceat, perire feſtinant, ſeſeque letalibus vulneribus & mortibus offerunt. Ex quo ipſo apparet, quam magnum ſit, viciſſe tam prodigos ſui. *And. c.* 24. Facile eſt, vincere timidos & imbelles, quales amœna Græcia, & delitiæ orientis educunt, vix leve pallium, & ſericos ſinus vitando ſoli tolerantes, & ſi quando in periculum venerint, libertatis immemores, ut ſervire liceat, orantes. Romanum vero militem, quem qualemque ordinat diſciplina, & ſacramenti religio confirmat, aut trucem Francum, ferina ſola carne diſtentum, qui vitam pro victus ſui vilitate contemnat, quantæ molis ſit ſuperare, vel capere? quod tu, imperator, & nuper in Italia, & in ipſo conſpectu barbariæ paulo ante feciſti.

(2) *V. chronologiam cod. Theodoſ.* ad h. A. p. 7.

§. XXIII. (1) *A.* 314. *ut probat* Pagius *ad A.* 317. *n.* 4. *ſqq.* & Tillem. *in Conſtant. p.* 254.

(2) Zosimus, *c.* 20. *p.* 159. Poſtridie pactis induciis, viſum eſt inter ambos eſſe debere ſocietatem & fœdus mutuum, ita quidem, ut Conſtantinus imperaret Illyricis, & nationibus cæteris, quotquot ulterius eſſent porrectæ: Licinius Thraciam, & orientem, & ulteriores provincias haberet.

are

are Evidences, *Criſpus* maintained Tranquility in *Gaul* (1). *Nazarus*, in the Panegyrick, which he held in the Year 321, when the *Cæſares* celebrated their *Quinquennalia*, extols his gallant Atchievments againſt the *Franks*, and againſt the *Germans* in general (2): And there are Medals yet extant, ſome with the Image of *Conſtantine* (3), and others with that of *Criſpus* (4), the Reverſes of which are Monuments of theſe Victories, and, at the ſame Time, prove that he was ſucceſsful againſt the *Alemanni*.

§. XXV. THE Countries on the *Danube*, which, by the laſt Partition, fell to *Conſtantines*'s Share, gave Occaſion to a War with the *Sarmatæ* and *Goths*. That with the *Sarmatæ* begun A. 319, and was carried on during the three following Years (1): *P. Optatianus* relates, *Conſtantine wages War with the Sarmatæ.* A. C. 319.

§. XXIV. (1) NAZARIUS *panegyrico IX. c.* 36. Declarant ecce rationem cupiditatemque votorum facta Criſpi, cæſarum maximi, in quo velox virtus ætatis mora non retardata, pueriles annos gloriis triumphalibus occupavit .... Cruda adhuc hieme, iter gelu intractabile, immenſum ſpatio, nivibus infeſtum, incredibili celeritate confecit .... Quæ tuum, Conſtant. mite pectus inundavit gratulatio, cui tanto intervallo videre filium licuit, & videre victorem? Narravit utique exhauſta bella, & hoc ad tui gratiam, non ad ſui oſtentationem: qualis excipiendo hoſte, quam reſiſtenti vehemens, quam facilis ſupplicanti. Audivit hæc frater intentus, & puerilem animum ſpes læta, & blanda gaudia titillarunt; quumque miraretur fratrem, etiam ſibi favit, quod ex annis ejus, quam proximus tantæ gloriæ eſſet, agnovit. Nunc te, Conſtantine maxime, omnes rogamus, quum præſentem laudaveris, quum jam reipublicæ flagitanti, cum Gallis deſiderantibus reddes, iterum atque iterum moneas revertentem, (neque enim perſuaderi facile poteſt) ut, ſi quando armis veſtris contuſa barbaria aliquid tamen moverit, ſit ille animo, ſit conſilio tui ſimilis. Temperet modo dextræ, manui parcat, & ſit aliquid, quæſumus, in quo te iterum nolit imitari.

(2) IDEM *l. c. cap.* 17. Sub armis tuis ita conciderunt, ut deleri funditus poſſent: niſi divino inſtinctu. quo regis omnia, quos ipſe afflixeras, conſiciendos filio reſervaſſes. Quanquam ad gloriam fœcunda malis ſuis natio ita raptim adolevit, robuſteque recreata eſt: ut fortiſſimo cæſari, primitias ingentis victoriæ daret, cum memoria acceptæ cladis non infracta, ſed aſperata pugnaret. *And he concludes this Speech with ſaying again*, c. 38. Jacet in lateræ Galliarum, aut in ſinu ſuo fuſa barbaria. Publius Optatianus Porphyrius, *in that elaborate Poem, which he compos'd in Praiſe of* Conſtantine, *the Great, mentions theſe Victories, in the following Verſes*:

--- Sed Criſpi in fortia vires
Non dubiæ, ripa Rhenum, Rhodanumque tueri
Ulteriore parant, & Francis triſtia jura.

This Poet was perhaps not ſo well acquainted with the Circumſtances. The Romans *were before Maſters of the Countries, ſituate on both Sides of the* Rhone; *it is therefore difficult to know, what he means by* Ripa Rhodani ulterior. *He proceeds thus:*

Omnis ab Arctois plaga finibus, horrida Cauro,
Et tibi fida, ſuis ſemper bene militat armis
Reſque gerit virtute tuas: populoſque feroces Propellit.

(3) *In* BANDURI *l. c. p.* 253. *with the Reverſe.*

VIRTVS EXERCITVS GALLICAN.

(4) IBIDEM *p.* 318.

§. XXV. (1) *Rationem chronologiæ vid. ap.* PAGIUM *ad A.* 319. *n.* 3.

that they were first defeated at *Campona*, in *Valeria*, not far from *Buda*, afterwards at *Bononia*, in *Lower-Pannonia*, and last of all, at *Margos*, in *Upper-Moesia* (2). *Zosimus* names their King, *Rausimodus* (3). We find Medals of *Constantine* (4) and *Crispus* (5), on the Reverses of which are the Words VICTORIA SARMATICA. An ancient *Roman* Calendar, written about the Year 354, and published by *Bucherius*, takes Notice of the *Ludi Sarmatici*, which were celebrated at the End of *November* and the Beginning of *December*, for the Space of six Days (6). *Jac. Gothofredus* supposes (7), that they were instituted on Occasion of the Victories gained in this War; but we have already observed, that *Carinus* celebrated *Ludi Sarmatici* at *Rome* (8).

And repels the *Goths* from *Mœsia*: *Ludia Gothici*. A. C. 323.

§. XXVI. The *Gothick* War is placed in the Year 323, when that Nation invaded *Thrace* and *Moesia*. *Constantine* repelled them with so much Advantage, that they were obliged to leave all their Prisoners behind them (1). *Eusebius* probably means this War, when he says, that *Constantine* would no longer pay the *Goths* the Stipends which

(2) P. Optatianus. *c.* 22.

Jam totiens, Auguste, licet Campona cruore
Hostili post bella madens, artissima toto
Corpora fusa solo, submersas amne repleto
Victrix miretur turbas, aciemque ferocem.
Plurima conabor Phœbeo carmine gaudens
Margensis memorare boni cœlestia facta,
Introitus & bella loqui perculsa ruinis
Queis devicta jacet gens duro Marte caduca.
Testis magnorum vicina Bononia præsens
Sit voti compos excisaque agmina cernens
Det juga captivis, & ducat cætera prædas.

(3) Zosimus L. II. *c.* 21. *p.* 160. Quum autem Constantinus inaudisset, ad Mœotidem paludem habitantes Sauromatas, Istro navigiis transjecto, ditionem suam infestare, copias in eos duxit. Itidem barbari cum Rausimodo rege obviam ei profecti, primum quoddam opidum tentabant, satis magno præsidio munitum, cujus ea pars muri, quæ a terra surgebat in altum, erat opere lapideo facta; pars superior ligneo. Quamobrem arbitrati Sauromatæ, facillime se potituros opido, si quidquid esset in muro ligneum exussissent: ignem admovebant, & consistentes in muro telis petebant, sed quum murorum propugnatores telis ac lapidibus ex loco sublimiore dejectis, barbaros interficerent, jamque Constantinus adveniisset in barbaros impetu facto de loco superiore, multos occidit, plures vivos cepit, reliquis fuga sibi consulentibus. Rausimodus majori parte copiarum amissa, naves ingressus Istrum transjecit, quum haberet in animo ditionem Romanam denuo populari. Quod ubi Constantinus comperisset, & ipse transjecto Istro subsequitur, ac fuga quosdam ad collem silvis densum delatos adoritur, & multos interficit, quorum in numero Rausimodus erat; multisque vivis captis, residuam multitudinem, quæ manus porrigebat, in fidem recepit: eoque pacto magna cum multitudine captivorum ad prætorium reversus est. His in urbes distributis, Thessalonicam accessit.

(4) *ap.* Banduri *l. c. p.* 211.

(5) Ibid. p. 318. 2) Crispus *seems, after the Victory gain'd over the* Franks *and* Alemanni, *to have remained with his Father, and to have assisted at the* Sarmatian *War.*

(6) v. *calendarium vetus supra laudatum* § XV. *nota* 5.

(7) v. *chronologia cod. Theodos.* p. 22. 2.

(8) v. *lib.* V. §. 29. *not.* 2.

§. XXVI. (1) *Anonymus, a* Valesio *ad finem* Amiani *editus p.* 474. *c.*

they

they had, 'till then, drawn from the *Romans*, and that, in the War which enſued, he made Uſe of the *Labarum*, with the Croſs, againſt them (2). *Socrates* ſays, that God performed ſo many Miracles in the Courſe of this War, that the *Goths* themſelves acknowledged the Divine Power, and many of them were converted to Chriſtianity (3). We find, in the above-mentioned Calendar, Notice taken of the *Ludi Gothici*, which laſted from the fourth to the ninth of *February*: And there are likewiſe Medals extant, with the Reverſe, VICTORIA GOTHICA (4): But it is uncertain, whether thoſe Games and Medals refer to the firſt *Gothick* War; or to the other, of which an Account will be given below, under the Year 332.

§. XXVII. But this very *Gothick* War was the Occaſion, that the Animoſities, which had for ſome Time ſubſiſted between the two Emperors, broke out at laſt into an open War: For *Licinius* was offended, that *Conſtantine* ſet Foot into thoſe Countries, which were under his Juriſdiction, during his Wars with, and Purſuit after the *Goths*. As *Conſtantine* had hitherto been a Protector of the *Chriſtian* Religion; ſo did *Licinius*, tho' he at firſt diſſembled it, favour the *Pagan* Worſhip. Hence the War, which enſued between the two Emperors, may be regarded as the utmoſt Conflict between Chriſtianity and Paganiſm; ſince, on the Event thereof, depended not only the Dominion of the World, but likewiſe the Fate of Religion. *Conſtantine* was every were victorious, 'till *Licinius* was oblig'd, at Length, to yield himſelf a Priſoner, in the Year 323, when he, ſoon afterwards, rais'd freſh Commotions, to pay for them with his Life (1). The Cir-

Conſtantine is hereupon again at Variance with *Licinius*. The *Goths* and *Franks* ſerve him.

(2) Eusebius *in vit. Conſt. L.* 4. *c.* 5. p. 391. Cum ſuperiores imperatores vectigalia Scythis perſolverent, ipſique Romani a barbaris ſervitute preſſi quotannis tributa penderent: cum hæc conditio imperatori minime ferenda videretur, alienumque exiſtimaret ab omnium gentium victoris dignitate, perinde ut majores ſui tributum pendere; ſervatoris ſui ope præſidioque confiſus, triumphale illud ſignum contra iſtos etiam obtendens, brevi ſpatio omnes ſuperavit, & reluctantes quidem armata manu coërcens, reliquos prudentibus legationibus placans, ab inculta & fera vita ad humanam civilemque traduxit.

(3) Socrates *L. I. c.* 14. *p.* 528. *b)* Eiſdem temporibus cum Sarmatæ barbari, & Gotthi in agros Romanos irruptionem facerent, tamen imperatoris inſtitutum in eccleſiis conſtruendis neutiquam præpeditum eſt. Nam iſtos crucis vexillo, quod eſt Chriſtianorum proprium, in prœlio fretus tam fortiter devicit, ut non ſolum tributum, quod ab antiquis imperatoribus dari ſolet barbaris, ipſe illis penitus ademerit, ſed illi etiam præ incredibili victoria obſtupefacti, tunc primum Chriſtianæ religioni colendæ, cujus præſidio Conſtantinus incolumis evaſerat, ſe totos traderent.

(4) v. Banduri *l. c. p.* 300. 4.)

§. XXVII. (1) Pagi *ad* A. 318. *n.* 5. *ſq. aſſerts, that* Licinius *ſurrender'd himſelf at* Nicomedia A. 324. *and was murder'd* A 325, *hence he reckons the Time of* Conſtantine's *reigning alone from* A. 325. *But* Tillemont *has proved,* artic. L. p. 309. *that* Licinius's *Surrender happen'd in the Year* 323, *and that if he was not kill'd the ſame Year, it was in the Year* 324.

cumſtances of this War concern us no farther here; than to obſerve, that *Conſtantine* received eminent Services, as well from ſome *Gothick* Troops (2), as in particular from an Army of *Franks*, led by *Bonitus* (3): And we have therefore the leſs Reaſon to wonder, when we find *Euſebius* ſaying, in his Praiſe, that many foreign Perſons of Quality attain'd to great Honours and Wealth, at his Court, and in his Service (4).

Conſtantine renews his Wars with the Goths. A Bridge laid over the Danube. The Goths ſubdue the Vandals.

§. XXVIII. IN the latter Years of *Conſtantine*'s Reign alone, we meet with not many Occurrences, relating to the *Germans*. His Son *Conſtantine* preſided in *Gaul* (in the ſame Manner as *Criſpus* had done before) 'till his Father's Death *: And he himſelf went in Perſon againſt the *Goths*. The *Chron. Alexandrinum* mentions, that he paſs'd the *Danube*, in the Year 328, and built a Bridge of Stone over it (1): Hence the Medals, the Reverſes of which repreſent a

(2) JORNANDES *in Goth. c.* 21. Sicut & ſub Conſtantino rogati ſunt, & contra cognatum ejus Licinium arma tulere, eumque devictum, & in Theſſalonica clauſum, privatum imperio, Conſtantini victoris gladio trucidarunt. Nam & dum famoſiſſimam & Romæ æmulam in ſuo nomine concederet civitatem, Gothorum interfuit operatio, qui fœdere inito cum imperatore, XI. ſuorum millia illi in ſolatia contra gentes varias obtulere. Quorum & numerus, & militia uſque ad præſens in republica nominantur, *i. e.* fœderati. Tunc etenim ſub Araricі & Aorici, regum ſuorum, florebant imperio. Poſt quorum deceſſum ſucceſſor regni extitit Iberich, virtutis & nobilitatis eximiæ. *Whereby the Paſſage in the* annales anonymi, *which* Valeſius *annex'd to his* Amianus, p. 475. b. *is explained.* Themiſtius, Or. 15. ad Theod. de virtute Regia, p. 191. a. *produces a Circumſtance relating to this: For when he boaſts of* Athanaric, *the Prince of the* Themingi's *coming to him to* Conſtantinople, *he mentions that* Conſtantine *cauſed a Column to be erected, in Honour of his Father, which was then ſtill to be ſeen behind the Hall where the Senat aſſembled.* Et quemadmodum a magnete lapide attrahuntur ultro ramenta ferrea, ſic ipſe ſine labore ac prœlio Getarum allexiſti regulum; & ſuperbus ille quondam, ac tumidus, ſponte ad te venit, ac ſupplex regiam civitatem ingreditur, cujus ad placandum parentem maximus ille Conſtantinus ſtatuam olim erexerat, quæ poſt curiam adhuc collocata cernitur.

(3) *See* Ammianus Marcellinus's *Words below*, §. XLII. *not.* 5.

(4) EUSEBIUS *de vit. Conſtantini* L. 4. *c.* 7. In quibus etiam nonnullos cæteris clariores, & nobiliores, Romanis honoribus ſic illuſtrabat, ut plerique obliti ad patrios lares reverſiones, genus hoc vitæ amplexi ſint.

§. XXVIII. *. *Medals of this* Conſtantine *are extant in* Band. p. 331. *with the Inſcription:*

CONSTANTINVS IVN NC

and the Reverſe:

GAVDIVM ROMANORVM

and lower:

ALAMANNIA TRA.

It. *with the Reverſe:*

ALAMANNIA DEVICTA: *ib. p.* 334. *But thoſe, who are vers'd in Medals, agree, that the Victories gain'd by* Criſpus *are here meant: For in Honour of them Medals were likewiſe ſtruck with the Image of* Conſtantine, *who was at that Time* Cæſar. *conf.* Banduri p. 331. n. 3.

(1) CHRON. ALEXANDR. *p.* 662. Aurel. Victor. *in Caeſ. c.* 41. Pons per Danubium ductus. & *in epitom. c.* 41. Hic pontem in Danubio conſtruxit.

Bridge

Bridge over the *Danube* (2), are ſuppoſed to be of this Year. We find a more explicit Account of the War, which he waged, in the Year 332 (3), with ſome *Gothick* Nations (4). A *Sarmatian* Nation was ſo harraſs'd by the *Goths*, that they had Recourſe to the Aſſiſtance of *Conſtantine*; which he granted, and, according to an ancient Author, under Command of *Conſtantine*, the younger, who, on the twentieth of *April* 332, ſubdued the *Goths*, in a bloody Battle, and thereby ſo humbled them, that their King, *Ariaric*, was forc'd to give his Son as an Hoſtage to him (5): But the *Sarmatæ* were, by this War, involv'd in a greater Misfortune. They had armed their Subjects, to reſiſt the *Goths*: But they no ſooner knew their own Strength, and what Uſe to make of it, than they turn'd their Arms againſt their

(2) *With the Inſcription*:
SALVS REIP· DANVBIVS.
ap. Banduri *p.* 248. (2) *He likewiſe has taken Notice of the Medal, with the Reverſe*:
VICTORIA GOTHICA
p. 250. *n.* 4.

(3) *Hunc annum aſſerit* Pagius *eod. n.* 3. *contra* Baron, *qui hoc bellum ad.* A. 330. *retulerat.*

(4) IDATIUS *ad* A. 332. *Pacatiano & Hilariano* COSS. *His* COSS. *victi Gothi ab exercitu Romano in terris Sarmatarum die* XII. *Kal Maii. The annonymous Writer, whoſe Works are publiſh'd by* Valeſius, *relates this War, directly after his Account of the Conſecration of the City of* Conſtantinople: Deinde adverſus Gothos bellum ſuſcepit, & implorantibus Sarmatis auxilium tulit. Ita per Conſtantinum Cæſarem centum prope millia fame & frigore extincta ſunt. *We find* ex l. 4. d. ſponſal. cod. Theod. *that the Emperor was this Year, in* April, *at* Martianopolis, *in* Mœſia ſecunda, *and conſequently on the* Gothick *Borders. From* Zoſimus's *Words* L. II. c. 31. p. 185, *the* Thaifali *appear to have waged War with* Conſtantine. Nec jam bellum aliud amplius gerebat: adeo quidem, ut Thaifalis, natione Scythica, cum equitibus quingentis irruentibus, non modo nullas copias adverſus eos in aciem eduxerit; ſed etiam parte majori exercitus amiſſa, quum hoſtes ad ipſum vallum uſque populatos omnia conſpexit, arrepta cupide fuga ſibi conſuluerit. Zoſimus's *Prejudice againſt* Conſtantine *is indeed well known; but thus much of this Relation may be true, that the* Thaifali *drew pretty near him (probably about* Martianopolis*) and that the War was chiefly left to the Management of his eldeſt Son.*

(5) ANON. *a* VALESIO *ad finem* AMMIANI *editus, p.* 476. Deinde adverſus Gothos bellum ſuſcepit, & implorantibus Sarmatis auxilium tulit. Ita per Conſtantinum cæſarem centum prope millia fame & frigore extincta ſunt. Tunc & obſides accepit, inter quos & Ariarici regis filium. Sic cum his pace firmata, in Sarmatas verſus eſt, qui dubiæ fidei probantur. Sed ſervi Sarmatarum adverſum omnes dominos rebellarunt: quos pulſos Conſtantinus libenter accepit, & amplius trecenta millia hominum miſtæ ætatis & ſexus per Thraciam, Scythiam, Macedoniam, Italiamque diviſit: Julianus *obſerves, in orat. I. in Conſtantii imp. laudem.* Tuæ vero matrî ex noſtrarum legum præſcripto, inviolata ac ſincera illa jura neceſſitudinis conſervanti, hoc nihilominus eſt tributum, ut unius eſſet filia, alterius uxor, ſoror itidem alterius; mater porro non unius ſolum, ſed multorum imperatorum. Quorum alius ſuſceptum contra tyrannos bellum una cum patre confecit: *alius debellatis Getis pacem nobis cum illis tutam ac ſecuram præſtitit*, alius fines noſtros immunes ab hoſtium incurſione, atque impetu ſervavit, cum ipſe in eos ſæpius exercitum duceret, donec id per eos licuit, qui paulo poſt ſuorum in eum ſcelerum, atque injuriarum pœnas dederunt.

OWN

own Masters, and drove them out of the Country; whereupon some of them subjected themselves to the Emperor (6). These Exploits, likewise gave Occasion to *Constantine*'s bearing the Title of DEBELLATOR GENTIUM BARBARARUM (7), on his Coins: But these Victories may not always have been so compleat, as they are represented in the Panegyricks: For, according to *Eutropius*'s Relation, the *Goths* obtain'd an advantageous Peace (8). And, by a Passage in *Julian*, *Constantine* appears, indeed, to have regained *Dacia*, or at least to have compell'd the Natives of that Country, in some Measure, to acknowledge the *Roman* Sovereignty: But these Advantages seem rather to have been obtain'd at the Expence of Mony, than Blood (9). *Constantius Porphyrogenneta* has related some Circumstances of the Wars, which *Constantine*, the *Great*, had with the *Goths*

(6) Eusebius *de vit. Const. L.* 4. *c.* 26. Sauromatas vero deus ipse imperatoris pedibus substravit: quos barbara superbia elatos, hoc modo fregit & compressit. Cum a Scythis Sauromatæ invaderentur, servosque suos cogerentur armare, ut eorum vim & impetum repellerent: postquam penes servos victoria constitisset, ii jam eadem arma, quibus contra hostem usi sunt, in dominos convertunt, omnesque suis sedibus & domiciliis deturbant. At domini salutis portum præter Constantinum reperiebant nullum. Is cum solitus esset salutem dare miseris, omnibus in Romanam regionem receptis, quos idoneos reperiebat, in suorum militum ordines referebat: reliquis vero ad necessarios vitæ usus agros ad colendum dividebat; ut fortunate & feliciter hanc sibi calamitatem accidisse faterentur, quando immanem feritatem cum Romana libertate commutassent. Sic deus immanium barbarorum universas gentes imperatori parere fecit. *We shall find in* Constantius's *Life, that the whole Nation of he exiled* Sarmatæ *did not retire into the* Roman *Dominions, and that, by the Assistance of the* Romans *they recover'd their Country.*

(7) Constantine's *Medals, with the Reverse,* DEBELLATORI GENTIVM BARBARARVM, *and lower* GOTHIA, *is in* Banduri, p. 244. n. 3. *who likewise produces other Medals of him, with the Reverse,* DEBELLATORI GENTT. BARBARR. p. 255. (1) it. VICTOR GENTIVM BARBARAR. p. 256. (7) *What Nations are meant by this Name, may be seen by the Title given him on Inscriptions:*

IMP. CAES. D. CONSTANTI FILIVS. FL. CONSTANTINVS. MAX. VICTOR. AC. TRIVMPHATOR. PIVS. FELIX. INVICTVS. AVG. GERMANICVS. SARMATICVS. GOTHICVS. VANDALICVS.

(8) Eutropius, *L.* 10. *c.* 4. Nam etiam Gothos post civile bellum varie profligavit, pace his ad postremum data, ingentemque apud barbaras gentes memoriam gratiæ collocavit.

(9) *As we have been so frequently obliged to quote the Panegyricks, in Illustration of our History, especially under* Constantine, *we may here take the Liberty of quoting, what* Julian *says of this Hero, in his Satire, on the Emperors, in* Cæsar, p. 338. Post hunc, Constantinum, ut diceret, admoverunt. Atque ille primum quidem fidenti animo in certamen prodibat; veruntamen in aliorum opera intuenti, sua sibi parva prorsus & nullius pretii visa sunt. Duos enim Tyrannos, si verum dicere oportet, de medio sustulerat: unum quidem imbellem & ignavum; alterum præterquam, quod afflicta fortuna, etiam senectute confectum, utrumque vero diis hominibusque maxime invisum. Præterea ejus in barbaros gesta, erant ipsi parum decora, & ridicula

Goths (10); but they hardly deſerve our Notice: And *Jornandes* makes no Mention at all of theſe Wars: He only complains, in general, that the *Romans* begun to think lightly of the *Goths*. But, on the other Hand, he relates (11), that *Geberic*, King of the *Goths*, waged War with the *Vandals*, and defeated *Viſumar*, their King, on the River *Maroz*: Whereupon the Reſidue of the *Vandals* ſubmitted themſelves to *Conſtantine*, who aſſign'd one Part of *Pannonia* to them for a Habitation.

§. XXIX. IT

ridicula. Tributa enim quodummodo pependerat, & delicias vitæque luxum ſpectarat. Itaque longo a diis diſſitus intervallo, hærebat in limine lunæ, cujus amore tenebatur, totuſque in eam intuens, de victoria nihil laborabat. Ubi vero ipſum dicere oportuit: His ego rebus, inquit, ſum iſtis longe ſuperior; Macedone, quod adverſus Romanos, Germanicas & Scythicas gentes, non cum Aſianis barbaris, bello conflixi; Cæſare & Octaviano, quod mihi res non fuit, ſicut illis, contra probos & virtute præſtantes viros; ſed in crudeliſſimos & ſceleratiſſimos tyrannos impetum feci. Et Trajano quidem rebus a me in debellandis tyrannis fortiter & proſpere geſtis merito præponi debeo: IN QVO VERO EAM, QVAM ACQVISIERAT, REGIONEM RECUPERAVI, haud abs re par judicarer, niſi quoque perdita recipere, quam parare, excellentius eſt. Marcus vero de ſe ipſo tacens, nobis omnibus primum honoris gradum cedit. Sed numquid nobis Adonidis hortos, inquit Silenus, tanquam egregia facinora, o Conſtantine, jactas & profers? Quinam ſunt, quæſo inquit, iſti, quos vocas Adonidis hortos? In quibus, ait ille, mulieres Veneris viro, fictilibus injecta terra olerum feraci, ſerunt ea quidem, quæ ubi brevi temporis ſpatio efloruerunt, ſtatim viridatem amittunt. Hæc audiens Conſtantinus, erubuit: quippe qui hæc adverſus ſua facta, tanquam hujusmodi eſſent, dici ſatis intelligeret.

(10) *He writes*, de imper. c. 53. *that* Conſtantine *applied for Aſſiſtance againſt the* Goths, *to the Nations, who dwelt in* Cherſoneſus Taurica, *with whom he was in Alliance; that they marched againſt them, under the Command of* Diogenes, *their Prince, paſſed the* Danube, *and did the* Goths *great Damage: Whereupon the Emperor ſent for their Duke, and the Chiefs of their Nation, to Court, and gave them rich Preſents: And that afterwards, a certain Quantity of Oyl and Iron was paid them annually by the* Grecian *Emperors. But* Monſ. Tillemont *obſerves*, p. 395, *how little Credit can be given to this Relation.*

(11) JORNANDES *de rebus Geticis, c.* 22. Nam is, Hilderich patre natus, avo Ovida, proavo Cnivida, gloriam generis ſui factis illuſtribus exæquavit, primitias regni ſui mox in Wandalica gente extendere cupiens, contra Viſumar eorum regem, Aſdingorum e ſtirpe, quæ inter eos eminet, genuſque indicat bellicoſiſſimum, Dexippo hiſtorico referente, qui eos ab oceano ad noſtrum limitem vix in anni ſpatio perveniſſe teſtatur, præ nimia terrarum immenſitate. Quo tempore erant in eo loco manentes, ubi Gepidæ ſedent, juxta flumina Mariſia, Miliare, & Gilfil, & Griſſia, qui amnos ſupradictos excedit. Erant namque illis tunc ab oriente Gothi, ab occidente Marcomanni, a ſeptentrione Ermunduri, a meridie Hiſter, qui & Danubius dicitur. Hic ergo Wandalis commorantibns bellum indictum eſt a Geberich, rege Gothorum, ad litus prædicti amnis Mariſiæ, ubi tunc diu certatum eſt ex æquali. Sed mox ipſe rex Wandalorum Viſumar magna cum parte gentis ſuæ proſternitur. Geberich vero ductor Gothorum eximius, ſuperatis, deprædatiſque Wandalis, ad propria loca, unde exierat, remeavit. Tunc perpauci Wandali, qui evaſiſſent, collecta imbellium ſuorum manu, infortunatam patriam relinquentes, Pannoniam ſibi a Conſtantino principe petiere, ibique per quadraginta annos plus minus ſedibus locatis, imperatorum

Conſtantine's Edicts, which ſerve to illuſtrate the *German* Hiſtory.

Whether the Removal of the Imperial Reſidence to *Conſtantinople* promoted the Irruptions of the *Germans*.

§. XXIX. IT is well known, that after *Conſtantine* became ſole Maſter of the Empire, he removed his Reſidence to *Byzantz*, which City he built in a ſplendid Manner, and call'd it, from his Name, *Conſtantinople*. *Zoſimus* blames him on this Account, and accuſes him of having deprived the Borders of their Garriſons, and, as it were, given them a Prey to thoſe barbarous Nations, who, in ſucceeding Times, over-run the whole Empire. Many modern Writers have indeed propagated this Slander (1); but it were to be wiſh'd, for the Memory of *Conſtantine*, that all the Imputations he lies under, could be ſo eaſily exploded as this. The whole Sequel of this Hiſtory proves, that he had Reaſon to have Regard to the Protection and Tranquility of the *Eaſtern* Countries; and that the Security of the *Rhine*, and the upper Part of the *Danube* was not endanger'd thereby. Nor were the Borders of the *Roman* Empire ever better ſecur'd againſt the *Germans*, *Goths*, and *Sarmatæ*, than in the Reign of *Conſtantine*, and in that of his Sons. The firſt Invaſion of thoſe People, who made Devaſtations in the *Roman* Empire, was in the Eaſt; and the *Weſtern* Countries were deſtroy'd at a Time, when they had their own Emperors, who reſided in *Italy*. Beſides this Change, ſome other Diſpoſitions made by him in the *Roman* Empire, require our Obſervation, as they ſerve, in the ſucceeding Times, to illuſtrate the *German* Hiſtory. He divided the *Præfectura Prætorii* into four Offices (2): The *Præfectus Prætorii Orientis*, and the *Præfectus Prætorii Illyrici*, were to belong to the *Eaſtern* Empire; and, to the *Weſtern*, the *Præfectus Prætorii Italii* and the *Præfectus Prætorii Galliarum*. The former of theſe two had

peratorum decretis ut incolæ famularunt. Unde etiam poſt longum a Stilicone magiſtro equitum, & exconſule, ac patricio invitati, Gallias occupavere, ubi finitimos deprædantes non adeo fixas ſedes habuere. *The Places, here deſcribed by* Jornandes, *are likewiſe mentioned by the Geographer of* Ravenna, *L.* 4. *c.* 14. *p.* 103. Per quas Dacorum patrias tranſeunt plurima flumina, inter cetera quæ dicuntur Tyſia, Tibiſia, Drica, Mariſia, Ariric, Gilpit & Greſia: Quæ omnia flumina in Danubio merguntur.

§. XXIX. (1) *Conf.* TILLEMONT. *in vit. Conſt. art.* 80, & 83.

(2) ZOSIMUS, *L.* 2. *c.* 33. *p.* 187. Conſtantinus autem, recte conſtituta loco movens, unum hunc magiſtratum in quatuor imperia diſcerpſit. Nam uni præfecto prætorii (orientali ſcil.) totam Ægyptum, uni Lybiæ Pentapolin & orientem ad Meſopotamiam uſque, & præterea Cilices, Cappadoces, Armeniam, oramque maritimam totam a Pamphylia Trapezuntem uſque & uſque ad caſtella propter Phaſidem ſita, tradidit. eidem & Thracia commiſſa, & Myſia, & Cyprus, & Cyclades. Alteri (nempe præfecto Illyrici) Macedonas attribuit, & Theſſalos, & Cretenſes, & Græciam, & circumjacentes inſulas, & Epirum utramque, & præter has Illyrios & Dacos & Triballos & Pannonios ad Valeriam uſque & Myſiam ſuperiorem. Hi duo erant Præfecti prætorio orientalis imperii. Totidem in occidente. Tertio igitur, (nempe Ital.) præfecto totam Italiam, Siciliam Sardiniam & Corſicam & Africam a Syrtibus Cyrenen uſque. Quarto Tranſalpinos Celtas, & Hiſpanos cum inſula Britannica commiſit.

Italy,

Italy, a Part of *Illyricum*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corſica* and the Countries in *Africa*, from the *Syrtes*, as far as *Cyrene*: The other had the Direction of *Gaul*, *Spain* and *Britain*, and kept his Court at *Triers* (3). Theſe *Præfecti Prætorii* had their Subſtitutes, under whoſe Inſpection the Provinces were partly govern'd by *Conſulares*, and partly by *Præſides*. He likewiſe took the Authority over the Army from the *Præfectura Prætorii*: The Soldiers had till then been govern'd by *Duces*, under the Inſpection of the *Præfecti*; but he now inſtituted a *Magiſter Militum*, which Office was afterwards divided, and a particular *Magiſter Equitum* and *Magiſter Peditum* appointed, and the Number of theſe was likewiſe, in the Sequel, encreaſed. He moreover inſtituted the Order of *Patricii*, which, next to the Conſulſhip, was the higheſt Dignity in the Empire. The *Patricii* were, in a Manner, the moſt ſecret Counſellors to the Emperor, but had no Adminiſtration with it: Whence this Order became a Means, not only to reward the *Præfecti Prætorii*, *Magiſtri Militiæ*, and other great Officers, but likewiſe to remove them from their Poſts, under the Pretence of a greater Honour. We ſhall find, in the Sequel, that *Franks*, *Goths* and other *Germans*, frequently arriv'd at theſe Honours, and even ſeveral *German* Kings, have been *Magiſtri Militiæ* as well as *Patricii*.

(3) *By Reaſon of many Circumſtances, which may occur in the Sequel, it will not be amiſs here to add an Account of the Countries appertaining to the* Prætorium Italiæ, *and* Galliarum.

PRÆFECTUS PRÆTORIO ITALIÆ, & ſub ipſo diœceſes tres.

ITALIÆ.
SUB DIOECESI ITALIÆ, PROVINCIÆ XVII.

VENETIÆ,
ÆMILIA,
LIGURIA,
FLAMINIA ET PICENUM ANNONARIUM,
TUSCIA ET UMBRIA,
PICENUM SUBURBI CARIUM,
CAMPANIA,
SICILIA,
APULIA ET CALABRIA,
LUCANIA ET BRUTII,
ALPES COTTIARUM,
RHÆTIA PRIMA,
RHÆTIA SECUNDA,
SAMNIUM,
VALERIA,
SARDINIA,
CORSICA.

ILLYRICI.
SUB DIOECESI ILLYRICI, PROVINCIÆ VI.

PANNONIA SECUNDA,
SAVIA,
DALMATÆ,
PANNONIA PRIMA,
NORICUM MEDITERRANEUM,
NORICUM RIPENSE.

AFRICÆ.
SUB DIOECESI AFRICÆ. PROVINCIÆ VI.

BYZACIUM,
NUMIDIA,
MAURITANIA SITIFENSIS,
MAURITANIA CÆSAREENSIS,
TRIPOLIS,
AFRICA PROCONSULARIS.

PRAE-

Origin of the *German* Churches.

§. XXX. But no Alteration was more advantageous, than that which happen'd in Religion, under this Emperor, after he declar'd himself a Protector of the Christians. Their Number in *Gaul* was the larger, as his Father *Constantius* took no Share in the Persecutions of his Partners in the Administration; and we find, soon after his Conversion, two eminent Bishops, those of *Triers* and *Cologn*. *Maternus*, Bishop of *Cologn*, was, in particular, greatly esteemed by him: For when a Schism was occasioned, by the Sect of *Donatus*, in the Churches of *Carthage*, and the *Donatists* appealed from the See of *Rome* to the Emperor (1), he sent them back to *Rome*, and ordered *Maternus*, with two other Bishops from *Gaul*, to repair thither; who, together with Pope *Melchiades*, and some *Italian* Bishops, were impowered to enquire into, and to determine the Affair (2). We find, moreover, that *Agræcius*, Bishop of *Triers*, and this *Maternus*, were present at the Council, held at *Arles*, A. 314, on this Account (3). It is therefore probable, that there were then several more Bishops in *Germany* and *Belgica*, or who, at least, were ordained in his Reign: And

PRÆFECTUS PRÆTORIO GALLIARUM,
& sub ipso diœceses tres.

HISPANIÆ.
Sub Dioecesi Hispaniae,
Provinciæ VII.

Boetica,
Lusitania,
Gallæcia,
Tarraconensis,
Carthaginensis,
Tingitania,
Baleares.

GALLIARUM.
Sub Dioecesi Galliarum,
Provinciæ XVII.

Viennensis,
Lugdunensis Prima,
Germania Prima,
Germania Secunda,
Belgica Prima,
Belgica Secunda,
Alpes Maritimæ,
Alpes Penninæ et Graiæ,
Maxima Sequanorum,
Aquitania Prima,
Aquitania Secunda,
Novem Populi,
Narbonensis Prima,
Narbonensis Secunda,
Lugdunensis Secunda,
Lugdunensis Tertia,
Lugdunensis Senonia.

BRITANNIARUM.
Sub Dioecesi Britanniarum
Provinciae V.

Maxima Cæsareensis,
Valentia,
Britannia Prima,
Britannia Secunda,
Flavia Cæsareensis.

§. XXXI. (1) V. Samvelis Basnagii, *annales politico-ecclesiasticos, T. II. ad A.* 314. *n.* 6.

(2) Optatus *Milevitanus episcopus de schismate Donatistarum*, L. 1. p. 22. Et tamen dati sunt judices; Maternus ex Agrippina civitate, Reticius ab Augustoduno civitate, Marinus Arelatensis, &c.

(3) *V. Epist. synodicam inter monumenta vetera* Optato *Milevitano subjuncta*, p. 183.

Buchering

Bucherius ſuppoſes, that *Tongres*, now *Liege*, became a See in this Reign (4).

§. XXXI. THESE Churches, as well as thoſe which flouriſhed at that Time in *Noricum* and *Rætia*, together with the other Epiſcopal Sees, owe the Riſe of their Wealth and Eminence to thoſe excellent Laws, which *Conſtantine* enacted for the Benefit of the *Chriſtian* Religion. For he not only gave Liberty to his Subjects, to be munificent to the *Chriſtian* Churches, in their laſt Wills, and granted many Immunities to the Clergy; but we find, likewiſe, ſome Inſtances (1), that, in great Confidence of the Innocence and Juſtice of the Biſhops, he gave them certain Juriſdictions, which among the numerous good Effects they produced, gave, from the Beginning, as is but too common, in the Courſe of all human Affairs, Occaſion to ſeveral Abuſes. Epiſcopal Sees in *Rætia*, *Noricum*, and *Pannonia*.

§. XXXII. THE Eccleſiaſtical Government begun likewiſe to be reduced into a regular Form. The Biſhops were diſtinguiſhed from the other Prieſts, and compoſed a particular Order. The Church had ſo far imitated the political Conſtitution of the Empire, that the Biſhops of each Province had a ſort of Union among themſelves, and thoſe, who dwelt in the capital Cities, had the Precedence. This Regulation was now confirmed, and likewiſe introduced into *Gaul*, where, according to the Opinion of *Anton. Pagius*, they had 'till then no *Metropoles Eccleſiaſticæ* (1). The Biſhop therefore of Regulations among the Biſhops.

(4) ÆG. BUCHERIUS *in diſput. hiſtorica de primis Tungrorum ſ. Leodienſium epiſcopis*, c. 3. *in fin.* Quo tempore exactior dioeceſeon ſacrarum, ut & profanarum inſtituta partitio: ac probabiliter tum primum Tungrenſis civitatis peculiarem obtinuit epiſcopum S. Servatium, ut & Colonia Maternum ſecundum.

§. XXXI. (1) SOZOM. *L.* 1. *c.* 9. *E. p.* 206. Illud porro eſt plane maximum reverentiæ imperatoris erga religionem argumentum, quod clericos ubique per legem ob eam rem conditam immunitate donari voluit: quodque illis, qui erant in judicium vocati, dedit poteſtatem, ſi modo animum inducerent magiſtratus civiles rejicere, ad epiſcoporum judicium provocandi; atque eorum ſententiam ratam eſſe, & aliorum judicum ſententiis plus habere auctoritatis, tanquam ab ipſo imperatore prolatam, ſtatuit. Quin etiam juſſit, ut magiſtratus res judicatas re ipſa exequerentur, militeſque eorum voluntati inſervirent: præterea, ut conciliorum deciſiones firmæ & immutabiles exiſterent. Sirmond *quotes in* append. ad cod. Theodoſianum, *a Law of* Conſtantine's, *importing, that if any one appealed to a Biſhop, the temporal Judge ſhould transfer the Cauſe to him, tho' it were dependant in his Court.* Monſ. Tillemont *ſuſpects the Genuineneſs of this Law*, p. 467. *There is however, another Law extant, almoſt to the ſame Purpoſe, which* Jac. Gothofredus *likewiſe rejects. V. ejus extravagans, ſeu ſubditicius titulus de epiſcopali judicio in fin. codicis Theodoſiani. But, in this,* Tillemont *attempts to anſwer his Objections*, Vid. not. 71. ad vit. Conſtantini.

§. XXXII. (1) Pagi *is of Opinion*, ad A. 401. n. L. *that before the Times of* Conſtantine the Great, *there were no* Metropoles eccleſiaſticæ *in* Gaul, *no more than in* Spain, *tho' he does not deny the* Metropoles civiles: *his Words are theſe:* Scriptores antiquos a quibus

the Capital, of each Province, took Place of the others at their Conventions, and had the Direction of those Matters which were to be treated on: Whence arose the Name *Metropolitans*, and, at Length, that of Arch-Bishops. As, moreover, certain Provinces made together but one Diocese, the Bishop of the Capital of the whole Diocese presided over the other *Metropolitans*; whence they were called *Primates:* And the Chief of those, as the Bishops of *Rome*, *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, were dignified with the Title of *Patriarchs*, 'till this Honour was likewise afterwards conferred on the Bishop of *Constantinople*, and at length on the Bishop of *Jerusalem*. Thus, as the *Præfectus Prætorii Galliarum*, resided at *Triers*, the Capital of all *Gaul* (2), the Bishop of *Triers* was esteemed *Primate* of the Bishops of *Gaul*.

Partition of the Empire among the Sons of *Constantine*. *Constantine* the Younger resides at *Triers*.

§. XXXIII. *CONSTANTINE* the *Great* died A. 337, the 22d of *May*. The Partition he had made of the Empire met, after his Death, with the same Fate, as the last Wills of many other Princes have done. It was subverted, with great Bloodshed, and his three Sons made, at Length, a new Partition among themselves. *Constantine*, the Eldest, retained *Gaul*, *Britain*, *Spain*, and *Mauritania Tingitana*. *Constans*, the Youngest, had *Italy*, *Illyricum*, *Macedonia* and *Achaia:* And *Thrace*, *Egypt*, and the whole *East*, fell to *Constantius*, the second Son; which was esteemed the most advantageous Share. We meet with no Transactions between *Constantine*, the Younger, and the *Germans*; but this we find, that he resided at *Triers* (1). In the Year 310, he began a War with *Constans*, his younger Brother; but was overcome, and lost his Life on that Oc-

quibus aliqua lux affulgere potest, diligenter inter se contuli, nihilque ex illis eruere potui, quod ostendat, ante Constantini magni imperium metropolitanos in Galliis aliquo jure potitos esse. Quare sicut in Hispaniis ante concilium Eliberitanum, & Constantiniana tempora, nullæ fuere metropoles ecclesiasticæ, licet in iis essent metropoles civiles, & sicut ibidem post introductos metropolitanos nulli primates extitere, ut ostendit Joannes de Segovia, marchio Agripolitanus, vir in antiquitate versatissimus, in suis dissertationibus ecclesiasticis lingua Hispanica nuper editis; ita & in Gallia ante Constantini imperium nullas metropoles ecclesiasticas fuisse autumo.

(2) *That* Triers *was the Capital of* Gaul, *is demonstrated by* Pagi, ad A. 332. n. 5. & 6. *among other Proofs, by the Words of* Athanasius, in historia Arianor. ad monachos, c. 33. *in which he mentions* Paulinus, *Bishop of* Triers: Ex quorum numero clarissimæ sunt confessionis viri religiosi, & episcopi boni, Paulinus, episcopus Trevirorum, quæ Galliarum metropolis est: Lucifer, metropolitanus Sardiniæ: Eusebius, Vercellis civitate Italiæ: Dionysius Mediolani, quod & ipsum est Italiæ metropolis.

§. XXXIII. (1) *V. l.* 27. *cod.* THEOD. *de decurionibus data Treviris VI. Idus Januar.* 339. *adde chronol. Cod. Theodos.* p. 40. *Porro epistola ejus ad populum Alexandrinum pro Athanasio data est Treviris XV. Kal. Jul. vid. Athanasii Apologia contra Arianos*, p. 203. Socrates *mentions this Letter,* L. 2. c. 2. Eas quidem litteras imperator ipse ad populum Alexandrinum, ab urbe Treviri, quæ est in Galliæ, miserat.

casion.

ſion. *Conſtans*, thereupon, united thoſe Provinces, which his Brother had governed, with his own, and brought all the *Weſtern* Countries under his Scepter, in like Manner as his Brother was Maſter of all the *Eaſt*.

§. XXXIV. THE *Franks* intended, probably, to have taken Advantage of theſe civil Wars: For we find, that ſoon after *Conſtans* became Maſter of *Gaul*, he was at War with them (1): But the *Roman* Hiſtorians do not pretend to boaſt much of Advantages gained on their Side (2).

The Wars of *Conſtans* with the *Franks*.

§. XXXIV. (1) SOCRATES, *L.* 1. *c.* 7. Iſto tempore reipublicæ ſtatus magnopere perturbatus fuit. Nam gens Francorum, qui Galliæ finitimi ſunt, in Romanorum fines incurſionem fecerunt. Libanius *takes Notice of this Incurſion in the Panegyrick, ſpoken in Honour of the two Emperors*, Conſtans *and* Conſtantius (orat. 3. p. 137.) *and at the ſame Time gives a large Deſcription of the* Franks, *which I ſhall add here entire.* Celtarum gens eſt ſupra Rhenum fluvium, ad oceanum pertingens, tam præclare a natura ad bellorum uſus munita, ut appellationem ab ipſis actis nacti, Franci nominentur, quaſi a Græcanica dictione φραγκοὶ, hoc eſt ſepti, munitive ab imperito vulgo corrupta. Hi multitudine numerum pene omnem excedunt: robore autem multitudinis immenſitatem ſuperant. His maris procelloſi æſtus non magis terrori eſt, quam continens terra: & frigus ſeptentrionale ſuavius quam aëris temperies: calamitas vero maxima eſt vita abſque negotiis: & felicitatis apex belli tempora ſunt. Quod ſi quis mutilatus fuerit, parte reliqua integra prœliatur: & vincentium perſecutio non admittit finem: ut ſi contigerit ut ſuperentur, extremum fugæ, invaſionis initium faciant; porro inſanæ pervicacitatis præmia, & audaciæ honores, legibus apud ipſos ſancitis, obtinent: quietem, otiumque omnino judicant morbum. Quapropter ab omni ævo ſuperiore propinquum illis regnum nacti, neque rationes invenerunt, quibus perſuaderent: neque tantam in armis vim habuerunt, ut quieſcere cogerent. Verum diu noctuque nulla interpoſita mora, perſeverantes, excurſionibus occurrere opus erat: neque cibum ſine armis ſumere, neque galea depoſita ſecure requieſcere licebat: ſed tantum non armaturæ cohærentes ferrum geſtare priſcorum Acarnanum more oportebat. Idemque his uſu venit quod in obicibus, quando mare variis impulſum ventis continuatos fluctus decumanos excitat. Nam quemadmodum ibi priuſquam prior fluctus ad oppoſitos obices fractus ſit, ſecundus occupat, & tertius deinceps: iſque motus non intermittit, donec venti ceſſent: ita certe Francorum animi rerum bellicarum amore ad inſaniam concitati, crebras edebant impreſſiones; ac priuſquam primam aciem prorſus repuliſſent, dux alter exercitus ſuperincidebat: verum tandem oportuit hos fluctuum motus componi, ſiſtique firmiter. Enimvero tum rex apparuit, qui inſatiabilem in illis bellandi cupiditatem, ad pacis deſiderium convertit: nec ullam artem aliam adhibuit; niſi quod majorem ipſe ad pugnandum alacritatem, quam ea, quæ in illis fuit, præ ſe tulit. Itaque minime ad manus venire & congredi ſunt auſi: ſed formido tantum congreſſus, idem atque experimentum efficere potuit: ac dextras quidem non ad haſtilium jaculationem intendere, ſed ad pactorum & fœderum poſtulationem protenderunt, cujus rei argumento eſt, quod rectores a nobis admiſerint, tanquam eorum, quæ agerentur, inſpectores: & belluina rabie abjecta, humanos diſcurſus amplexati ſunt, ac plus habendi cupidine relicta, jurisjurandi religionem in honore habuerunt. Denique omnino etiam juramentorum neceſſitate nulla urgente, quietem adamarunt. Sic pejor a meliori coërceri aſſolet.

(2) IDATIUS *ad A.* 341. Marcellino & Probino Coſſ.

His Coſſ. *pugna facta eſt cum gente Francorum a Conſtante auguſto in Galliis. ad A.* 342. Conſtantio III. & Conſtante II. Coſſ.

His Coſſ. *victi Franci a Conſtante aug. ſeu pacati. Et ad A.* 343. *Franci a Conſtante perdomiti, & pax cum eis facta.*

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The Coins, however, with the Reverſe, TRIUMPHATOR GENTIUM BARBARARUM, and VIRTUS EXERCITUS GALL. (3), ſeem to relate to this War. The following Year, 344, this War came to an End, rather, as it ſeems, by friendly Negociations, than by Force of the *Roman* Army (4): For *Conſtans* had the more Reaſon to eſtabliſh a Peace on the *Lower-Rhine*, as his Preſence was neceſſary in *Britain*; whither he went in the Year 343. If the Hiſtory of *Ammianus Marcellinus* had been preſerv'd entire, we ſhould have had a more explicit Account of theſe Wars, and of his other Tranſactions with the *Germans*; for that Writer boaſts, in one Paſſage, of this Emperor's Skill in keeping the *Alemanni* very much in Aw (5).

Biſhops from *Belgica* and *Germany* aſſiſt at the Council of *Sardica*.

§. XXXV. BUT no Tranſactions, in the Reign of *Conſtans*, are ſo expreſsly mentioned in Hiſtory, as the Share he took in the Affairs of Religion; which we muſt not here omit, as from thence we may know the State of ſome Epiſcopal Sees, that flouriſh in the *German* Church to this Day. His Law, which prohibits Idolatrous Sacrifices, under Pain of Death, ſhew with what Zeal he aimed at the Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity: But the Church itſelf was, at that Time, rent by a violent Schiſm. As the Adherents of *Euſebius* had great Influence at the Court of *Conſtantinople*; ſo, on the other Hand, did *Conſtantine* and *Conſtans* favour the Party of *Athanaſius*. When the *Euſebiani* ſent the Articles of their Faith, which they had ratified at the Synod of *Antioch*, to *Conſtans*, the Emperor, to *Gaul*, by the Hands of four of their own Biſhops, A. 344, the Biſhops of *Gaul* not only rejected thoſe Articles; but *Maximinus*, Biſhop of *Triers*, who had before ſhewed his Zeal for the Truth, when *Conſtantine* the *Great* ſent *Athanaſius* into Exile, to *Triers* †, would not now converſe with theſe Meſſengers (1). *Conſtans* publickly took *Athanaſius*, who had, a ſecond Time, been forced to quit his Church, into his Protection, and repreſented the Caſe to his Brother, with ſo much Energy, that both Emperors at

(3) BANDURI, *p.* 351. & 353.

(4) SOCRATES, *L.* 2. *c.* 10. Iſta acta ſunt duobus auguſtis Coſſ. ad III. ſcilicet conſulatum Conſtantii, ac ſecundum Conſtantis. Quo quidem tempore Conſtans gentem devicit Francorum, eoſque fœderatos ac ſocios Romanis fecit.

(5) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *L.* 30. *c.* 7. *de Valentiniano:* Gallias petiit Alamannicis patentes excurſibus, reviviſcentibus erectius, cognito principis Juliani interitu, quem poſt *Conſtantem* ſolum omnium formidabant.

§. XXXV. † V. HERMANT *dans la vie de S. Athanaſe L.* 4. *c.* 16. *p.* 357. *The Compiler imagines, in his Explanation, that he came towards the End of* February, *in the Year* 336, *and ſtaid there, 'till the End of* June, 338.

(1) SOSOMENUS, *L.* 3. *c.* 10. Inde etiam ipſi illi epiſcopi in epiſtola ſynodali concilii pſeudo-Sardicenſis, ſub finem: Maximinum a Treviris damnat omne concilium, quod collegas noſtros epiſcopos, quos ad Gallias miſeramus, noluerit ſuſcipere. *Add.* Hermant. *l. c. Lib.* 5. *c.* 24.

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laſt agreed to a Council, to be held at *Sardica* (2), a City of *Moëſia*, which was ſituate on the Confines of the Dominions of *Conſtans* and *Conſtantius*, and was conſequently very convenient for ſuch an Aſſembly. Their Decrees concern us no farther, than that not only *Maximinus*, with the Biſhops of *Metz*, *Tull*, *Verdun*, and other Prelates of *Gaul*; but, likewiſe, from *Germania prima*, *Martinus*, Biſhop of *Mentz*; *Victor* or *Victurus*, Biſhop of *Worms*; *Jeſſe*, Biſhop of *Spires*; and *Amantus*, or *Amandus*, Biſhop of *Strasburg*; and from *Germania ſecunda*, *Euphrates*, Biſhop of *Cologn*; and *Servatius*, Biſhop of *Tongres*, aſſiſted at this Council. The Biſhop of *Triers* had ſo great an Influence there, that he was equally eſteemed with Pope *Julius* (3). *Euphrates*, Biſhop of *Cologn*, together with the Biſhop of *Capua*, were ſent, after the Concluſion of the Council, to *Conſtantine*, the Emperor, to make all poſſible Inſtances for the Reſtoration of the Biſhops then in Exile (4).

§. XXXVI. WE find Decrees of a Council held at *Cologn*, on the *Rhine*, A. 346, by which it appears, that *Maximinus*, Biſhop of *Triers*, had the Precedency at that Aſſembly; and that *Euphrates*, Biſhop of *Cologn*, was condemned. But as, at firſt View, it ſeems improbable, that *Euphrates*, who, the Year enſuing, did ſuch eminent Service to the Orthodox Church, as is obſerved before, ſhould be depoſed for *Arianiſm*: So, upon a more narrow Enquiry, we find, ſo many Marks of Falſhood in them (1), that we can hardly make

Of the Council at *Cologn*, on the *Rhine*.

(2) ATHANASIUS *apol. p.* 754. Ab religioſiſſimis imperatoribus, Conſtantio & Conſtante, juſſi ſunt epiſcopi orientis & occidentis Sardicam convenire. *The Council of* Sardica *ſay themſelves*; Religioſiſſimi principes nos ex diverſis provinciis & civitatibus in unum convocaverunt, cupientes, ut ſancta ſynodus Sardicam conveniret, quo omnis controverſia præcideretur.

(3) HILARIUS *in fragmentis ap.* Bucherium *in Belgio Romano, p.* 277. *n.* 7. Ignoraſſe vos negabitis, Athanaſio, (cujus damnationem a vobis Valens. Urſacius, Saturnius exigunt) ab Oſio, Maximino, Julio redditam communionem.

(4) ATHANASIUS *ad monachos, c.* 20. *p.* 355. Nam cum ſacra ſynodus legatos epiſcopos miſiſſet, Vincentium Capuæ, quæ metropolis eſt Campaniæ, epiſcopum, & Euphratem Agrippinæ, quæ eſt metropolis ſuperioris Galliæ; ut prout decretum a ſynodo fuerat, imperator epiſcopos, in ſuas reverti eccleſias concederet, quos nempe expuliſſet ipſe, &c. *He thereupon relates the Adventures which theſe two Prelates met with at* Antioch.

§. XXXVI. Sirmondus *takes them to be genuine, who is ſeconded by* Pagius, ad A. 346. n. 6. *and the latter endeavours to remove the Scruples, raiſed by* Cointius, ad A. 355. n. 13. *and* Henſchenius ad d. 13 Maii in illuſtratione vitæ S. Servatii: *But* Monſ. Hermant, dans la Vie de S. Athanaſe, *L.* 5. *c.* 28. aux eclairciſſements, n. 3. *and* Dupin in Bibliotheca nova, p. 326. *proves, by the Subſcriptions themſelves, that thoſe Decrees cannot be received as genuine, tho' we were even not to inſiſt exactly on the Year, and place the Synod ſomewhat later.*

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any Scruple of rejecting these Decrees, as either interpolated, or, at least corrupted (2).

Magnentius, assisted by some other of the *Germans*, particularly the *Franks*, assumes the Imperial Dignity. † *M. Januar.*

§. XXXVII. *CONSTANS* was murder'd, A. 350 †, and *Magnentius*, the Author of the Conspiracy, proclaimed Emperor in his Room. He was a *German* by Birth, and his Ancestors were, perhaps, among those Captives, which *Maximian* or *Constantius* transported from *Germany* to *Gaul*. He had been instructed in all the Sciences and Disciplines of the *Romans*, in which he had attained to so great a Perfection, that he was highly esteemed by the Emperor *Constans*, and placed at the Head of the Legions, raised by *Diocletian* and *Maximian*. As he was now under a Necessity to maintain, by Force, a Title which he had unjustly acquired, he drew a great Number of *Franks* and *Saxons* into his Service (1): He likewise made himself Master of *Italy* by Force, and caused *Nepotianus*, Nephew of *Constantine* the Great, who had assumed the Imperial Dignity, at *Rome*, to be murder'd: But he did not neglect, at the same Time, to make Proposals to *Constantius* for an amicable Treaty, and sent an Embassy to him (2), with which was

(2) *Conf.* BASNAGE, *in annal. politico-ecclesiasticis ad A.* 346. n. 4, 5.

§. XXXVII. † *See* Julian's *Words*, n. 1.

(1) JULIANUS, *orat. I. p.* 34. *says of* Magnentius: Num igitur omnia mihi commemoranda sunt illius scelera, quæ cum adversus rempublicam, tum privatim contra te molitus est? qui cum & domino suo sceleratissime manus inferre non dubitasset (erat enim majorum illius vile mancipium, & de Germanorum præda servatæ infelices reliquiæ) & imperare nobis cuperet, cum ne liber quidem habendus esset, nisi id a nobis impetrasset. *He thereupon describes his Preparations*: Sed bellici illius apparatus, quem cum adversus barbaros comparasset, in nos effudit, vim ac potentiam quis pro rei dignitate possit explicare? *He makes on this Occasion particular Mention of those* German *Nations, who served him. ibid.* D. Aderant & AFFINITATIS NOMINE promptissimi sociorum Franci, & Saxones, qui ultra Rhenum, atque occidentis mare habitant, nationes omnium bellicosissimæ. *It. orat.* 2. *p.* 56. *A.* Habebat autem ille secum legionarios peditos multos; tum non pauciorem equitum numerum, quicquid roboris ex Gallis, & Hispanis, ac Germanis, qui Rhenum accolunt, & mare ad occidentem situm; quod sive oceanum, s. Atlanticum mare, sive alio quopiam nomine appellare conveniat, nihil admodum pugnabo. Verum bellicosissimas ac longe fortissimas barbarorum nationes ad illum habitare non auditu modo, cujus non adeo certa fides est: sed experientia, quod dici solet, ipsa comperi. Harum igitur gentium non minorem multitudinem, quam quæ ex domesticis copiis sequabatur, secum educens; Vel ut verius dicam, ILLI QUIDEM, UTPOTE GENERIS EJUSDEM AC COGNATI, quam plurimi comitabantur: nostri vero, sic enim Romanos appellare libet, vi ac necessitate compulsi trahebantur.

(2) Athanasius, *in the Passage quoted above*, n. 3. *mentions four Ambassadors, two of whom were Bishops, whom he calls* Sarbacius *and* Maximus. Baronius ad A. 350. v. 28. *supposes them to have been* Servatius *Bishop of* Tongres, *and* Maximinus, *Bishop of* Triers. Hermant, *in the Life of* Athanasius, *is of his Opinion, with Regard to the former, but not to the latter, who was dead before this Time. V. l. vie de S. Athanase, aux eclaircissements sur le* livre 6. c. 19.

Servatius,

Servatius, Biſhop of *Tongres*, and another Biſhop. The Ambaſſadors paſs'd through *Alexandria*, and *Athanaſius*'s Enemies took thereupon Occaſion to accuſe him, at Court, of having an Underſtanding with *Magnentius*; which Calumny he clear'd himſelf of with great Preſence of Mind (3). *Conſtantius* was deaf to all Propoſals of Accommodation, and took the Field againſt *Magnentius*. On his March, he defeated *Veteranio*, who attempted to uſurp the Empire, in *Pannonia*, and, upon certain Conditions, was united with *Magnentius*, who had already reach'd that Province. He thereupon diſpers'd *Magnentius*'s Troops near *Sciſſa*, and ſoon after entirely routed him, near *Murſa*, on the *Draw*. To this Defeat, the Defection of *Silvanus*, a Son of the *Franconian* General *Bonitus*, of whom Mention is made above (4), with his Men, from *Magnentius* to him (5), did not a little contribute. Thus, this *German* Hero did, indeed, open a Way to the higheſt Promotion in the Emperor's Service; which however was, ſoon after, the Cauſe of his own Perdition.

§. XXXVIII. *CONSTANTIUS*, the next Year, drove *Magnentius* out of *Italy*, likewiſe, and by perſuading the *Alemanni* to fall up on him, in *Gaul*, raiſed him a dangerous Enemy there, where he might otherwiſe have recruited. *Magnentius* had entruſted this Province to his Brother *Decentius*, to whom he, at the ſame Time, gave the Appellation of *Cæſar* (1): But he was vanquiſh'd by *Chodomarin*, Prince of the *Alemanni*, who headed this Expe-

Conſtantius employs the Alemanni againſt him. A. C. 352.

(3) ATHANASIUS *was accuſed to* Conſtantius *of having written to* Magnentius: *But he clear'd himſelf of this Charge*, in apologia ad imperatorem Conſtantium, p. 298. & ſqq. *He ſays, among other Things, p.* 300. *n.* 9. Apud te autem, veri ſtudioſe imperator, cum fiducia meam propugno cauſam: rogoque te, uti jam dixi, rem diligenter explores: cum potiſſimum teſtes habeas legatos, ad te olim ab illo miſſos; Servatium ſcilicet, & Maximum cum comitibus ſuis; Clementium item & Valentem. Diſce, quæſo, num litteras ad me detulerint: illæ quippe occaſio mihi fuiſſent ad eum reſcribendi. Quod ſi nec mihi ille ſcripſit, neque me novit, quare ad ignotum virum miſiſſem litteras? Sciſcitare, an viſo Clementio, beatæ memoriæ viri mentionem non fecerim: an, uti ſcriptum eſt, lacrymis meis veſtimenta non perfuderim, dum humanitatem ejus, animamque illam, Chriſti amantiſſimam, in mente verſarem. Diſce, quæſo, quanta formidine perculſus ſim, audita belluæ illius feritate, cum Valentem per Lybiam iter habere conſpicerem, veritus ſcil. ne quidpiam ille facinoris aggrederetur, nec quaſi latro illos obtruncaret, qui beatum virum amore & memoria complecterentur: inter quos me nulli ſecundum affirmo.

(4) *See above* §. XXVII.

(5) *See below* §. XLII. *not.* 5.

§. XXXVIII. (1) ZOSIMUS *p.* 229. Conſtantium maximis muneribus vicinos Rheno barbaros infeſtos ei reddidiſſe; tum ad Gallicas nationes, opera quorundam Conſtantio favorem conciliantium ducum, præcluſum eſſe aditum; quum nec per occidentales Hiſpanos ad Mauros transjicere poſſet, quod iſtis etiam in locis fœderati Romanorum benevolentiam Conſtantii captaſſent.

dition, and will be farther mentioned in the Sequel (2). The *Franks*, on the other Side, over-run the Provinces on the *Lower-Rhine*, the Forts along that Part of the River being diveſted of their Garriſons. Several Cities in *Gaul* rebell'd likewiſe againſt the new Government, and we find, in particular, that the Gates of *Triers* were ſhut againſt *Decentius* (3). When *Magnentius* was again routed, in the Year 353, in *Gaul*, by *Conſtantius*'s Generals, between *Diel* and *Gap* (4), he ſaw on all Sides ſo little Hopes of retrieving his bad Fortune, that he made away with himſelf at *Lyons* (5). His Brother *Decentius* was on the March to relieve him, when he received this News; and ſome *Roman* Troops, who met him by the Way, ſo harraſs'd him, that he likewiſe ſtrangled himſelf (6) at *Sens*, after having, for a very ſhort Time, bore the Name of *Auguſtus*, if we may believe the Medal, on which he has that Title (7). The Reſolution both theſe Brothers took, of dying by their own Hands, agrees with the Opinion, the ancient *Germans* entertain'd, concerning Suicide; and, as the Chriſtian Religion, which they both profeſs'd, (according to their Medals) could not reſtrain them from rebelling againſt their lawful Sovereigns, we have the leſs Reaſon to wonder, that it did not keep them from laying violent Hands on themſelves.

Silvanus, Son of *Bonitus*, drives the *Franks* out of *Gaul*.

§. XXXIX. *CONSTANTIUS* celebrated, thereupon, at *Arles*, the Day, on which he had, 30 Years † before, been created *Cæſar*, with ſplendid publick Shews and the Fighting of wild Beaſts. However ſerviceable the *Germans* had been to him againſt *Magnentius*, he would now gladly have been rid of them. He undertook, there-

† VI. Id. Oct.

(2) V. *locum* Ammiani Marcellini *ad* §. XLIX. *nota* 1.

(3) AMMIANUS, *L.* 15. *c.* 6. Poſt hunc damnatorum ſorte Pœmenius raptus ad ſupplicium interiit: qui (ut ſupra retulimus) cum Treveri civitatem cæſari clauſiſſent Decentio, ad defendendam plebem electus eſt.

(4) Ad montem Seleucum, *near the Place, where the Caſtle of* Aſpres *now lies.*

(5) ZOSIMUS *gives, on this Occaſion, the following Character of him*, L. II. c. 59. p. 230. Ac Magnentius quidem hoc modo periit, quum tribus annis & ſex præterea menſibus imperaſſet. Originem generis a barbaris habebat, & vixerat apud Letos, quæ Gallica natio eſt. Litteras latinas didicerat. Audax fortuna proſpera, timidus adverſa, occultandæ naturæ inſitæ malitiæ mirus artifex, qui mores ipſius & ingenium perſpectum non habentibus ſimplex & bonus eſſe putaretur.

(6) ZOSIMUS, *c. l. p.* 231. Decentius arceſſitus a Magnentio ad ferendam opem, jam in Italiam contendens, ſimul ac intellexiſſet, quod illi accidiſſet: in ordines quoſdam turmaſque militares lapſus, quum nullam ſalutis ſpem videret, obtorta laqueo cervice mortuus eſt. Hieron. *in chron.* Apud Senonas laqueo vitam explevit. Idatius, *in faſtis, aſſigns the Day*: Laqueo ſe ſuſpendit XV. Kal. Sept.

(7) BANDURI. 411.

fore,

fore, a War, with the *Alemanni*, himſelf; and ſent *Silvanus* to the *Lower-Rhine*, to keep the *Franks* within Bounds. This is the ſame *Silvanus*, of whom I mention'd before, that he deſerted from *Magnentius* to *Conſtantius*, near *Murſa*, and thereby contributed greatly to the Victory that enſued. His Father, *Bonitus* had ſpar'd no Expence, to give him an Education equal to what the moſt eminent *Roman* could beſtow on his Children; *Sylvanus* was therefore not only a great General, but likewiſe a moſt accompliſh'd Courtier (1). After he had embraced the Party of *Conſtantius*, he gained ſuch a Reputation, that the Emperor placed him at the Head of the Infantry, and now entruſted him with the important Command on the *Lower-Rhine* (2). This Confidence will appear the leſs ſtrange to us, when we conſider, that, at this Time, there were many *German* Princes in the Emperor's Service, who enjoy'd the moſt honourable Poſts. *Silvanus*, beſides, left his Son behind him, as an Hoſtage, and made ſo good Uſe of his Valour and Prudence, that the Face of Affairs in thoſe Parts was ſoon changed (3).

§. XL. *CONSTANTIUS* went himſelf, A. 354, in the Spring, from *Arles* to *Valence*, to make Preparations for an Expedition againſt *Gundomad* and *Vadomar*, two Princes of the *Alemanni*, who had 'till then had a great Share in the Irruptions made into the *Roman* Provinces, and whoſe Dominions probably extended, as we may judge by Circumſtances, thro' thoſe Countries, where the *Black Foreſt*, *Briſgou*, and the Dominions of *Baden* now are. The Army itſelf was order'd to *rendezvous* at *Chalons ſur Saone* (1); from whence it march'd, with

Conſtantius paſſes the *Rhine* near *Baſil*, and treats with the *Alemanni*.

§. XXXIX. (1) v. VICTOR. *in epit. c.* 42. Silvanus imperator effectus die imperii vigeſimo octavo perimitur. Fuit ingenio blandiſſimus. Quanquam barbaro patre genitus; tamen inſtitutione Romana ſatis cultus, & patiens.

(2) AMM. MARCELLINUS, *L.* 15. *c.* 5. Cum diuturna incuria Galliæ cædes acerbas, rapinaſque, & incendia, barbaris licenter graſſantibus, nullo juvante perferrent; Silvanus pedeſtris militiæ rector, ut efficax ad hæc corrigenda, principis juſſu perrexit, Arbetione id maturari, modis quibus poterat, adigente, ut abſenti æmulo, quem ſupereſſe adhuc gravabatur periculoſæ molis onus impingeret.

(3) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *L.* 15. *c.* 5. Memorato itaque duce Gallias ex R. P. diſcurſante, barbaroſque propellente, jam ſibi diffidentes, & trepidantes, &c. *add.* §. XLVI. *not.* 6. Julian, *p.* 48. *B. ſpeaks indeed ſomewhat lightly of him, in the Paſſages quoted* §. XLII. n. 6, *but it proceeds from his Partiality for* Conſtantius, *whom he greatly extols in that Oration. Thus* Mamertinus, *in gratiarum actione pro conſulatu, paneg.* 10. *n.* 13. *for the ſame Reaſon, to flattter* Julian, *repreſents* Silvanus *as one given to Voluptuouſneſs.*

§. XL. (1) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *L.* 14. *c.* 10. Hæc dum oriens diu perferret, cœli reſerato tepore, Conſtantius conſulatu ſuo ſepties, & cæſaris ter, egreſſus Arelate, Valentiam petit, in Gundomadum & Vadomarium fratres, Alamannorum reges, arma moturus, quorum crebris excurſibus vaſtabantur confines limitibus terræ Gallorum.

much Difficulty, over the Mountains, towards *Auguſta Rauracorum*, which was not far diſtant from the preſent *Baſil*; where the Emperor intended to lay a Bridge over the *Rhine*. But the *Alemanni* ſo inceſſantly plied the *Romans*, with their Darts and Arrows (2), that they found the Execution of their Deſign impracticable. In the mean Time, a Perſon, who knew the Country, directed them to a Place, where the River was ſo dry, that the Army could paſs it in one Night. The *Alemanni* were the more terrified at this, as their Sooth-ſayers would not promiſe them a fortunate Battle (3): But there were ſome *Alemanni*, in the Emperor's Service, who privately acquainted their Country-Men (4), that the Court had received ſuch News from the *Eaſt*, that the Emperor was as much inclined to Peace, as they could wiſh: For *Gallus*, *Conſtantine* the *Great*'s Brother's Son, whom the Emperor had nominated *Cæſar*, as he had himſelf no Male Heir, and entruſted with the Government of the *Eaſt*, gave ſuch Evidences of his Tyrannick Diſpoſition, and wicked Deſigns againſt his Uncle, that a Rebellion was feared. The two Princes therefore ſent an Ambaſſy to the Emperor, begg'd pardon for the Irruptions they had made, and, at the ſame Time, ſued for Peace, which they promis'd to keep moſt ſacred for the future. *Conſtantius* was in Reality pleaſed with this Offer; the *German* Generals ſeconded it, in a Council of War, and the whole *Roman* Army ſeem'd to wiſh earneſtly for Peace: For they were prepoſſeſs'd with the Opinion, that the Emperor was not ſucceſsful in foreign Wars. *Conſtantius* therefore made Peace with the *Alemanni*, which they ſwore to in a particular Manner, cuſtomary among them; and he, thereupon, went

(2) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *L.* 14. *c.* 10. Emenſis itaque difficultatibus multis, & nive obrutis callibus pluribus, ubi prope Rauracum ventum eſt, ad ſupercilia fluminis Rheni, reſiſtente multitudine Alamanna, pontem ſuſpendere navium compage, Romani vi nimia vehabantur, ritu grandinis, undique convolantibus telis.

(3) IDEM, *l. c. cap.* 10. Dirimentibus forte auſpiciis, vel congredi prohibentibus.

(4) AMMIAN *mentions*, l. c. *in particular three Perſons, who were ſuſpected:* Latinus, *the* Comes Domeſticorum; Agilo, *the* Tribunus Stabuli, *and* Scudilo, *who was* Rector Scutariorum. Ecce autem ex improviſo index quidam regionum gnarus advenit, & mercede accepta vadoſum locum nocte monſtravit, unde ſuperari potuit flumen, & potuiſſet, aliorſum intentis hoſtibus, exercitus inde tranſgreſſus, nullo id opinante, cuncta vaſtare, ni pauci ex eadem gente, quibus erat honoratioris militiæ cura commiſſa, populares ſuos hæc per nuntios docuiſſent occultos, ut quidam exiſtimabant. Infamabat autem hæc ſuſpicio Latinum, domeſticorum comitem, & Agilonem, tribunum ſtabuli, atque Scutilonem, ſcutariorum rectorem, qui tunc, ut dextris ſuis geſtantes rempublicam colebantur. *The laſt of theſe was a particular Favourite with the Emperor, who employed him, immediately after, in laying the Snare for* Gallus. IBID. c. 11. *On which Occaſion* Ammian *repreſents his Genius in theſe Words:* Velamento ſubagreſtis ingenii, perſuaſionis opifex calidus.

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to *Milan* (5), to paſs the Winter there. Here the Perdition of *Gallus* was fully determined. He was decoy'd to Court by fair Promiſes; but, by the Way, was impriſon'd in the Palace of the City of *Petobio* †, in *Noricum*, and from thence carried to *Iſtria*, where (6) he was oblig'd to leave his Head.

† Now *Petau.*

§. XLI. *CONSTANTIUS* was ſoon after, ſome ſay the following Year †, at War with the *Lenticenſes*, another Nation of the *Alemanni*, who invaded *Rætia*. He marched himſelf againſt them, and encamped in the *Campi Canini* (which ſome place in the Regions about *Belizone*, others about *Chiavenna*) and order'd *Arbetio*, his General, with the greater Part of the Army, to extend himſelf along the Lake of *Conſtance* (1): But *Arbetio*, in the very thickeſt of the Foreſt, fell into an Ambuſh, where he loſt a great Number of Men, and with great Difficulty eſcaped himſelf in Perſon. The *Alemanni*, on the other Hand, became ſo inſolent, by this Succeſs, that they march'd up to the very Lines of the *Roman* Camp, and bid them Defiance; but the *Romans* making a vigorous Sally, they were entirely routed: Whereupon the Emperor * went back to *Milan*, there to paſs the Winter again (2).

An Expedition againſt the *Lenticenſes*, who invade *Rætia*.

† A. 555. conf. Till. n. 36.

* Orans & lætus.

XLII. *SILVANUS*'s ſucceſsful Atchievements, on the *Lower Rhine*, had an Effect far different from what he expected. Some invidious Perſons forged Letters, by Means of which they accuſed him to the Emperor of aſpiring to higher Things; and tho', many emi-

Silvanus aſſumes the Title of Emperor on the Lower Rhine.

(5) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *l. c.* Iſto poſthæc fœdere gentium ritu, perfectaque ſolemnitate, imperator Mediolanum ad hiberna diſceſſit.

(6) *At what Place is uncertain. V.* TILLEM. *not.* 32.

§ XLI. (1) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS *gives*, L. 15. c. 4. *ſo juſt a Deſcription of the Place, that the Paſſage deſerves our Notice here.* Inter montium celſorum amfractus immani pulſu Rhenus exoriens, per præruptos ſcopulos extenditur, nullis aquis externis adoptatis, ut ---- per Cataractas inclinatione præcipiti funditur Nilus. Et navigari ab ortu poterat, primigenio copiis exuberans propriis, nî ruenti curreret ſimilis potius, quam fluenti. Jamque abſolutus, altaque divortia riparum adradens, lacum invadit rotundum & vaſtum, quem Brigantiam accola Rætus appellat, perque quadringenta & ſexaginta ſtadia longum, parique pene ſpatio late diffuſum, horrore ſilvarum ſqualentium inacceſſum, (niſi qua vetus illa Romana virtus & ſobria iter compoſuit latum) barbaris & natura locorum & cœli inclementia refragante. Hanc ergo paludem ſpumoſis ſtrependo verticibus amnis irrumpens, & undarum quietem permeans pigram, mediam velut finali interſecat libramento; & tanquam elementum perenni diſcordia ſeparatum, nec aucto nec imminuto agmine quod intulit, vocabulo & viribus abſolvitur integris, nec contagia deinde ulla perpetiens, oceani gurgitibus intimatur. Quodque eſt impendio mirum, nec ſtagnum aquarum rapido tranſcurſu movetur, nec limoſa ſubluvie tardatur properans flumen, & confuſum miſceri non poteſt corpus: quod ni ita agi ipſe doceret adſpectus, nulla vi credebatur diſcerni.

(2) IBID. *l. c.*

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nent Men among the *Franks* (1), who were in conſiderable Poſts, did their Utmoſt, to ſave their Friend and Country-man, and, with him, the Honour of the *Germans* at Court; yet, a Proceſs was privately forming againſt him. *Silvanus* no ſooner heard of it, than he looked upon himſelf as loſt: He knew the Emperor's Temper, and the Power of the Eunuchs at Court, who, in their private Offices, could influence their Maſter as they pleaſed: But then, he ſaw himſelf in as great Danger, if he entruſted his Perſon in the Hands of the *Franks*, with whom he had hitherto been at War (2): He was, therefore, reduced, of Neceſſity and in Deſpair, to undertake, what he had hitherto been falſely accuſed of. He ſecured the Army to his Intereſt, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Emperor at *Cologn* (3), where he had, but five Days before, paid the Soldiers, and exhorted them, to be faithful to *Conſtantius*. When this News reached *Milan*, the Court reſolved to diſſemble its Knowledge of this Affair, and to fruſtrate his Deſign, by an Artifice. To this End, *Urſicinus* was ſent to *Germany*, with Orders to pretend, that he came to relieve *Silvanus*, to whom he brought very gracious Letters; but privately to attempt all poſſible Means for his Deſtruction. *Urſicinus* carried his Diſſimulation ſo high, that he declared himſelf for *Silvanus*; and, the latter was the more credulous, as *Urſicinus* had equal Reaſon with him to be diſaffected to the Court: For both had this Complaint to make, among others, that many undeſerving Perſons had been preferr'd to the Conſulſhip, in Prejudice to them (4). They had begun to concert Matters for an Expedition to *Italy*, when *Urſicinus*, at Length, found an Opportunity of bribing ſome Soldiers, to break into the Palace one Morning early, where they murdered *Silvanus*, who, in the Confuſion, was

§. XLII. (1) Ammianus Marcellinus, L. 15. c. 5. *names* Malarichus *and* Mallobaudes. Malarichus *was* gentilium rector, Mallobaudes, tribunus armaturarum. Ammianus *ſays of* Malarichus, *l. c.* Adhibitis Francis, quorum ea tempeſtate in palatio multitudo florebat, erectius jam loquebatur. *In this Hiſtory we meet with the Mention of many* Franks *of Diſtinction*, viz. Pappo ductor Promotorum, *who was* 17 *Years afterwards*, MODESTO & ARINTHÆO COSS. præfectus urbis. Barchobaudes, ſcutariorum, *and, afterwards* cornutorum tribunus. Teutomenes, protector domeſticus. Seniaucus, turmæ equeſtris præpoſitus. Add. Valesius, l. c. L. 1. p. 35.

(2) Ammianus Marcellinus, *l. c. p.* 62. Laniogaiſo vetante, - - - - docenteque Francos, unde oriebatur, interfecturos eum, aut, accepto præmio, prodituros.

(3) Ammian. Marcell. *l. c.* Cultu purpureo a draconum & vexillorum inſignibus ad tempus abſtracto, ad culmen imperiale ſurrexit.

(4) Ibid. Ægre ferebat Silvanus ad conſulatum poteſtateſque ſublimes elatis indignis, ſe & Urſicinum, ſolos, poſt exſudatos magnos pro rep. labores, & crebros, ita fuiſſe deſpectos.

about

about to take Refuge in a Church (5). *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who was, at that Time, in the Retinue of *Uſticinus*, laments his Fate, as a valiant Man, whoſe Fall was alone owing to malicious Calumnies (6) when he had ſcarce bore the Imperial Title a Month. On a Medal, yet extant of him (7), he bears the Name of *Flavius*, which was either given him in his Youth, in Honour to *Conſtantine* the *Great*, who received eminent Services from his Father, or he aſſumed it now, on Occaſion of this Inſurrection.

§. XLIII.

(5) AMMIAN. MARCELL. *l. c. c.* 5. Subitus armatorum globus erupit: atque ut ſolet in dubiis rebus audentior, cæſis cuſtodibus, regia penetrata, Silvanum extractum ædicula, quo exanimatus confugerat, ad conventiculum ritus Chriſtiani tendentem, denſis gladiorum ictibus trucidarunt.

(6) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *L.* 15. *c.* 5. Ita dux haud exilium meritorum hoc genere oppetit mortis, metu calumniarum, quibus factione iniquorum irretitus eſt abſens, ut tueri poſſit ſalutem, ad præſidia progreſſus extrema. Licet enim ob tempeſtivam illam cum armaturis proditionem ante Murſenſe prœlium, obligatum gratia retineret Conſtantium; ut dubium tamen & mutabilem verebatur; licet patris quoque Boniti prætenderet fortia facta, Franci quidem, ſed, pro Conſtantini partibus, in bello civili acriter contra Licinianos ſæpe verſati. *But, to ſee the Difference between an Hiſtorian and an Orator, let us view* Julian's *Repreſentation of this Matter, in his Panegyrick ſpoken in Honour of* Conſtantius: Verum illud, quod paulo poſt infelicem tyranni exitum in Gallia contigit, communem in te omnium exercituum benevolentiam indicavit; qui eum inſtar lupi repente dilaniarunt, qui perinde, atque in ſolitudine aliqua, muliebrem purpurum indutus, audacior eſſe cœperat. Qualem vero te poſt tam præclarum facinus exhibueris; atque ut clementer ac benigne omnes illius amicos ac familiares tractaveris, qui quidem nullius cum eo ſceleris participes fuiſſe, convinci poterant; tametſi multi ad accuſandum calumniatores conſurgerent, qui id duntaxat monebant, ut ſuſpectam horum cum illo amicitiam haberes, iſtud ego virtutis omnis caput & ſummam eſſe ſtatuo. Nam & ſumma cum æquitate & juſtitia, & multo prudentius a te factum arbitror. Quiſquis vero aliud ſentit, is cum ab vera de re exiſtimatione, tum ab animo tuo & ſententia abhorret. Siquidem eos ſervari juſtiſſimum erat, qui nullius criminis eſſent convicti. Amicitias vero illorum ſuſpectas, ac devitandas ideo facere non oportere perſuaſum habebas: cum populorum benevolentia ad tantam dignitatis ac rerum geſtarum amplitudinem eſſes evectus. Quin etiam filium ipſum ſcelerati ac facinoroſi hominis, infantem adhuc, de paterna pœna ac ſupplicio ſentire aliquid paſſus non es. *And Orat.* II. *p.* 98. C. Præfectus quidam Gallicarum legionum (cujus nomen ac rei geſtæ ſeriem ſcire vos arbitror) amicitiæ ac fidei obſidem imperatori, nec petenti, reliquerat filium ſuum. Deinde vero minus ſe leonibus ipſis fidelem præbuit; queis non ſunt, ait Homerus, cum hominibus fœdera certa. Nam & in civitatibus pecunias diripiebat, & eas barbaris irruentibus largiebatur: tanquam his redemptionis quoddam pretium perſolveret, cum armis ſecuritatem ſibi conciliare, non pecuniis comparare poſſet. Verum ille pecuniis eos ad amorem ſuum pertrahere ſtudebat: ac demum purpuream veſtem ex gynæceo detractam induens, ridiculus tyrannus, ac vere ſcenicus repente viſus eſt. Tum vero milites eam perfidiam deteſtati ſunt. Cumque miſeri hominis aſpectum ne ferre quidem potuiſſent, quem muliebri ſtola indutum cernerent; cum ne integro quidem menſe illius imperium ſuſtinuiſſent; facto in eum impetu diſcerpunt. Hunc igitur ille ab cuſtodibus imperii, amoris in ſe ac benevolentiæ fructum, & juſti ac reprehenſione omni carentis imperii

The *Ostro-Goths* subdue the *Heruli*, *Veneti* and *Æstii*.

XLIII. We shall now leave the *Roman* History, for a while, to take a View of what passed, in the mean Time, among the *Ostro-Goths*. *Ermanaric*, a Prince of the Race of the *Amali* (1), which, like that of the *Hasdingi*, among the *Vandals*, had long possessed the Throne, succeeded King *Geberich* in the Government. This Prince extended the Dominions of the *Ostro-Goths*, which, till then, reached only to the *Pontus Euxinus*, farther towards the North. He subdued the *Heruli*, under *Alaric*, their Prince (2); nor did he fear to fall upon the *Veneti*.

perii mercedem, singulari admiratione dignam recepit. Quod si, quemadmodum se postea gesserit, audire cupitis, hoc vos minime, ut opinor, ignoratis, eum neque in illius filium acerbius quidquam statuere, neque amicos ejus ac necessarios suspectos habere, aut asperius tractare voluisse. Quibus omnibus, quoad potuit, benignum se ac clementem præbuit, etsi quam plurimi calumniari cuperent, & adversus innocentes homines aculeos distringerent. Itaque cum multi forsitan vere iis, de quibus erant suspecti, contra se perpetratis essent obnoxii, æque misericors in omnes fuit, qui quidem convicti non essent, nec sceleratorum ac perditorum consiliorum societate polluti esse viderentur. Hoc vero, quod ejus filio pepercit, qui nefarie sese gesserat, ac datam fidem & jusjurandum violaverat, non tandem regium esse ac divinum arbitrabimur?

(7) V. Banduri, *l. c. p.* 422.

nos habere regalem. *And we must to this Day have retain'd an Esteem for that Family, if all the Princes, descended from it, had observ'd the Maxim of King* Theodoric, *that a Prince ought to discover the Superiority of his Birth by suitable Virtues: For he writes* L. 4. epist. 39. *to his Kinsman* Theodahatus, *whose Avarice and Injustice had been complain'd of:* Amali sanguinis virum non decet vulgare desiderium.

(2) Jornandes, *c.* 23. Gothorum rege Geberich rebus excedente humanis, post temporis aliquod spatium Ermanaricus, nobilissimus Amalorum, in regno successit, qui multas ac bellicosissimas Arctoas gentes perdomuit & suis parere legibus fecit. Quem merito nonnulli Alexandro Magno comparavere majores. Habebat siquidem, quos domuerat, *Gothos*, *Scythas*, *Thuidos in Aunxis*, *Vasinabroncas*, *Merens*, *Mordensimnis*, *Caris*, *Rocas*, *Tadzans*, *Athual*, *Navego*, *Bubegentas*, *Coldas*, & cum tantorum servitio charus haberetur, non passus est, nisi & gentem Erulorum, quibus præerat Alaricus, magna ex parte trucidatam, reliquam suæ subigeret ditioni. Nam prædicta gens, Ablavio historico referente, juxta Mæotidas paludes habitans in locis stagnantibus, quos Græci Ele vocant, Eruli nominati sunt, quanto velox, eo amplius superbissima, Nulla siquidem erat tunc gens, quæ non levem armaturam in acie sua ex ipsis elegerint. Sed quamvis velocitas eorum ab aliis sæpe bellantibus non evacuaretur, Gothorum tamen stabilitati subjacuit, & tarditati: fecitque causa fortunæ, ut & ipsi inter reliquas gentes Getarum regi Ermanarico servierint. *The Names of those Nations, which are met with in this Passage of* Jornandes, *are so corrupted, that very few of them carry any Marks of their true Appellations.*

§. XLIII. (1) Jornandes *stiles him farther* nobilissimus Amalorum. *The Kings of the* Ostro-Goths *in* Italy, *who were descended from the same Family, boast of its Nobility, on all Occasions, as appears from* Cassiodori varia. L. VII. Epist. 2. Athanaric *writes*: quævis claritas generis Amalis cedit. *And he reproaches* Hildaric, *King of the* Vandals, *who was suspected to have caused his Predecessor's Queen*, Amalafrida, *to be murder'd*, L. 9. Epist. 1. *in the following Manner:* Nam & hoc nobilitati vestræ fuisset adjectum, si inter Hasdingorum stirpem retinuissetis Amali sanguinis purpuream dignitatem. *The same King recommends* L. 2. epist. 25, *the History of the* Goths, *written by* Cassiodorus, *(of which we have now only* Jornandes's *Abridgment) and among other Things, says:* Iste Amalos generis sui claritati restituit: evidenter ostendens, in decimam septimam progeniem stirpem

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The latter muſt be included under the Name of the *Sarmatæ*, and did, perhaps, formerly extend themſelves to the *Eaſt-Sea*, for that Reaſon call'd, by *Ptolemy*, *Sinus Venedicus* (3). *Jornandes* ſays that, in his Time, the Name *Veneti* included three Nations, *viz.* the *Veneti*, properly ſo called, the *Sclavi* and the *Antes* (4). Theſe Nations afterwards, at the Time of the Irruptions of the *Huns*, were involv'd in the ſame Fate with the Kingdom of the *Goths*. We meet with them again, in Hiſtory, in the Times of *Juſtinian*, the Emperor: They are, in a particular Manner, deſcribed by *Procopius*; and they, at Length, founded a very conſiderable Kingdom. *Jornandes*, moreover, relates,

(3) PTOLEMÆUS *L.* III. *c.* 5. Tenent Sarmatiam gentes maximæ, VENEDÆ, PER TOTUM VENEDICUM SINUM. Et ſuper Daciam Peucini, & Baſtarnæ, & qui totum Mæotidis latus tenent, Jazyges ac Roxalini, & qui interiores ſunt iis Hamaxobii & Alauni Scythæ. Minores autem gentes tenent Sarmatiam, penes Viſtulam quidem fluvium, ſub Venedis Gythones & Phynni, poſt Bulanes, ſub quibus Phrungundiones poſt Avarini, juxta caput Viſtulæ amnis. Sub his Ombrones, poſt Anatophracti, poſt Burgiones, poſt Arſyetæ, poſt Sobori, poſt Piengitæ, & Beſſi penes Carpatum montem. Iis omnibus orientaliores ſnnt SUB VENEDIS quidem iterum GALINDÆ, & SUDENI, & Stavani uſque ad Alaunos. Ptolemy *indeed ſpeaks very confuſedly of the Nations he here mentions*; *however* Hartknock *endeavours to turn this Paſſage to his Advantage in his ancient and modern* Pruſſia P. I. c. 1. §. 10. Pliny *mentions in* Hiſt. nat. L. IV. c. 13. Quidam hæc habitari ad Viſtulam uſque fluvium a Sarmatis, Venedis, Scirris & Hirris tradunt.

(4) JORNANDES *l. c.* Poſt Erulorum cædem idem Ermanaricus in Venetos arma commovit, qui quamvis armis deſperiti, ſed numeroſitate pollentes primo reſiſtere conabantur. Sed nihil valet multitudo in bello, præſertim ubi & multitudo armata advenerit. Nam hi, ut initio expoſitionis, vel catalogo gentis dicere cœpimus, ab una ſtirpe exorti, tria nunc nomina reddidere, *i. e.* Veneti, Antes, Sclavi: qui quamvis nunc, ita facientibus peccatis noſtris, ubique ſæviunt, tamen tunc omnes Ermanarici imperiis ſerviebant. *As the* Veneti *are here mentioned, I ſhall quote a remarkable Paſſage from* Procopius: *De bello Goth. L.* III. *c.* 14. *p.* 33. Hi populi, Sclaveni inquam, & Antæ, non uni parent viro, ſed ab antiquo in populari imperio vitam agunt, ac propterea utilitates & damna apud ipſos in commune vocari ſolent. Aliarum etiam rerum fere omnium ratio ab utriſque barbaris ſervatur eadem, fuitque olim conſtituta. Unum enim deum fulguris effectorem, dominum hujus univerſitatis ſolum agnoſcunt, eique boves, & cujuſque generis hoſtias immolant. Fatum minime norunt, nedum illi in mortales aliquam vim attribuant: at cum ſibi vel morbo correptis, vel prœlium ineuntibus, jam mortem admotam vident, deo vovent, ſi evaſerint, continuo victimam pro ſalvo capite mactaturos: elapſi periculo, quod promiſere, ſacrificant, eaque hoſtia vitam ſibi redemptam credunt. Præterea fluvios colunt, & nymphas, & alia quædam numina, quibus omnibus operantur, & inter ſacrificia conjecturas faciunt divinationum. Intuguriis habitant vilibus, & rare ſparſis, atque habitationis locum ſubinde mutant. Cum pugnam invadunt, multi pedibus tendunt in hoſtem, ſcutula, ſpiculaque geſtantes manibus. Loricam non induunt: quidam nec ſubuculam habent, nec pallium, ſed cum femoralibus tantum, ad virilia uſque aptis, hoſti ſe offerunt ad certamen. Una eſt utriuſque lingua admodum barbara, nec forma corporis inter ſe differunt. Sunt enim proceri omnes, ac robuſtiſſimi. Colorem nec ſumme candidum habet cutis, nec flavum coma, neque is plane in nigrum deficit, at ſubrufus eſt, & quidem omnibus.

Vitam

that *Ermanaric* ſubdued the *Æſtii* (5), who poſſeſs'd a great Part of the Coaſts of the *Eaſt-Sea*, and are mention'd in *Tacitus* (6), on Account of their gathering Amber, by which theſe Coaſts firſt became known to the *Grecians* and *Romans* (7). He likewiſe ſubdued the *Roxo-*

Vitam æque, ut Maſſagetæ, victu arido, inculto que tolerant, toti, ſicut illi, ſordibus & illuvie ſemper obſiti. Ingenium ipſis nec malignum, nec fraudulentum, & cum ſimplicitate mores Hunnicos in multis retinent. Nomen etiam quondam Sclavenis, Antiſque unum erat; utroſque enim appellavit Sporos antiquitas, ob id, opinor, quia (σποραδὰδην) h. e. ſparſim, & rare poſitis tabernaculis regionem obtinent, quo fit, ut magnum occupent ſpatium. Et vero ulterioris ripæ Iſtri partem maximam habent,

(5) JORNANDES *l. c.* Æſtiorum quoque ſimiliter nationem, qui longiſſimæ ripæ oceani Germanici inſident, idem ipſe prudentia, virtute ſubegit, omnibuſque SCYTHIÆ & GERMANIÆ nationibus, ac ſi propriis laboribus imperavit.

(6) *Of the* Æſtii Tacitus *ſays: de M. G.* c. 45. Ergo jam dextro Suevici maris litore Æſtiorum gentes alluuntur: quibus ritus habituſque Suevorum, lingua Britannicæ propior. Matrem deûm venerantur, inſigne ſuperſtitionis, formas aprorum geſtant. Id pro armis omniumque tutela, ſecurum deæ cultorem etiam inter hoſtes præſtat. Rarus ferri, frequens fuſtium uſus. Frumenta cæteroſque fructus patientius, quam pro ſolita Germanorum inertia laborant. Sed & mare ſcrutantur, ac ſoli omnium ſuccinum, quod ipſi gleſum vocant, inter vada atque ipſo in littore legunt. Nec quæ natura, quæve ratio gignat, ut barbaris, quæſitum compertumve. Diu quin etiam inter cætera ejectamenta maris jacebat, donec luxuria noſtra dedit nomen. Ipſis in nullo uſu, rude legitur; informe perfertur; pretiumque mirantes accipiunt. Succum tamen arborum intelligas: quia terrena quædam atque etiam volucria animalia plerumque interlucent, quæ implicita humore, mox dureſcente materia, cluduntur. Fœcundiora igitur nemora lucoſque, ſicut orientis ſecretis, ubi thura balſamaque ſudantur, ita occidentis inſulis terriſque ineſſe crediderim, quæ vicini ſolis radiis expreſſa, atque liquentia in proximum mare labuntur, ac vi tempeſtatum in adverſa litora exundant. Si naturam ſuccini admoto igne tentes; in modum tedæ accenditur, alitque flammam pinguem & olentem: mox ut in picem reſinamve lenteſcit.

(7) HERODOTUS *makes mention of this Amber, L.* III. c. 15. De extremitatibus Europæ, quod pro comperto referam, non habeo, neque enim aſſentior, fluvium quendam eſſe Eridanum a barbaris vocitatum, qui ſubit mare ad ſeptentrionem ſpectans, unde electrum venire narratur, &c. *And* DIODORUS SICULUS *L. V, p.* 302. E regione Scythiæ ſupra Galliam in oceano inſula jacet, quam Baſileam vocitant: in hanc ſuccinum large a fluctibus exſpuitur: alias nuſquam in orbe terrarum ſe exhibens. *And moreover* Succinum in inſula cujus jam facta mentio eſt, colligitur, & ab incolis in adverſum trajicitur continentem, per quam porro in hæc uſque loca transfertur. Pytheas Maſſilienſis *likewiſe knew what Amber was; for* Pliny *quotes from him*, L. XXXVII. Pytheas Guttonibus, Germaniæ genti, accoli æſtuarium oceani affirmat, Mentonomon nomine, ſpatio ſtadiorum ſex millium, ab hoc dici navigatione abeſſe inſulam Abalum; illuc vero fluctibus advehi *(ſuccinum)* & eſſe concreti maris purgamentum, incolas pro ligno uti eo *(ſuccino)* proximiſque Teutonis vendere. *The Words before-cited of* TACITUS, *as well as thoſe of other* Roman *Writers, ſhew how much the* Romans *prized Amber. Now, if we grant, that the* Æſtii *only gathered Amber, which was no where to be found but in* Pruſſia; *and that the Name of* Æſtii *is ſtill retained in the Province of* Eſthland, *we may from thence conclude, that the* Æſtii *poſſeſs'd a Part of the preſent* Pruſſia, *with* Curland *and* Livonia. *It would be too tedious here to enquire, whether the* Scirri *and* Hirri, *and the* Galindi *and* Sudeni, *who were mentioned in the foregoing third Note,*

are

Roxolani (8), and *Jornandes* expreſsly aſcribes to him the Dominion over *Germany* and *Scythia* (9): But that Power (as we ſhall ſee in the enſuing Book) did not ſubſiſt long, before it was diſperſed.

§. XLIV. *URSICINUS* did not find it ſo eaſy to repel the *Germans* in *Gaul*, as to put *Silvanus* to Death: For the *Franks* deſtroyed the City of *Cologn* (1). *Conſtantius*, who could not well leave *Italy*, reſolved therefore to ſend thither *Julian*, Brother to the afore-mentioned *Gallus*, whom he had juſt before called to Court, from the obſcure State of Life, in which he had been educated: To which End, he confer'd on him the Name of *Cæſar*, on the fifth of *November* †, and a few Days afterwards, gave him his Siſter, *Helena*, in Marriage. *Julian* paſs'd the *Cottian Alps*, and, A. 356, enter'd upon his Conſulſhip at *Vienne*, where he ſpent the remaining Part of the Winter, in Preparations for the intended Expedition. Nor did the *Germans* paſs this Seaſon in Inactivity; but beſieged *Autun*, where, however, they met with a vigorous Repulſe from the *Veterans* (2). *Julian*, thereupon, ſet out, in *June*, in Purſuit of them, and march'd, by the Way of *Autun*, *Auxerre* and *Troies*, to *Rheims*; but was obliged, more than

Conſtantine ſends *Julian* to *Gaul*. His Atchievements againſt the *Alemanni*.

A. C. 355.

are to be reckon'd among the Æſtii, *as ſome Learned Men will have it. The Name of* Pruſſia *was not ſo early known in Hiſtory. The* Æſtii *afterwards, when the Kingdom of the* Oſtro-Goths, *on the* Pontus Euxinus, *no longer ſubſiſted, and that Natitn reign'd in* Italy, *always kept up a good Underſtanding with them. We find, in particular, that they ſought the Friendſhip of King* Theodoric, *and made him Preſents of Amber. The Anſwer returned by that King to their Ambaſſadors, may be ſeen in* CASSIODORI varia, *L.* V. *ep.* 2.

HÆSTIS THEODORICUS REX.

ILLO & ILLO legatis veſtris venientibus, grande vos ſtudium notitiæ noſtræ habuiſſe cognovimus, ut in oceani litoribus conſtituti, cum noſtra mente jungi videamini: ſuavis nobis admodum, & grata petitio, ut ad vos perveniret fama noſtra, ad quos nulla potuimus deſtinare mandata: Amate jam cognitum, quem requiſiſtis ambienter ignotum. Nam inter tot gentes viam præſumere, non eſt aliquid facile concupiiſſe. Et ideo ſalutatione vos affectuoſa requirentes, indicamus, ſuccina, quæ a vobis per harum portitores directa ſunt, grato animo fuiſſe ſuſcepta, quæ ad vos oceani unda deſcendens, hanc leviſſimam ſubſtantiam, ſicut & veſtrorum relatio continebat, exportat. Sed unde veniat, incognitum vos habere dixerunt, quam ante omnes homines, patria veſtra offerente, ſuſcipitis, &c, *The* Æſtii *were likewiſe yet famous among the Nations on the* Eaſt-Sea, *in the Time of* CHARLEMAIGN. EGINHARD in vita Caroli *M.* c. 12. *ſays of thoſe Coaſts*: Ad litus auſtrale Sclavi, & Æſtii, & aliæ diverſæ incolunt nationes.

(8) JORNANDES, *l. c. cap.* 24. Ermanaricus, rex Gothorum, licet ut ſuperius retulimus multarum gentium extiterit triumphator, de Hunnorum tamen adventu dum cogitat Roxſolanorum gens infida, quæ tunc inter alias illi famulatum exhibebat, tali eum nanciſcitur occaſione decipere.

(9) *See the Words in the fifth Note.*

§. XLIV. (1) *See the Paſſage, ad* §. *ſeq. not*, 1.

(2) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *L.* 16. c. 2. Agens itaque negotioſam hiemen apud oppidum ante dictum; inter rumores, qui volitabant aſſidui, comperit Auguſtoduni civitatis antiquæ muros, ſpatioſi quidem ambitus, ſed carie vetuſtatis invalidos, barbarorum impetu repentino inſeſſos, torpente præſentium militum manu, veteranos concurſatione pervigili defendiſſe.

once, in his March, to fight his Way thro' (3). *Marcellus* and *Urſicinus* waited for him at *Rheims*, with the Army. At a Council of War, it was thought proper to march to *Upper-Germany*, which the *Alemanni* entirely poſſeſs'd. The *Germans*, not being accuſtomed, in thoſe Times, to dwell in Cities, had deſtroyed, or at leaſt made great Devaſtations in *Mentz*, *Worms*, *Spires*, *Strasburg*, and the other fortified Places, and encamp'd in the open Fields (4). *Julian* march'd, by the Way of *Dieuze* (*), in *Lorrain*. The *Alemanni*, who lay here and there diſpers'd, in all thoſe Parts, took a By-Way, to fall upon him, on the Flank, and almoſt routed thoſe Legions who compos'd the Rear-Guard; but they were, at Length, repell'd. He, thereupon, took *Brunt* (**), and again oblig'd ſome Troops of the *Alemanni*, who offer'd him Battle there, to quit the Field (5).

He takes *Cologn*, and makes a Truce with the *Franks*.

§. XLV. I FIND no Reaſon, why *Julian* did not, at that Time, penetrate farther into the Country of the *Alemanni*: But he returned towards the *Franks*, who had ſo ravag'd *Lower Germany*, that not a City remained excepting *Cologn* and *Rigomagus*, near the Conflux of the

(3) AMMIAN, MARCELLINUS, *l. c.* Habita itaque deliberatione, adſiſtentibus locorum peritis, quodnam iter elegeretur, ut tutum, multa ultro citroque dicebantur, aliis per Arbor - - - - quibuſdam per Sedelaucum & Coram ire debere firmantibus. Sed cum ſubſererent quidam, Silvanum paulo ante magiſtrum peditum per compendioſas vias, verum ſuſpectas, quia tenebris multis imbrantur, cum VIII. auxiliarum millibus ægre tranſiſſe, fidentius cæſar audaciam viri fortis imitari magnopere nitebatur. Et ne qua interveniret mora, adhibitis cataphractariis ſolis, & balliſtariis, parum ad tuendum rectorem idoneis, percuſſo eodem itinere Autoſidorum pervenit. Ubi brevi, ſicut ſolebat, otio cum milite recreatus, ad Tricaſſinos tendebat: & barbaros in ſe catervatim ruentes, partim cum timeret ut ampliores, confertis lateribus obſervabat: alios occupatis habilibus locis decurſu facili proterens, nonnullos pavore traditos cepit: reſiduos in curam celeritatis omne quod poterant, conferentes, quia ſequi non valebat gravitate præpeditus armorum: innocuos abire perpeſſus eſt. Proinde certiore jam ſpe ad reſiſtendum ingruentibus confirmatus, per multa diſcrimina venerat Tricaſſas adeo inſperatus, ut eo portas pene pulſante, diffuſæ multitudinis barbaræ metu, aditus urbis non ſine anxia panderetur ambage. Et pauliſper moratus, dum fatigato conſulit militi, civitatem Remos, nihil prolatandum exiſtimans, petit.

(4) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *l. c. circa fin.*. Audiens igitur Argentoratum, Brocomagum, Tabernas, Saliſonem, Nemetas & Vangionas, & Moguntiacum civitates barbaros poſſidentes, territoria earum habitare; (nam ipſa oppida ut circumdata retiis buſta declinant) primam omnium Brocomagum occupavit: eique jam adventanti Germanorum manus pugnam intentans occurrit. Cumque in bicornem figuram acie diviſa, collato pede res agi cœpiſſet, exitioque hoſtes urgerentur ancipiti, captis nonnullis, aliis in ipſo prœlii fervore truncatis, reſidui diſceſſere celeritatis præſidio tecti.

* Decempagi: *This Place is ſituate on the River* Seille, *near* Marſal.

** Brocomagus: *Between* Strasburg *and* Haguenau.

(5) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *l. c.* TILLEMONT *mentions* T. IV. p. 804. *and* 807. *not* 38. *that, while* Julian, *this Year, encloſed the* Alemanni *on one Side*, Conſtantius

on

the *Moſel* and the *Rhine* (1). The *Franks* had been as little ſollicitous to put *Cologn* into a State of Defence, as the *Alemanni* about the Cities of *Upper Germany*. *Julian* took the Place without any Difficulty, and the *Roman* Arms gain'd ſuch Repute there, that the *Franconian* Princes were induced to make a Truce (2): Whereupon, going by the Way of *Triers* to *Sens*, to ſpend the Winter there, he narrowly eſcap'd being ſurpriz'd by a Party of *Germans* (3).

§. XLVI.

on the other Side, invaded Rætia: *But the Accounts we have, in* Julian *and* Ammian, *are too obſcure, for any Certainty to be drawn from thence.*

§. XLV. (1) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *L.* XVI. *c.* 3. Nullo itaque poſthæc repugnante, ad recuperandam placuit ire Agrippinam, ante cæſaris in Gallias adventum exciſam: per quos tractus nec civitas ulla viſitur, nec caſtellum: niſi quod apud Confluentes, locum ita cognominatum, ubi amnis Moſella confunditur Rheno, Rigomagum oppidum eſt, & una prope ipſam coloniam turris.

(2) IDEM *l. c.* Igitur Agrippinam ingreſſus, non ante motus eſt exinde, quam Francorum regibus furore miteſcente perterritis, pacem firmaret, reipublicæ interim profuturam, & urbem reciperet munitiſſimam. *By this Place the City of* Triers *is perhaps meant, as well as by what* Libanius *ſays*, p. 272. B. C. Alii ad barbarorum inſulas, quas Rhenus facit, confugere, ad venatum natantium & navigantium noſtrorum. Poſtea illorum pecoribus urbes epulabantur: quinetiam e duabus civitatibus ampliſſimis hanc quidem cum denis millibus obſtaculorum objectam; aliam vero recens uno auditu exinanitam & incentem reperiſſet, uni ad reſtaurationem manum prororem, & ad cuſtodiam præſidia decrevit; alteram adeo deſtitutam omnibus, ut unde non eſſet lex cogeretur alere, meliori ſpe conſolatus eſt. Hæc cum videret quidam non modicæ barbarorum cohortis imperator, commode ratus ſubſidium miſit quaſi non valde perperam egerit, & fœdera probans, ſeque auxiliaturum dicens, ut viſum eſt aliquid proferre brevi tempore paciſcitur, æquiorem reddens eum formidine ſecundorum. Tillemont *imagines*, p. 804, *that* Triers *or* Tongres *is here to be underſtood. The Conjecture of* Tongres *would not be altogether improbable, if that Place, by the afore cited Paſſage of* Ammian. Marcellinus, *did not ſeem to have been wholly deſtroy'd.* Julianus ad Athenienſes, p. 278. D. *ſays, that the* Germans *poſſeſs'd* 45 *Cities in* Gaul. Ex quo *Conſtantius*, exiſtimans, Gallicanam rem majora paulo incrementa capturum, ſed non ad tantam mutationem eſſe venturam, regendos mihi exercitus ineunte vere tradidit. Ergo adultis jam frugibus caſtra movi, innumera Germanorum multitudine, circum everſa per Gallias oppida, commorante. Quorum numerus oppidorum ad quinque & quadraginta pervenerat; burgis & caſtellis minoribus omiſſis: Agri vero, quem cis Rhenum obtinebant barbari, tantum erat ſpatium, quantum a fontibus illius ad oceanum uſque porrigitur: Poſtremi autem illorum, ac finibus noſtris citimi, trecentis a Rheni ripa ſtadiis diſtabant: Sed triplo adhuc amplior regio populationibus illorum & excurſionibus vaſta erat & inculta; ubi ne paſcendi quidem poteſtas Gallis fieret. Erant & urbes aliquot oppidanis vacuæ, etſi nondum vicinos haberent barbaros. His ego calamitatibus vexatam & afflictam nactus Galliam, primum Agrippinam recuperavi, urbem ad Rhenum ſitam, quæ ante menſes circiter decem in poteſtatem hoſtium venerat: Nec non Argentoratum vicinum caſtellum ad Voſegi radices.

(3) AMM. MARCELL. *l. c. c.* 4. Hæc ſollicite perpenſantem hoſtilis aggreditur multitudo, oppidi capiundi ſpe in majus accenſa: ideo confidentes, quod ei nec ſcutarios adeſſe, & quidem monentibus perfugis didicerant, nec gentiles, per municipia diſtributos, ut commodius veſcerentur. Cum autem——

Clauſa

Affairs of *Constantius*, with the *Suevi*, *Quadi*, &c.

§. XLVI. IN the Year 357, *Constantius* undertook a Journy to *Rome*, and there made a Sort of Triumphal Entry, the 28th of *April*. Though *Rome* remained the Capital of the Empire, and had retained so much of its antient Grandeur, that *Constantius* could not but confess, that he found it exceeded even all he had heard of its Beauty and Wonders: Yet it had not, till then, been honoured with this Emperor's Presence (1): And he could not now make so long a Stay there as he wish'd: For the *Suevi* were in *Rætia*; the *Quadi* had invaded *Valeria*, and the *Sarmatæ* made Irruptions into *Pannonia secunda*, and *Moësia superior*; which made him apprehend his Affairs on the *Danube* might fall under the same Disorder those on the *Rhine* had just before been. He therefore set out from *Rome*, on the 29th of *May*, and, towards the Conclusion of the Year, pass'd, by the Way of *Trent*, into *Illyricum* (2); where he secured the Provinces against the *Quadi* as well as *Jazygi* (3), with much Blood-shed.

† A.C. 357.

XLVII. *JULIAN* had, in the mean Time, † gained great Honour on the *Upper-Rhine*. The *Alemanni* were not so reduc'd, by the Battle of *Brumt*, but that they soon rallied, and found Means to get a Re-inforcement of fresh Troops; the *Romans* resolved therefore to attack them on two Sides at once. *Julian* arm'd himself against them in *Gaul*; while *Barbatio*, General of the Infantry, advanced on the other Side, as far as the Dominions of the *Rauraci*, with 25,000 Men. A Body of them ventur'd, however, in the mean Time, as far as *Lyons*;

Julian and *Barbatio* attack the *Alemanni*, on two Sides at once.

Clausa ergo urbe, murorumque in tuta parte firmata, ipse cum armatis die noctuque inter propugnacula visebatur & pinnas, ira exundante substridens, cume rumpere sæpe conatus, paucitate præsentis manus impediretur. Post tricesimum denique diem abiere barbari tristes.

§. XLVI. 1. *conf.* TILLEMONT. *p.* 813.

(2) AMMIAN. MARCELLINUS, *L.* XVI. *c.* 10. Cupiens igitur augustissima omnium sede morari diutius imperator, ut otio puriore frueretur & voluptate, assiduis nuntiis terrebatur & certis, indicantibus, Suevos Rætias incursare, Quadosque Valeriam, & Sarmatas, latrocinandi peritissimum genus, superiorem Mœsiam, & secundam populari Pannoniam: Quibus percitus tricesimo, postquam ingressus est, die, IV. Kal. Junias ab urbe profectus, per Tridentum iter in Illyricum festinavit.

(3) As Ammianus *in general names the* Sarmatæ, *so does* Themistius, *on the other Hand, speak in particular of the* Jazygi, *in the Panegyrick, spoken before* Constantius. Orat. IV. p. 56. D. Quæ cum ille certissime sibi persuaserit, cum cæteras omnes victorias libenter communicat, tum per litteras res a se gestas exponere alienum sua dignitate non reputat. Ita ut pene tanquam alter Timotheus, aut Chabrias, atque Iphicrates, qui obnoxii erant populo duces, hostiles regiones describat; nec non & fluvios, paludes, saltus, fossas, munitiones, militum incursiones, secunda equitum prœlia, ac sub ipsum plane aspectum impositum Rheni pontem subjiciat: Chaonas item & Jazygas populatos, & ab impiis Germanorum nationibus injuriarum omnium atque insolentiæ pœnas repetitas. *But the Time when this Oration was spoken is uncertain, and whether the Words here cited mean this Expedition, is equally dubious.*

which

which they had very near ſurpriz'd. (1). The Remainder of the *Alemanni*, who were well acquainted with the Country, partly aſſembled in a Body, and fell'd great Trees to ſtop the Paſſages; while others fled, with their beſt Effects, into the Iſlands, form'd by the *Rhine*, in theſe Parts. *Julian* had deſired of *Barbatio* ſeven Ships, which he made no Uſe of: But the latter, who was ſecretly jealous of *Julian*'s acquiring too much Glory, refus'd them. *Julian*, therefore, took the Opportunity of the hot Summer Seaſon, when the Waters were low, and *Bainobaudes* † ventur'd, with a Body of ſelect Men, probably *Franks*, who were generally very dexterous at ſwimming, to purſue the Enemy into thoſe Iſlands. The Soldiers were obliged partly to wade, and partly to ſwim, till they made themſelves Maſters of ſome of the neareſt ſmall Iſlands, and of the Veſſels they found there, which they made Uſe of to go farther, and thereby ſo terrified the *Germans*, that they all retreated, with their Effects, to the other Side of the River (2).

† *Cornutorum tribunos.*

§. XLVIII. *JULIAN*, in the mean Time, reſtored *Zabern*, in Order to ſtop up the uſual Paſſages, which the *Alemanni* had 'till then taken to enter *Gaul*. *Barbatio*, for his Part, was employed in laying a Bridge of Boats over the *Rhine*, to invade the *Alemanni* in their own Country; thereby to prevent their ſending any Auxiliaries to their Countrymen, on the other Side of the *Rhine*. But the *Alemanni* threw large Trees into the River, above the Place where he was laying this Bridge, which, being drove down by the Stream, tore the Boats aſunder. (1): And thoſe who were in *Gaul*, unexpectedly fell upon *Barbatio* himſelf, whom they the ſooner put to the Flight, as he had not Time to ſet himſelf in a Poſture of Defence. They purſued the Fugitives, as far as through the Dominions of the *Rauraci*, and made a conſiderable Booty (2).

The *Alemanni* defeat the *Roman* General, below *Baſil.*

§. XLIX.

§. XLVII. 1. AMM. MARCELL. *calls this Nation* Læti, *l. c. c.* 11. Læti barbari ad tempeſtiva furta ſolertes, inter utriuſque exercitus caſtra occulte tranſgreſſi, invaſere Lugdunum incautam: eamque populatam niſu valido concremaſſent, niſi clauſis aditibus repercuſſi, quicquid extra oppidum potuit inveniri, vaſtaſſent. *We are yet at an Uncertainty, where to place theſe* Læti *or* Leti, *and what* Valeſius *obſerves of them in* Ammianus ad h. l. *and* in rebus Francicis, *will not ſuffice to afford us any probable Conjecture.*

(2) AMM. MARCELLINUS, *c. l.*

§. XLVIII. 1. *LIBANIUS, l. c.* Cumque ille fluvium navibus junxiſſet, barbari cæſis arboribus ingentes ſtipites ſecundo amne dimiſerunt, qui incidentes in naves, alias diſſiparunt, alias confregerunt, nonnullas etiam ſubmerſerunt. Igitur, cum primus conatus male ceſſiſſet, hic quidem cum triginta illis militum millibus fugam capeſſit. At barbari fugientes perſequi & cædere, &c.

(2) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *L.* XVI. *c.* 11. Multitudo barbarica rumorem nimia velocitate præverſa, Barbationem cum exercitu, quem regebat, Gallico vallo diſcretum, impetu

And march against *Julian.*

§. XLIX. This Succeſs ſo encouraged the Princes of the *Alemanni*, that they drew all their Forces together, and encamp'd near *Straſburg*. They received great Re-inforcements from the right Side of the *Rhine*, and particularly from thoſe two Nations, who had but juſt before made Peace with *Conſtantius*. For *Gundomad* had, in the mean Time, been murder'd, and his Subjects join'd their Countrymen; as did thoſe of *Vadomar*, who pretended afterwards, that it was not in his Power to reſtrain them (1). *Julian* got Intelligence, that theſe Re-inforcements were three Days and three Nights in croſſing the *Rhine*. All this united Force of the *Alemanni* was under the Command of *Chnodomar*, who had infeſted *Gaul* ever ſince the Time of *Magnentius*; and whoſe Arms had, from the Beginning, acquired great Renown, by his Victory over *Decentius*. The *Germans* being inform'd, by a Deſerter, that *Julian*'s Army conſiſted but of 13,000 Men, they deſired him, by an Ambaſſy, to deſiſt from his Pretenſions to a Country which they had gain'd by their Valour.

The Battle of *Strasburg.*

§. L. *JULIAN* detain'd the Ambaſſadors, and broke up from *Zabern*, to give Battle to the Enemy, who expected him near *Strasburg*. *Chnodomar* commanded the left Wing (1). His bodily Strength, his fiery Steed, the Splendour of his Armour, the great Plume of red Feathers on his Helmet, and the monſtrous Launce he bore, ſerv'd to keep up the Confidence his Soldiers had repoſed in

impetu repentino aggreſſa, ſequenſque fugientes aduſque Rauracos, & ultra quoad potuit, rapta ſarcinarum & jumentorum cum calonibus parte maxima, redit ad ſuos. Amm. Marcell. *names* L. XVI. *c.* 12. *the Princes who were preſent at it.* Quo diſpalato fœdo terrore, Alamannorum reges Chnodomarius & Veſtralpus, Urius quinetiam & Urſicinus cum Serapione & Suamario & Hortario, in unum robore virium ſuarum omni collecto, conſedere prope urbem Argentoratum. *He moreover relates in what Manner* Chnodomar *had the Command:* Agitabat autem miſcebatque omnia ſine modo, ubique ſeſe diffunditans, & princeps audendi periculoſa rex Chnodomarius, ardua ſubrigens ſupercilia, ut ſæpe ſecundis rebus elatus. Nam & Decentium cæſarem ſuperavit æquo Marte congreſſus, & civitates erutas multas vaſtavit & opulentas, licentiuſque diu nullo refragante Gallias perſultavit.

§. XLIX. (1) Ammian. *L.* XVI. *c.* 12. Alio itidem modo res eſt aggravata Romana ex negotio tali. Regii duo fratres vinculo pacis adſtricti, quam anno præterito impetraverant a Conſtantio, nec tumultuare, nec commoveri ſunt auſi. Sed paulo poſtea uno ex his Gundomado, qui potior erat, fideique firmioris, per inſidias interemto, omnis ejus populus cum noſtris hoſtibus conſpiravit. Et confeſtim Vadomarii plebs, ut aſſerebat, agminibus bella cientium barbarorum ſeſe conjuxit.

(2) Idem *l. c.*

§. L. (1) *We find by* Ammianus, *that the* Germans *continued, as in the Times of* Tacitus, *to intermix Foot-Soldiers with their Cavalry.* Amm. Marcell. *L.* XVI. *c.* 12. Cumque ita, ut ante dictus docuerat perfuga, equitatum omnem a dextro latere ſibi vidiſſent oppoſitum, quicquid apud eos per equeſtres copias præpollebat, in lævo cornu locavere

in his Valour: *Serapio* (2), Son of his Brother *Meſerich*, led the right Wing. Beſides theſe two great Commanders, there were five other Sovereigns in the Army, who afterwards felt the Weight of *Julian*'s Indignation, and ten Princes, beſides an infinite Number of their moſt diſtinguiſhed Warriors (3).

§. LI. *AMM. MARCELLINUS* gives a circumſtantial Account of the Battle. It may ſuffice, to obſerve here, that the *Germans* were beat, and that, in their Flight, attempting to paſs the *Rhine*, almoſt as many periſh'd in that River, as in the Field of Battle. But it is ſurpriżing, ſince *Ammian* himſelf repreſents this Action as very obſtinate, that the *Romans* are ſaid not to have loſt more than 243, and the *Germans* 6,000 Men, in the Field of Battle (1). *Chnodomar*, who, in this Engagement, had done all that could be expected from a General and a gallant Soldier, was, at Length, obliged to quit the

Overthrow of the *Alemanni*. *Chnodomar* is taken Priſoner.

vere confertum. Iiſdemque ſparſim pedites miſcuere, diſcurſatores & leves, profecto ratione tuta poſcente. Norant enim licet prudentem ex equo bellatorem cum clibanario noſtro congreſſum, frena retinentem & ſcutum haſta una manu vibrata, tegminibus ferreis abſcondito bellatori nocere non poſſe: peditem vero inter ipſos diſcriminum vertices, cum nihil caveri ſolet præter id quod occurrit, humi occulte reptantem, latere forato jumenti, incautum rectorem præcipitem agere, levi negotio trucidandum. Hoc itaque diſpoſito, dextrum ſui latus ſtruxere, clandeſtinis inſidiis & obſcuris.

(2) *It may, at firſt, ſeem ſtrange, that an* Alemannian *Prince ſhould bear an* Egyptian *Name. His real Name was* Aganaric, *but* Meſerich, *his Father, who had been long an Hoſtage among the* Romans *in* Gaul, *and, on that Occaſion, became acquainted with the* Egyptian *Superſtition, which had ſpread itſelf through the* Roman *Provinces, gave him this new Name. See the Words of* Amm. Marcellinus, *in the following Note.*

(3) AMMIAN. *l. c. c.* 12. Ductabant autem populos omnes pugnaces & ſævos Chnodomarius, & Serapio, poteſtate excelſiores ante alios reges. Et Chnodomarius quidem nefarius belli totius incentor, cujus vertici flammeus torulus aptabatur, anteibat cornu ſiniſtrum, audax & fidens ingenti robore lacertorum, ubi ardor prœlii ſperabatur immanis, equo ſpumante ſublimior, erectus in jaculum formidandæ vaſtitatis, armorumque nitore conſpicuus, antea ſtrenuus & miles, & utilis præter cæteros ductor. Latus vero dextrum Serapio agebat, etiam tum adultæ lanuginis juvenis, efficacia præcurrens ætatem: Mederichi fratris Chnodomarii filius, hominis quoad vixerat perfidiſſimi: ideo ſic appellatus, quod pater ejus diu obſidatus pignore tentus in Galliis, doctuſque Græca quædam arcana, hunc filium ſuum Agenarichum genitali vocabulo dictitatum, ad Serapionis tranſtulit nomen. Hos ſequebantur poteſtate proximi reges numero quinque, regaleſque decem, & optimatum ſeries magna, armatorumque millia triginta & quinque, ex variis nationibus partim mercede, partim pacto viciſſitudinis reddendæ quæſita. *Theſe Princes, whom* Amm. Marcellinus, *and other Hiſtorians, call* Reges, *govern'd over certain Diſtricts, and are term'd* Kings, *more in Regard to their being independent, than for their Power; and the Title of* Kuning *or* Chuning, *ſo common among the* Alemanni *and* Franks, *is rather intended to denote the Illuſtrious Extraction of their Princes, than their Power or Deſpotick Rule.*

§. LI. (1) *It was therefore, probably, a Miſtake of the Tranſcriber of* Zoſimus *to put* 60,000 *Men.* V. VALES. ad h. l. p 116. 7.

Field. He endeavour'd to eſcape to his Camp (2); but was known by the Way, and, being ſurrounded by a Troop of Horſe, was forc'd to yield. His whole Retinue follow'd his Example, for they eſteem'd it the greateſt Diſhonour to forſake their Prince, dead or alive (3). *Julian* cauſed him to be brought before him, in the Sight of the Army; but treated him better, than he, perhaps, expected, and ſent him to the Emperor, who was juſt then returned from his Expedition on the *Danube*. *Conſtantius* order'd him to be carried to *Rome*, where he died, in the *Caſtræ Peregrinæ*, of a Lethargy, a Diſeaſe, which no one ever thought he would have been liable to (4).

§. LII.

(2) AMMIANUS, *l. c.* Rex Chnodomarius reperta copia diſcedendi, lapſus per funerum ſtrues, cum ſatellitibus paucis celeritate rapida properabat ad caſtra, quæ prope Tribuncos & Concordiam, munimenta Romana fixit intrepidus, ut adſcenſis navigiis, dudum paratis ad caſus ancipites, in ſecretis ſe ſeceſſibus amandaret. Et quia non niſi Rheno tranſito ad tentoria ſua poterat pervenire, vultum, ne agnoſceretur, operiens, ſenſim retulit pedem. Cumque propinquaret jam ripis, lacunam paluſtribus aquis interfuſam circumgrediens, ut tranſiret, calcata mollitie glutinoſa, equo eſt evolutus: & confeſtim, licet obeſo corpore gravior, ad ſubſidium vicini collis evaſit: quem agnitum (nec enim potuit celare qui fuerat, fortunæ prioris magnitudine proditus) ſtatim anhelo curſu cohors cum tribuno ſecuta, armis circumdatum aggerem nemoroſum cautius obſidebat, perrumpere verita, ne fraude latenti inter ramorum tenebras exciperetur occultas. Quibus viſis compulſus ad ultimos metus, ultro ſe dedit, ſolus egreſſus: comiteſque ejus ducenti numero, & tres amici junctiſſimi, flagitium arbitrati poſt regem vivere, vel pro rege non mori, ſi ita tulerit caſus, tradidere ſe vinciendos. VALESIUS, in notis ad h. l. lit. q. *has exploded* Cluverius's *Opinion about this Camp.*

(3) *This Example ſerves to prove what* TACITUS *ſays, de mor. Germ. c.* 25. Infame in omnem vitam ac probroſum ſuperſtitem principi ſuo ex acie receſſiſſe, illum defendere, tueri ſua quoque fortia facta gloriæ ejus aſſignare, præcipuum ſacramentum eſt.

(4) AMM. MARCELL. *l. c.* Et ut augeret eventus ſecundi lætitiam, concilio Chnodomarium juſſit ſibi offerri: qui primo curvatus, deinde humi ſuppliciter fuſus, gentilique prece veniam poſcens, bono animo eſſe eſt juſſus. Et diebus poſtea paucis ductus ad comitatum imperatoris, miſſuſque exinde Romam, in Caſtris Peregrinis, quæ in monte ſunt Cælio, morbo veterni conſumtus eſt. Julian *continues the afore-cited Letter to the* Athenians *concerning this Battle*, p. 279, *thus*: Deinde conflixi haud inglorie, cujus pugnæ procul dubio ad vos fama pervenit. In qua cum captivum hoſtium regem dii in manus meas dediſſent, tanti facinoris gloriam Conſtantio non invidi. Quamquam etſi triumphare mihi non licebat, hoſtem tamen jugulare fas erat: neque tota Gallia traducere, ac per urbes oſtentare, & Chnodomarii calamitatibus inſultare prohibebat quiſpiam. Verum nihil horum committendum putavi; ſed ipſum ſtatim ad Conſtantium miſi, cum is commodum e Quadis ac Sarmatis rediret. Ita contigit, ut cum ego dimicaſſem, ille ſolum iter feciſſet, & cum Iſtri accolis pacifice collocutus eſſet, non ego, ſed ille triumpharit. LIBANIUS *mentions*, in Or. parentali in Julianum, c. 27, 28, and 29, *this Battle, and in particular*, c. 29, *how* Julian *treated* Chnodomar: p. 254, f. Virum autem iſtum cæſar, cum ob ea, quæ auſus fuerat, rationem reddere jubebat, tam diu quidem magni fecit, quam diu prudenti atque decente utebatur oratione. Cum autem poſtremo abjecta quædam & humilia prioribus ſermonibus ſuis, generoſam mentem ſpirantibus, adjiceret, ſeque de capite metuere proderet, ſuæque ſalutis (ſupplex) mentionem

§. LII. *JULIAN* returned, after this Victory, to *Zabern*, and from thence to *Metz*, where he left his Booty and Captives, having himſelf formed greater Deſigns, and intending to infeſt the *Alemanni* in their own Country, before they could recover themſelves. He therefore made a Motion, from *Metz* to *Mentz*; cauſed a Bridge to be laid there, over the *Rhine*, and paſs'd into *Germany*. To cauſe the greater Terror and Diſorder among the *Alemanni*, he order'd 800 Men to ſail up and down the *Mayn*, in light Veſſels, to land wherever they could, and to ſet Fire to every Thing that ſhould come in their Way. When the *Alemanni*, therefore, ſaw a great Smoak, on the right Side of the *Mayn*, and, ſuppoſing the Enemy's principal Force to be there, croſs'd the River; *Julian* advanced, on the left Side, laying waſte and burning whatever he met with; 'till he came to a thick impaſſable Foreſt, of which the *Speſshard* ſeems ſtill to be a Remainder. Here he found all the Paſſages ſtop'd up, and, as the Seaſon of the Year was pretty far advanc'd (*), full of Snow. As he could, therefore, proceed no farther, he undertook to reſtore the Fort, which *Trajan* had formerly built thereabouts. Whilſt he was thus employ'd, three Princes of the *Alemanni*, whoſe Dominions were in that Neighbourhood, and who, 'till then, had taken Part with *Chnodomar*, ſent Ambaſſadors, to treat about a Peace. But *Julian* allow'd them no more than a Truce for ten Months; and, leaving a Garriſon in his new Fort, led his Soldiers back over the *Rhine* (1), with ſo much Glory, that *Amm. Marcellinus* compares this Expedition to the *Punick* and *Cimbrian* Victories.

Julian invades the Dominions of the *Alemanni*.

tionem faceret, odio quaſi illum fuit proſecutus. Gravius tamen nihil in eum ſtatuit, nec in vincula eum conjecit, verecunde ſecunda ſua, qua tum utebatur, fortuna uſus, & ſecum probe conſiderans, quantum unica dies potuerit efficere.

§. LII. (*) *Æquinoctio quippe autumnali exacto.*

(1) MARCELLINUS, *L.* 17. *c.* 1. Et dum nullus obſiſteret, munimentum, quod in Alamannorum ſolo conditum Trajanus ſuo nomine voluit appellari, dudum violentius oppugnatum, tumultuario ſtudio reparatum eſt: locatiſque ibi pro tempore defenſoribus, ex barbarorum viſceribus alimenta congeſta ſunt. Quæ illi maturata ad ſuam perniciem contemplantes, metuque rei peractæ volucriter congregati, precibus & humilitate ſuprema petiere miſſis oratoribus pacem. Quam cæſar omni conſiliorum via firmata, cauſatus veriſimilia plurima, per decem menſium tribuit intervallum: id nimirum ſolerti colligens mente, quod caſtra, ſupra quam optari potuit occupata ſine obſtaculo, tormentis muralibus, & apparatu valido deberent communiri. Hac fiducia tres immaniſſimi reges venerunt, tandem aliquando jam trepidi, ex his qui miſere victis apud Argentoratum auxilia, jurantes conceptis ritu patrio verbis, nihil inquietum acturos, ſed fœdera ad præſtitutum uſque diem, quia id noſtris placuerat, cum munimento ſervaturos intacto, frugeſque portaturos humeris, ſi defuiſſe ſibi docuerint defenſores: quod utrumque metu perfidiam frenante fecerunt. *We cannot ſo exactly determine, where this* Monumentum Trajani *was; but it is neverthelefs very certain, that* Lindenbrogius *is miſtaken,*

in

On his Return, defeats an Army of the *Franks.*

§. LIII. HE directed his Course towards *Paris*, designing to spend the Winter there. *Severus*, General of the Cavalry, who pass'd thro' *Cologn* and *Juliers* to *Rheims*, met, by the Way, with an Army of *Franks*, who were, probably, *Salii* and *Attuarii*, as they were the nearest, and had entertain'd Hopes, while the *Roman* Army was in *Alemannia*, of making great Booty. They now retreated into a Fort, on the *Maes*: *Julian* there besieged them, and when, after a Siege of
M. Jan. 358. fifty-four Days, they were forc'd to surrender †, he sent them all to *Constantius*, the Emperor (1), who caus'd them to be intermix'd with his Troops, where their Stature and Strength made them the Admiration of every one.

Barbatio drives the *Juthungi* out of *Rætia.*

§. LIV. *CONSTANTIUS* was, in the mean Time, at *Sirmium*, treating with the *Persians*, whose King, *Sapor*, had threaten'd the *Romans* with a formidable War, if they would not relinquish their Pretensions to *Armenia* and *Mesopotamia.* This made the Invasion of the *Juthungi*, one of the Nations of the *Alemanni*, into *Rætia*, the more inconvenient for the *Romans.* The Historian observes, as somewhat

in taking it to be the Colonia Trajana. *This Uncertainty of its Situation, renders it likewise dubious, whether it be the same* Munimentum, *which* Valentinian, *as we shall observe in the next Book, fortified against the* Alemanni,

§. LIII. (1) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *L.* 17. *c.* 1. & 2. Quibus ut in tali re compositis firmiter, ad sedes revertens hibernas, sudorum reliquias reperit tales. Remos Severus Magister equitum per Agrippinam petens, & Juliacum, Francorum validissimos cuneos in sexcentis velitibus, ut postea claruit, vacua præsidiis loca vastantes offendit: hac opportunitate in scelus audaciam erigente: quod cæsare in Alamannorum secessibus occupato, nulloque vetante, expleri se posse prædarum opimitate sunt arbitrati: Sed metu jam reversi exercitus, munimentis duobus, quæ olim exinanita sunt, occupatis, se quoad fieri poterat tuebantur. Hac Julianus rei novitate perculsus, & conjiciens quorsum erumperet, si iisdem transisset intactis, retento milite circumvallare disposuit. - - - - Mosa fluvius præterlambit,, & adusque quartum & quinquagesimum diem, Decembri scil. & Januario mense obsidionales tractæ sunt moræ, destinatis barbarorum animis incredibili pertinacia reluctatis. Tunc pertimescens solertissimus cæsar, ne observata nocte illuni, barbari gelu vinctum amnem pervaderent, quotidie a sole in vesperam flexo, adusque lucis principium, lusoriis navibus discurrere flumen, ultro citroque milites ordinavit, ut crustis pruinarum diffractis, nullus ad erumpendum quopiam facile perveniret. Hocque commento inedia, & vigiliis, & desperatione postrema lassati, sponte se propria dederunt. Statimque ad comitatum augusti sunt missi. LIBANIUS, *in orat.* II. *in Juliani necem, c.* 32. *adds some other Circumstances.* Sed adulta jam hieme Franci numero mille, quibus nives perinde voluptati ac flores sunt, cum vicos aliquot evastassent, quorum in medio castrum erat desertum, circumsessi ab eo, & in illud castrum inclusi sunt: quos cum fame ad deditionem cögegisset, ad augustum vinctos ablegavit, rem plane novam atque insolitam. Lex enim apud eos est aut vincere, aut mortem oppetere. At compedibus tamen constricti sunt, idem uti videtur passi quod apud Sphacteriam Spartani. Eos itaque acceptos Constantius dono sibi missos dixit, suisque legionibus eos miscuit, turres quasdam iis sese admiscere ratus: adeo multos alios unus ex illis æquiparare existimabatur.

singular?

ſingular, that they ventur'd to undertake Sieges, in which the *Germans* had, 'till then, very little Experience (1): But *Barbatio*, who ſucceeded *Silvanus*, as General of the Foot, was now more ſucceſsful againſt them, than he had before been againſt the other *Alemanni*, in *Gaul*, and freed the Court from theſe Apprehenſions, as well as himſelf from the Reproach, that he was a greater Hero in Words, than in Actions.

§. LV. THE Irruption of the *Juthungi* was but, as it were, a Forerunner of the Deſigns of the *Quadi* and *Jazygi*. The *Quadi*, during the Winter †, croſs'd the *Danube*, and made Incurſions into both *Pannonia's*, and into *Upper-Moeſia*. It has been obſerved before (1), that a *Sarmatian* People had been expell'd their Country by their own Slaves. One Part of them had taken Refuge among the *Quadi*, and having, on certain Conditions, ſubjected themſelves to them, now took Part with them in this War. *Conſtantius* marched, in the Spring, againſt them (2); cauſed a Bridge of Boats to be laid over the *Danube*, and ravag'd that whole Tract of Land, which lay oppoſite to *Pannonia Secunda* and *Valeria* (3). The *Sarmatæ* and *Quadi*, who offer'd to withſtand him, were defeated, and the Army advanc'd farther Weſtward, that the moſt diſtant Regions of the *Quadi* might likewiſe feel the *Roman* Reſentment. But the Chiefs of the Nation, among whom *Araharius* is

Conſtantius marches againſt the *Quadi* and *Sarmatæ*. A. 357, 358.

§. LIV. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *L.* 17. *c.* 6. *tot.* Inter quæ ita ambigua Juthungi, Alamannorum pars, Italicis conterminans tractibus, obliti pacis ac fœderum, quæ adepti ſunt obſecrando, Rætias turbulente vaſtabant, adeo, ut etiam oppidorum tentarent obſidia præter ſolitum. Ad quos repellendos cum valida manu miſſus Barbatio, in locum Silvani peditum promotus magiſter, ignavus ſed verbis effuſior, alacritate militum vehementer erecta, proſtravit acerrime multos, ita ut exigua portio, quæ periculi metu ſe dedit in fugam, ægre dilapſa, res ſuas non ſine lacrymis reviſeret, & lamentis. Huic pugnæ Nevitta, poſtea conſul, equeſtris præpoſitus turmæ, & adfuiſſe, & fortiter feciſſe, firmatur.

§. LV. (1 Vide ſupra §. XXVIII.

(2) AMMIAN. MARCELL. *L.* 17. *c.* 12. *deſcribes, on this Occaſion, the Arms of the* Sarmatæ *and* Quadi. Auguſto inter hæc quieſcenti per hiemem apud Sirmium, indicabant nuntii graves & crebri, permiſtos Sarmatas & Quados, vicinitate & ſimilitudine morum, armaturæque concordes, Pannonias Mœſiarumque alteram cuneis incurſare diſperſis. Quibus ad latrocinia magis quam aperto habilibus Marti, haſtæ ſunt longiores, & loricæ ex cornibus raſis & levigatis, plumarum ſpecie linteis indumentis innexæ: equorumque plurimi ex uſu caſtrati, ne aut fœminarum viſu exagitati raptentur, aut in ſubſidiis ferocientes, prodant hinnitu denſiore vectores. Et per ſpatia diſcurrunt ampliſſima, ſequentes alios, vel ipſi terga vertentes, inſidendo velocibus equis & morigeris, trahenteſque ſingulos, interdum & binos, uti permutatio vires foveat jumentorum, vigorque otio integretur alterno.

(3) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *l. c. p.* 137. Gerebantur hæc in ea parte Sarmatiæ, quæ ſecundam proſpectat Pannoniam: parique fortitudine circa Valeriam opes barbaricas, urendo capiendoque occurrentia, militaris turba vaſtabat - - - - quo eventu *vires* & animos incitante, junctis denſius cuneis ad Quadorum regna properabat exercitus.

particu-

particularly mentioned, as one of the moſt powerful (4), prevented the Ruin of their Country, by ſeeking an amicable Accommodation, which *Conſtantius*, who, by Reaſon of the *Perſian* War, which threatened him, was glad to put an End to theſe Troubles, readily granted. A Treaty was thereupon ſet on Foot with the *Sarmatæ* likewiſe: The *Quadi* were forc'd to reſtore thoſe *Sarmatæ*, who were under their Subjection, to their Liberty; and the Emperor promis'd to re-inſtate them in their Country, from which they had been expell'd by their Slaves, on Condition, that they ſhould, for the future, be under the Supremacy and Protection of the *Romans* (5). He appointed *Zizaim*, a *Sarmatian* Prince, who had diſtinguiſh'd himſelf above the reſt of his Nation, by ſundry Advantages both of Body and Mind, and had already commanded, as General, over many of them, to be their King (6). The Army, thereupon, march'd towards *Bregetio* (which lay on the oppoſite Side of the *Danube*, near where the *Gran* diſcharges itſelf into that

(4) IBIDEM, *p.* 138. Hortante hoc exemplo clementiæ, advolarunt regales, cum ſuis omnibus, Araharius, & Uſafer, inter optimates excellentes, agminum gentilium duces, quorum alter Transjugitanorum Quadorumque parti, alter quibuſdam Sarmatis præerat, locorum confiniis & feritate junctiſſimis: quorum plebem veritus imperator, ne ferire fœdera ſimulans, in arma repente conſurgeret; diſcreto conſortio, pro Sarmatis obſecrantes juſſit pauliſper abſcedere, dum Araharii & Quadorum negotium ſpectaretur. Qui cum eorum ritu oblati, ſtantes curvatis corporibus, facinora gravia purgare non poſſent, ultimæ ſortis infortunia metuentes, dederunt obſides imperatos, nunquam antea pignora fœderis exhibere compulſi. *When the Emperor had thus concluded the War with the* Quadi, *he began to treat with* Uſafer, *a* Sarmatian *Prince.* AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS *proceeds thus*: His ex æquo bonoque compoſitis, Uſafer in preces admiſſus eſt: Arahario pertinaciter obſtrepente, firmanteque pacem quam ipſe meruit, ei quoque debere proficere, ut participi, licet inferiori, & obtemperare ſuis imperiis conſueto. Verum quæſtione diſcuſſa aliena poteſtate eripi Sarmatæ juſſi, ut ſemper Romanorum clientes, offerre obſides, quietis vincula conſervandæ, gratanter amplexi ſunt.

(5) IDEM *c. l. p.* 138. Quibus ordinatis, tranſlata eſt in Sarmatas cura, miſeratione dignos potius, quam ſimultate: quibus incredibile quantum proſperitatis hæc attulit cauſa: ut verum illud exiſtimetur, quod opinantur quidam, fatum vinci principis poteſtate, vel fieri. Potentes olim ac nobiles erant, hujus indigenæ regni, ſed conjuratio clandeſtina ſervos armavit in facinus. Atque ut barbaris eſſe omne jus in viribus adſuevit, vicerunt dominos ferocia pares, ſed numero præminentes. Qui confundente metu conſilia, ad Victohalos diſcretos longius confugerunt, obſequi defenſoribus, ut in malis, optabile, quam ſervire ſuis mancipiis arbitrati: quæ deplorantes poſt impetratam veniam recepti in fidem, poſcebant præſidia liberati: eoſque iniquitate rei permotus, inſpectante omni exercitu, convocatos allocutus verbis mollioribus imperator, nulli niſi ſibi ducibuſque Romanis parere præcepit. Atque ut reſtitutio libertatis haberet dignitatis augmentum, Zizaim regem iiſdem præfecit, conſpicuæ fortunæ tum inſignibus aptum profecto, ut res docuit, & fidelem: nec diſcedere quiſpiam poſt hæc glorioſe geſta permiſſus eſt, antequam (ut placuerat) remearent noſtri captivi.

(6) AUR. VICTOR. *in Cæſ. c.* 40. Genti Sarmatarum, magno decore conſidens apud eos, regem dedit.

River)

River) to ſettle the Affairs of thoſe *Quadi*, who dwelt betwixt the *Gran* and the *Waag*: They likewiſe all ſubmitted (7), and ſwore to the Peace, on their Swords, which, among the ancient *Germans*, was one of the moſt obligatory Oaths (8).

§. LVI. PEACE was no ſooner eſtabliſhed on theſe Confines, than the Emperor made War with the *Sarmatæ Limigantes*, not only to revenge their Incurſions into *Moëſia*; but likewiſe to re-inſtate their former Maſters, purſuant to his Promiſe, in their Dominions. According to *Ammian*'s Account, theſe *Limigantes* dwelt in thoſe Countries, which were ſituate along the *Theis* (1) and *Maros* † up to the *Danube*. They hazarded a Battle with the *Romans*, on this Side of the *Theis*, but, after a ſtout Reſiſtance, were obliged to retreat. The *Romans* croſs'd the *Theis*, and burnt and ravag'd the whole Country oppoſite to the Coaſts of *Moëſia*, as far as where, on the other Side, the *Morava* falls into the *Danube*. At the ſame Time, their former Ma-

And drives the *Sarmatæ Limigantes* out of the Neighbourhood of the *Theis*:

† *Rhabo, ſeu Mariſcus.*

(7) AMM. MARCELLIN. *l. c. p.* 139. His in barbarico geſtis, Bregetionem caſtra commota ſunt: ut etiam ibi belli Quadorum reliquias, circa illos agitantium tractus, lacrymæ vel ſanguis extingueret. Quorum regalis Vitrodorus, Viduarii filius regis, & Agilimundus ſubregulus: aliique optimates, & judices, variis populis præſidentes, viſo exercitu in gremio regni, ſolique genitalis, ſub greſſibus jacuere militum, & adepti veniam juſſa fecerunt: ſobolemque ſuam obſidatus pignore, ut obſequuturi conditionibus impoſitîs, tradiderunt, eductiſque mucronibus, quos pro numinibus colunt, juravere, ſe permanſuros in fide. *The* Quadi *appear, at the ſame Time, by theſe Paſſages, to have, indeed, had a King, but they had, beſides, certain Princes among them; and as the* Judices *are every where mention'd as preſiding, this Office ſeems to have been in the higheſt Eſteem. And* Athanaric, *the* Gothick *Prince, is ſometimes call'd* Rex, *ſometimes* Judex Thervingorum. *Theſe are manifeſt Proofs of what* Tacitus *ſays of the* Germans *in general.* M. G. c. 12. Eliguntur in iiſdem conciliis & principes, qui jura per pagos, vicoſque reddunt.

(8) *The* Scythian *Nations, in general, are known to have had this Cuſtom.* Apuleius de Deo Socratis, *ſays of them, that they ſwore by their Scymiters. Of the* Alani, Ammian *ſays below, L.* 31. *d* 2. Gladius barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem regionum, quas circumeunt, [*ſ. ut in Codice Vaticano legitur, circumcircant,*] præſulem verecundius colunt. Adamus Bremenſis *ſays of the* Danes, *c.* 30. Cæſari miſerunt gladium, videlicet capulotenus aureum, & alia multa, pacem firmam, ritu gentis, per arma juraverunt. *This Ceremony will ſeem the leſs ſtrange to the* Germans, *as, to this Day, in Acts of Inveſtiture, before the Imperial Throne, the Oath is adminiſter'd in that Manner.*

§ LVI. (1) AMM. MARCELL. *L.* 17. *c.* 13. p. 140. Has enim terras Parthiſcus irruens obliquatis meatibus, Iſtro miſcetur. Sed dum ſolus licentius fluit, ſpatia longa & lata ſenſim præterlabens, & ea coarctans prope exitum in anguſtias, accolas ab impetu Romanorum alveo Danubii defendit, a barbaricis vero excurſibus ſuo tutos præſtat obſtaculo, ubi pleraque, humidioris ſoli natura, & incrementis fluminum redundantia, ſtagnoſa & referta ſalicibus, ideoque invia niſi perquam gnaris: & ſuper his inſularem amfractum aditu Parthiſci pæne contiguum amnis potior ambiens, terræ conſortio ſeparavit. *We find afterwards, among the Accounts of the Countries which they inhabited, that the Tract of Land, which lies oppoſite to the Conflux of the* Morava *and the* Danube, *appertain'd thereunto, and that they border'd, towards the* North-Eaſt, *with the* Thaiſali.

ſters

sters invaded their Country on one Side, and the *Thaifali* on the other (2). The *Limigantes*, who saw themselves unequal to this triple Power, and almost despaired, even of maintaining that Liberty, which they had so dearly bought, sued for Peace, offering to quit the Country, and to accept of whatever Habitation the Emperor should assign to them. They were therefore obliged to give up the Country to their former Masters, who, under the Direction of their new King, took immediate Possession of it; and the *Limigantes* had other Territories assigned them. This done, *Constantius* led away the Army, which gave him the Surname of *Secundo Sarmaticus*; and entered *Sirmium* again, in a Sort of Triumph (3).

Who are soon after extirpated.

§. LVII. But the *Limigantes* did not long remain in Peace, in the Country where *Constantius* had placed them (1). He, therefore, set out in the Spring of 359 †, from *Sirmium* for the *Danube*. The *Limigantes* complained, that they could not possibly live in the Country assign'd them, and begg'd the Emperor would grant them a Place, wherever he pleased, in the *Roman* Provinces, since they were willing to live peaceably and to pay a Tribute. *Constantius* was not displeased at this Proposal, in Hopes of employing them to re-inforce his

(2) Amm. Marcellinus, *l. c. p.* 141. Statimque ne alacritas intepesceret pugnatorum, impositi lintribus per abdita ducti velites expediti, occuparunt latibula Sarmatarum: quos repentinus fefellit adspectus, gentiles lembos, & nota remigia conspicantes. Ubi vero procul micantibus telis, quod verebantur, propinquare senserunt, ad suffugia locorum palustrium se contulerunt: eosque secutus infestius miles, cæsis plurimis ibi victoriam reperit, ubi nec caute posse consistere, nec audere aliquid credebatur. Post absumtos pæne diffusosque Amicenses, petiti sunt sine mora Piceates, ita ex regionibus appellati conterminis: quos tutiores fecere sociorum ærumnæ, rumorum assiduitate compertæ. Ad quos opprimendos (erat enim arduum sequi per diversa consperses, imprudentia viarum arcente) Thaifalorum auxilium, & Liberorum adæque Sarmatarum adsumtum est. Cumque auxiliorum agmina locorum ratio separaret, tractus contiguos Mœsiæ sibi miles elegit; Thaifali proxima suis sedibus obtinebant; Liberi terras occupaverant, e regione sibi oppositas. *The* Picenses, *from whom these* Sarmatæ, *who dwelt opposite to them, received their Name, dwelt in* Mœsia *about the River* Pinco, *which is now called* Morava.

(3) Ammianus, *l. c. p.* 143. Post hunc dicendi finem concio omnis alacrior solito, aucta spe potiorum & lucris, vocibus festis in laudes imperatoris assurgens, deumque ex usu testata, non posse Constantium vinci, tentoria repetit læta. Et reductus imperator ad regiam, otioque bidui recreatus, Sirmium cum pompa triumphali regressus est. Julian *ridicules this Triumph,* in epist. ad Athen. p. 513.

§. LVII. (1) Amm. Marcellinus, *L.* 19. c. 11. Inter hæc ita ambigua Constantium, Sirmii etiam tum hiberna quiete curantem, permovebant nuntii metuendi & graves, indicantes id, quod tunc magnopere formidabat, Limigantes Sarmatas, quos expulisse paternis avitisque sedibus dominos suos ante monstravimus, paulatim posthabitis locis, quæ eis anno præterito utiliter sunt destinata, ne, ut sunt versabiles, aliquid molirentur inimicum, regiones confines limitibus occupasse: vagarique licentius genuino more, ni pellerentur, omnia turbaturos.

† *Eusebio & Hypatio COSS. vid.* Ammianus, L. 18. init.

Army;

Army; ſince, in many of the Provinces, the People became more and more averſe to War, and the Levies were conſequently unſucceſsful (2). The Imperial Camp was near *Acimincum* ††, whither the Emperor ſuffered the *Sarmatæ* to come: But they watch'd their Opportunity, and, when leaſt expected, attack'd the Emperor himſelf (3). The *Romans* immediately drew into Order of Battle, and ſo retaliated their Treachery, that they were all either kill'd on the Spot, or reduc'd to Slavery: Since which Time no farther mention is made in Hiſtory of the *Limigantes*.

§. LVIII. *JULIAN* had ſpent the Winter at *Paris*, and was intent upon entirely ſubduing the *Alemanni*. In theſe Days, it was not cuſtomary to open the Campaigns in *Gaul*, before the Beginning of *July*, becauſe they were obliged to wait for Proviſions from *Aquitain* (1): But *Julian* thought it would be equal, whether the Soldiers conſumed the Remainder of their Stores, which was ſufficient for twenty Days, in the Field or in the Camp; and therefore broke up ſooner than uſual. He firſt advanced againſt the *Salii*, a *Franconian* Nation (2), who had taken Poſſeſſion of ſome *Roman* Frontiers, in the

Julian ſurprizes the Salii. Whence the *Franks* took this Name?

(2) IBIDEM. Qui vana quædam cauſantes, & irrita, pavore adigente mentiri, principem exorabant in veniam, obſecrantes, ut ſimultate abolita, tranſmiſſo flumine ad eum venire permitterentur, docturi, quæ ſuſtinerent incommoda: paratique intra ſpatia orbis Romani, ſi id placuerit, terras ſuſcipere longe diſcretas, ut diuturno otio involuti, & quietem colentes, tanquam ſalutarem deam, tributariorum onera ſubirent, & nomen. His poſt reditum tribunorum compertis, imperator exſultans, ut negotio quod rebatur inexplicabile, ſine ullo pulvere conſummando, cunctos admiſit, aviditate plus habendi incenſus: quam adulatorum cohors augebat, id ſine modo ſtrepentium, quod externis ſopitis, & ubique pace compoſita, proletarios lucrabitur plures, & tirocinia cogere poterit validiſſima. Aurum quippe gratanter provinciales corporibus dabant, quæ ſpes rem Romanam aliquoties adgravavit.

†† *ſ. Alcumincum*, Lazius L. XII. Rom. reip. c. 11. p. 937. *ſuppoſes it to be* Salankemen.

(3) IBIDEM. Quæ Limigantes licet properari ſentirent, nihil tamen præter preces fingentes ſtabant incurui; longe alia quam quæ geſtu præferebant & verbis, altis mentibus perpenſantes. Viſoque imperatore ex alto ſuggeſtu jam ſermonem parante leniſſimum, meditanteque alloqui velut morigeros jam futuros: quidam ex illis furore percitus truci, calceo ſuo in tribunal contorto, MARHA, MARHA, *quod eſt apud eos ſignum bellicum*, exclamavit, eumque ſecuta inconcita multitudo vexillo elato repente barbarico, ululans ferum, in ipſum principem ferebatur.

§. LVIII. (1) AMM. MARCEL. *L.* 17. *c.* 8. Operienſque Julium menſem, unde ſumunt Gallicani procinctus exordia, diutius angebatur. Nec enim egredi poterat, antequam ex Aquitania, æſtatis remiſſione ſolutis frigoribus & pruinis, veheretur annona.

(2) *Some learned Men have attempted to derive the Name of* Salii, *from the* German *Word* Saal, *which then ſignified* Curia *or* Palatium; *and imagine, that all the* Franks *in general were called* Salii. *But, by the Connection of Hiſtory, this Name appears neither to have denoted all the* Franks *in general, nor any particular Order of Men among them, but to have been proper to ſome particular* Franconian *Nation. It is uncertain, whether the* Sala, *or the preſent* Yſſel

gave

Neighbourhood of the *Scheld*, near *Toxandria* (3). He surpriz'd them before they could get into a Body, and forc'd them to submit (4). Not far from thence, he likewise met with a Body of the *Chamavi*, who were marching against the *Salii*; attack'd them, took many Prisoners, and put the Rest to Flight. These Fugitives, having rallied, sent afterwards Ambassadors to him, and he granted them a Peace, on Condition, that they should immediately retreat to their own Country, beyond the *Rhine* (5). He pick'd out the choicest of his Prisoners, the *Salii* and *Chamavi*, particularly of the former, and intermix'd them with the Auxiliaries in the *Roman* Army. *Zosimus* writes, that, even in his Time, there was a Body of Men call'd *Salii*; and, in the *Notitia*

gave Rise to it, or whether the Name was taken from those watry Places, which in the ancient Low German *were termed* Saal, *whence* Salland *on the* Yssel, *a principal Part of the present Province of* Overyssel. *This last Derivation is observed by* Menso Altingius, *l. c. p.* 115. Depressius solum, cui superstare solet quælibet aqua reses, sive tacitis laticibus eo colliquata, sive data opera pecori aquando corrivata, siva eluvionibus effusa, SALAM vocant, qui Rheni divortia accolunt, &c. *It is certain at least, that Part of the* Franks *dwelt in those Countries about the* Yssel, *and the* Salii *and* Tubantes *are frequently spoken of promiscuously.*

(3) Toxandria *is the present* Tessenderlo, *in the Diocese of* Liege, *from whence the* Pagus Tessandriæ *took its Name; which is met with in antient Records, and reached to the Country about the Confluence of the* Maes *and* Waal. V. Cl. Dithmarus in diss. de comitatu Teisterbantiæ §. V.

(4) Ammian, Marcellinus, *l. c.* Quibus paratis, petit primos omnium Francos, eos videlicet, quos consuetudo Salios appellavit, ausos olim in Romano solo, apud Toxandriam locum, habitacula sibi figere prælicenter. Cui cum Tungros venisset, occurrit legatio prædictorum opinantium reperiri imperatorem etiam tum in hibernis, pacem sub hac lege prætendens, ut quiescentes eos, tanquam in suis, nec lacesseret quisquam, nec vexaret. Hos legatos, negotio plene digesto, oppositaque conditionum perplexitate, ut in iisdem tractibus moraturus, dum redeunt, muneratos absolvit. Dictoque citius secutus profectos, Severo duce misso per ripam, subito cunctos adgressus, tanquam fulminis turbo perculsit: jamque precantes potius quam resistentes, in opportunam clementiæ partem effectu victoriæ flexo, dedentes se, cum opibus liberisque suscepit. Libanius *in orat. parentali in Julian. cap.* 32. *p.* 261. Cum tempus signum sustulisset, ilico exercitum educit, & circa flumen instar fulguris visus, gentem integram adeo terruit, ut migrare in orbem Rom. peterent. Agros itaque petentibus dedit, & barbaris adversus barbaros auxiliaribus est usus.

(5) Marcellinus, *L.* 17. *c.* 8. Chamavos itidem ausos similia adortus, eadem celeritate partim cecidit, partim acriter repugnantes, vivosque captos compegit in vincula: alios præcipiti fuga trepidantes, ad sua, ne militem spatio longo defatigaret, abire interim permisit innocuos: quorum legatis paulo postea missis precatum, consultumque rebus suis, humi prostratis sub obtutibus ejus, pacem hoc tribuit pacto, ut ad sua redirent incolumes. *In* Eunapius's Excerpta *we meet with more Circumstances of these Transactions with the* Chamavi: *And* Zosimus *likewise relates this War*, L. 3. c 6 & 7, *but very confusedly; and even names the* Quadi, *instead of the* Chamavi. *We therefore prefer* Ammianus Marcellinus *and* Julian's *own Accounts to these two* Grecians, *who were so little conversant in these Affairs of the* West, *that* Zosimus *even places* Paris *in* Germany.

Imperii

Imperii, the *Salii* are placed among the *Palatina Auxilia* (6). *Julian* immediately cauſed three ſtrong Caſtles to be built on the *Maes*, to ſecure thoſe Countries, by Degrees, againſt any future ſudden Irruptions of the *Germans*.

§ LIX. HE thereupon laid a Bridge of Boats over the *Rhine*, and invaded the Dominions of the *Alemanni*. The firſt he fell into, were thoſe of King *Suomarius*, who, in former Years, had been very active in infeſting *Gaul*: But he went to meet the *Romans*, made his Submiſſion, in Order to avert the total Devaſtation of his Country, and ſued for Peace. He was oblig'd to reſtore all the *Roman* Priſoners, and to engage for the Delivery of a certain Quantity of Proviſions; for which he was tied down to produce Receipts, or liable to deliver the ſame over again. Some Troops were thereupon ſent againſt another King of the *Alemanni*, named *Hortarius*, who had ſtopp'd up all the Paſſages to his Dominions with monſtrous large Trees. But *Charietto*, a valiant *Frank*, who was afterwards made *Comes rei militaris per utramque Germaniam* (1), found a By-Way, and *Hortarius* ſoon ſaw, by the Smoak, ariſing from the Villages which were ſet on Fire, that he had now no other Means left of ſerving his Country, than by ſubmitting to *Julian*. He was obliged to come to him in Perſon, to ratify the Treaty, and, after having reſtored all the *Roman* Priſoners, bound himſelf to deliver a certain Quantity of Wood, and other Materials, to rebuild the Cities, which had been deſtroy'd by the *Alemanni* (2).

Julian compels *Suomarius* and *Hortarius*, two Princes of the *Alemanni*, to ſue for Peace.

§ LX. *JULIAN* ſpent the Winter in *Gaul*, to bring the Affairs of the Provinces, where requiſite, into a better State; and, in Time, to make the neceſſary Preparations for the enſuing Campaign. He cauſed the Magazines, along the *Rhine*, which had been deſtroy'd, to be rebuilt; and order'd, that for the future, Proviſions ſhould be again brought from *Britain*, up the *Rhine* (1): For, after he had ſubdued

And cauſes the *Roman* Forts, along the *Rhine*, to be re-built.

(6) SUB DUCE THEBAIDOS:
Cohors XI. Chamavorum.
in nor. imp. p. 1699.
Cohors VII. Francorum ib.
SUC DUCE PHOENICES.
Ala prima Francorum curiæ.

And among the Auxilia Palatina, *beſides the* Batavi, Bructeri *and* Ampſivarii, *we meet with the* Tubantes, Salii, Matthiaci, Juniores Gallicani, Salii Gallicani, *and* Tungri.

§. LIX. (1) MARCELLIN. *L.* 27. *c.* 1. Tunc [ſc. Charietto] per utramque Germaniam comes.

(2) MARCELLINUS, *L.* 27. *c.* 1.

§ LX. (1) LIBANIUS, *in orat parentali*, 40. *p.* 265. Cum enim ex memorata modo inſula annona olim, mari ſuperato, Rheno fuerit advecta; barbari vero id, cum integris adhuc eſſent viribus, non amplius fieri permitterent: frumentarias naves olim quidem ſubductas computreſcere contigerat. Paucæ enim admodum earum ultro citroque navigare ſinebantur, quibus in portibus exoneratis, plauſtris frumentum erat imponendum, quod fluvius antea advehere ſueverat. Iſta vero res maximos exigebat ſumtus. Priſtinum

the *Salii* and other Nations (2,) who dwelt about the Mouth of the *Maes* and the *Rhine*, the Navigation on that River was reſtor'd to its former Safety (3). His chief Deſign was to gain an entire Conqueſt over the *Alemanni*, the next Campaign. He ſent *Hariobaudes* (4), who ſpoke the *German* Language, under the Pretence of an Ambaſſy to *Hortarius*, but in Reality, that he might diſcover the State of thoſe *Alemanni*, whoſe Borders joined to his. He himſelf undertook, in the mean Time, the Care of re-building the Cities, and, at the Beginning of the next Year, ſeven of them were begun (5); among which we diſcover, in *Ammianus*, the Names of *Neus*, *Bonn*, *Andernach* and *Bingen*. The *Alemannian* Princes had performed their Promiſe, and

ſtinum itaque morem cæſar revocans, valdeque exiſtimans eſſe moleſtum, ſi non jam annonæ vecturam priſtino ſtatui reſtituat: exiguo temporis ſpatio & naves fieri curavit plures, quam antea extiterant unquam, & qua aptiſſime ratione frumentum adveheret fluvius, diſpexit.

(2) *De Chamavis* EUNAPIUS, *p.* 15. A. Chamavis invitis, impoſſibile eſt, e Britannia inſula Romanis coloniis commeatus & cibaria immittere. *In the* Tabula Peutingeriana *we find theſe Words*, Chamavi, qui & Franci, p. 718. add M. VELSERI explicatio, p. 729.

(3) *To this muſt be refer'd, what* Julian *ſays of himſelf, l. c. p.* 279. D. Cum ſexcentarum itaque navium claſſe ſolvens, e quibus quadringentas vix totis decem menſibns fabricaveram, omnibus ſum in Rhenum invectus: quod propter ingruentes & vicinos barbaros imprimis difficile videbatur. Sane Florentius adeo fieri iſtud poſſe deſperaverat, ut de tranſitu cum barbaris duobus argenti librarum millibus paciſceretur. Qua de re certior factus Conſtantius, (nam cum eo ille communicaverat) mandavit mihi, id ut agerem, niſi omnino turpe eſſe judicarem. Hoc vero quid ni turpe foret, cum ejuſmodi eſſe vel Conſtantio ipſi videretur? qui barbaros obſequiis omnibus fovere, ac retinere conſueverat? Verum nihil in illos a nobis eſt impenſum. Quin adverſus eos exercitum movens, aſpirantibus diis, Saliorum partem excepi: Chamavos expuli: infinita boum armenta cum mulieribus ac parvulis in poteſtatem redegi: ita vero omnes exterrui, ac tantus illis excurſionis meæ injectus eſt metus, ut ſtatim obſides acceperim, & annonæ ſubvectionem tutam reddiderim. *Et p.* 280. C. Longum eſt omnia complecti, ac ſingula percenſere, quæ quatuor annis a me geſta ſunt. Horum vero ſumma iſta ſunt capita. Ter, cum adhuc Cæſar eſſem, Rhenum trajeci: viginti captivorum millia a trans-rhenanis barbaris repetii: ex duobus præliis & una obſidione, mille homines in poteſtatem accepi, nec eos ætate confectos, ſed juvenes: quatuor lectiſſimorum peditum numeros: tres nihilo inferiorum equitum; ſcholas duas honoratiſſimas ad Conſtantium miſi; oppida cepi nunc quidem omnia, tum vero paulo minus quadraginta potitus fueram.

(4) MARCELL. *L.* 18. *c.* 2. Vacantem tribunum, fidei fortitudiniſque notæ.

(5) IBID. *c.* 2. Quo fidenter ad hæc patranda digreſſo, ipſe, anni tempore opportuno, ad expeditionem undique milite convocato, profectus, id inter potiſſima mature duxit implendum, ut, ante præliorum fervorem, civitates multo ante exciſas introiret, receptaſque communiret; horrea quin etiam extrueret pro incenſis, ubi condi poſſet annona, a Britannis ſueta transferri. Et utrumque perfectum & ſpe omnium citius. Nam & horrea veloci opere ſurrexerunt, alimentorumque ſatietas in iiſdem condita; & civitates occupatæ ſunt ſeptem; Caſtra Herculis, Quadriburgium, Triceſimæ, Noveſium, Bonna, Antunnacum, & Bingio. *Of theſe Cities, ſee* Valeſius ad h. l. *and* Petrus Divæus antiq. Belg c. 19.

deliver'd

deliver'd what Materials were requir'd of them for theſe Buildings; and *Julian* ſo excited his Soldiers, that the *Legionarii* vied with the Strangers in forwarding this Undertaking.

§ LXI. *HARI OBA UDES* returned, in the mean Time, from his Ambaſſy, and gave an Account of what Obſervations he had made. *Julian* drew the Armies together near *Mentz*. In a Council of War, ſome of the chief Generals adviſed immediately to croſs the *Rhine* † there; but *Julian* was of a different Opinion, and inſiſted upon treating *Suomarius*, whoſe Country lay neareſt to the *Rhine*, with all poſſible Lenity, in Regard to his League with the *Romans*. The other *Alemanni* expected, in the mean Time, that the *Romans* would paſs the River into his Dominions, and had aſſembled in a Body there, to defend them; *Suomarius* pretending he was not in a Condition to do it himſelf. Now when they ſaw that *Julian* march'd upwards, on the other Side, they directed their Courſe thither likewiſe, and would not let the *Roman* Army eſcape their Sight. *Julian* had, in the mean Time, pitch'd upon another Place, where a Bridge could conveniently be built. He encamped there, and one Night ſent 300 of his boldeſt Soldiers, with ſo little Noiſe, over the *Rhine*, that the *Alemanni*, who only obſerved the Fire in the *Roman* Camp, did not perceive it. *Hortarius*, who was, indeed, in Peace and League with the *Romans*; but, nevertheleſs, liv'd in good Intelligence with his Country-Men, entertain'd, the ſame Evening, the Kings, Princes and chief Commanders of the Army of the *Alemanni*; who, according to the Cuſtom at *German* Banquets, ſtaid together, 'till the next Morning. The *Roman* Party fell upon this Company, juſt as they were going to ſeparate, when the Maſters, indeed, being on Horſe-back, eſcaped; but ſome of their Servants were ſlain. This Stratagem cauſed ſo great a Terror, that every one thought, the *Romans* were already Maſters of the Country; they, therefore, left the Banks of the *Rhine*, and every Nation haſtened to their reſpective Homes, to ſave their Wives, Children, and beſt Effects, from the Enemy's Hands. By this Means, the *Romans* gain'd convenient Time to build their Bridge, and croſs the River *.

He therupon paſſes the *Rhine*.

§ LXII. THEY marched thro' the Territories of *Hortarius*, without moleſting them, but laid all the Dominions of the other *Alemannian* Princes waſte, to the *Mark*, which ſeparated the *Alemanni* and *Burgundians* (1). where they pitch'd their Tents. Hither came two Brothers,

Ravages *Alemannia*, as far as the Confines of the *Burgundians*.

§ LXI. † *Pontem illic conſtitutum tranſiri, debere.*

* AMM. MARCELL. *L.* 18. *c.* 2.

§ LXII. (1) AMM. MARCELL. *c. l. p.* 147. Statimque difficultate omni depulſa, ponte conſtrato, ſollicitarum gentium opinione

Brothers, Princes of the *Alemanni*, *Macrianus* and *Hariobaudus*, to ſue for Peace of the *Romans*. Theſe two Princes, who had never ſeen a *Roman* Camp before, were aſtoniſh'd at the Splendour and Regularity of it, as well as at their military Power: But this their Surprize did not hinder *Macrianus* from engaging with them afterwards. *Vadomarius*, whoſe Country was oppoſite to that of the *Rauraci*, and who has been mentioned before †, came likewiſe into the Camp. He brought a Letter with him from the Emperor *Conſtantius* to *Julian*, in which he commanded him to ſpare this Prince's Country (2). *Vadomarius*, at the ſame Time, excuſed himſelf, that he had by no Means conſented to the Aſſiſtance ſome of his Subjects had lent, two Years before, to *Chnodomar*, in the Battle againſt the *Romans*, near

nione præventa, viſus in barbarico miles, per Hortarii regna tranſibat intacta. Ubi vero terras infeſtiorum etiam tum tetigit regum, urens omnia, rapienſque, per medium rebellium ſolum graſſabatur intrepidus. Poſtque ſæpimenta fragilium penatium inflaminata, & obtruncatam hominum multitudinem, viſoſque cadentes multos, alioſque ſupplicantes, cum ventum fuiſſet ad regionem, *cui CAPELLATII, vel PALAS nomen eſt, ubi terminales lapides ALAMANNORUM, & BURGUNDIORUM confinia diſtinguebant*, caſtra ſunt poſita: ea propter, ut Macrianus & Hariobaudus, germani fratres & reges, ſuſciperentur impavidi; qui propinquare ſibi perniciem ſentientes, venerant pacem anxiis animis precaturi. Poſt quos ſtatim rex quoque Vadomarius venit, cujus erat domicilium contra Rauracos: ſcriptiſque Conſtantii principis, quibus commendatus eſt arctius, allegatis, leniter ſuſceptus eſt. Et Macrianus quidem cum fratre inter aquilas admiſſus & ſigna, ſtupebat armorum viriumque varium decus, viſa tunc primitus, proque ſuis orabat. Vadomarius vero noſtris coalitus, utpote vicinus limiti, mirabatur quidem apparatum ambitioſi procinctus, ſed vidiſſe ſe talia ſæpe ab adoleſcentia meminerat prima. Libratis denique diu conſiliis, concordi aſſenſione cunctorum, Macriano quidem & Hariobaudo pax eſt attributa: Vadomario vero, qui ſuam locaturus ſecuritatem in tuto, & legationis nomine precator venerat pro Urio, & Urſicino, & Veſtralpo regibus, pacem itidem obſecrans, interim reſponderi non poterat, ne, ut ſunt fluxi-oris fidei barbari, poſt abitum recreati noſtrorum, parum acquieſcerent per alios impetratis. Sed cum ipſi quoque miſſis legatis poſt meſſes incenſas & habitacula, captoſque plures & interfectos, ita ſupplicarent, tanquam ipſi hæc deliquiſſent in noſtros: pacem conditionum ſimilitudine meruerunt. Inter quas id feſtinatum eſt maxime, ut captivos reſtituerent omnes, quos rapuerant excurſionibus crebris. *The Words in this Paſſage, about the Confines of the* Alemanni *and* Burgundians, *ſerve to illuſtrate the Wars, carried on by them jointly, and ſometimes between one another.*

† *Vide ſupra* § XL.

(2) *Of this* Vadomarius, Eunapius *is likewiſe to be underſtood, p.* 17. Badomarius neſcio quis inter Germanos potentia & autoritate excelluit, quæ res eum ad tantam ſuperbiam extulit, ut proprium filium, dum captivos redderet, quos per excurſiones ceperat, obſidem daret, & cum minime captivos reſtitueret, nihilominus obſidem ſibi reſtitui poſtulavit, multa mala minatus, ſi non reciperet. Hunc vero Julianus ad ipſum remiſit, hoc adjiciens, unum adoleſcentem, etſi nobilitate præſtantem, non eſſe idoneum apud ſe pro multis obſidem. Sed aut captivos, quæ ad tria millia in ejus poteſtate erant, eum reſtituere oportere, aut ſe injuſta facere ſibi conſcium eſſe. Hæc ſcripſit & legationem miſit, quam non multo poſt eſt ſubſequutus, a Nemetibus ad Rhenum movens, jam enim apud Rauracos erat, quæ eſt Romanorum colonia.

Strasburg *. He endeavour'd, likewiſe, to obtain a Reconciliation for the Princes, *Urius*, *Urſicinus*, and *Vadomarius*, who had all either been in Perſon at that Battle, or their Subjects had aſſiſted at it: But this *Julian* would not ſo readily grant; that, for the future, they might bethink themſelves, before they attempted any Thing againſt the *Romans*. He therefore ſuffered ſeveral *Roman* Parties to over-run their Countries, 'till they again ſued for Peace, by an Embaſſy of their own; which they, as well as the other *Alemanni*, obtained, on Condition, that they ſhould reſtore all the *Roman* Priſoners, of which they had made a large Number, in their Incurſions, and thus ended this *Alemanian* War.

§ LXIII. *CONSTANTIUS* hereupon recall'd the Choice of the Army in *Gaul*, under Pretence of employing them, in the *Perſian* War: But this Stratagem was ſo unſucceſsful, that the Army proclaimed *Julian* Emperor (1) at *Paris* †: And *Conſtantius*, who was involved in the *Perſian* War, enter'd into certain Treaties with him. *Julian*, who foreſaw, that a War was inevitable, and therefore deſired to place *Gaul* in perfect Security, paſs'd the *Rhine*, near *Santen*, and fell upon the *Attuarii* *, a *Franconian* Nation, which inhabited about the *Lippe*, and had hitherto, with the greateſt Boldneſs, infeſted the *Roman* Confines, as they thought themſelves ſecure from their Arms, in their raw and mountainous Country: But *Julian* ſo humbled them, that they were obliged to accept of whatever Conditions he preſcribed. He thereupon returned over the *Rhine*, viewed the *Roman* Forts, along that River (2), as far as the Borders of the *Rauraci*, and order'd them to be repaired: Which done, he continued his Journy thro *Beſançon* to *Vienne* (3); where he celebrated, in a ſplendid Manner, the fifth Anniverſary,

Julian is proclaim'd Emperor in *Gaul*. An Expedition againſt the *Attuarii*.

† *A.* 360, in the Spring.

* *Vide ſupra* § XLIX.

§ LXIII. (1) MARCELLINUS, *L.* 20. *c.* 4. Impoſituſque ſcuto pedeſtri, & ſublatius eminens, nullo ſilente auguſtus renuntiatus, jubebatur diadema proferre: neganſque unquam habuiſſe, uxoris colli & capitis poſcebatur. Eoque adfirmante, primis auſpiciis non congruere aptari muliebri mundo, equi phalera quærebatur, uti coronatus ſpeciem ſaltem obſcuram ſuperioris prætenderet poteſtatis. Sed cum id quoque turpe eſſe aſſeveraret: Maurus nomine quidam, poſtea comes, qui rem male geſſit apud Succorum anguſtias, petulantiam tunc haſtatus, abſtractum ſibi torquem, quo ut draconarius utebatur, capiti Juliani impoſuit confidenter. Zoſimus, *L.* 3. *c.* 10. *p.* 265. Sublimem in ſcutum quoddam elatum, imperatorem auguſtum adpellant, & diadema capiti ejus imponunt.

* *Aliis Hattuarii*, *Anſuarii*, *&c. v.* Valeſii *notitia Galliarum.*

(2) *We have almoſt Room to ſuppoſe that the* Alemanni, *till then, always poſſeſs'd ſome Places in* Gaul, *which* Julian *but now recovered: For in* Ammianus Marcellinus, *it is ſaid:* Lociſque recuperatis, quæ olim barbari intercepta retinebant, ut propria, iiſdemque pleniore cura firmatis. *See the following Note.*

(3) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *L.* 20. *c.* 10. Rheno exinde tranſmiſſo regionem ſubito pervaſit Francorum, quos Attuarios vocant,

versary of his Dignity as *Cæsar*, which he enter'd upon, A. 355 (4). He made, in the mean Time, the necessary Preparations for an Expedition against *Constantius* (5), and, on this Occasion, so carefully conceal'd his Apostacy from the *Christian* Religion, that he even frequented their publick Worship (6).

Fresh Commotions among the *Alemanni*.

§. LXIV. BUT his Designs narrowly escaped being frustrated. The *Alemanni* began to be in Motion, invaded the neighbouring *Rætia* (1), and beat *Libinon*, whom *Julian* had sent against them (2). These Commotions

vocant, inquietorum hominum, licentius etiam tum percursantium extima Galliarum. Quos adortus subito nihil metuentes hostile, nimiumque securos, quod scruposa viarum difficultate arcente, nullum ad suos pagos introisse meminerant principem, superavit negotio levi; captisque plurimis & occisis, orantibus aliis, qui superfuere, pacem ex arbitrio dedit, hoc prodesse possessoribus finitimis arbitratus. Unde reversus pari celeritate per flumen, præsidiaque limitis explorans diligenter, & corrigens adusque Rauracos venit: locisque recuperatis, quæ olim barbari intercepta retinebant, ut propria, iisdemque pleniore cura firmatis, per Besuntionem Viennam hiematurus abscessit. LIBANIUS *in orat funebr:* Cum venisset ad Rhenum ostenso barbaris vultu, ac iteratis sacramentis firmato fœdere ad civile bellum se invitus accinxit. Julian *himself mentions this Expedition of his*, Ep. 38. *ad Maximum philosophum* p. 414. B. Cum primum imperator invitus creatus sum (cujus rei conscii sunt dii, & quantum in me situm fuit, ipsis declaravi) bellum gerens in barbaros, & trimestri spatio in ea militia consumto, ad Gallos revertens, circumspiciebam & percontabar de omnibus qui illinc venirent; num quis philosophus, num quis scholasticus, aut pallio penulave indutus, eo appulisset. Cum autem Vesuntionem appropinquarem (est autem oppidum nunc refectum, magnum tamen olim, & magnificis templis ornatum, mœnibus firmissimis, & loci natura munitum, propterea quod cingitur Dubi: estque, ut in mari, rupes excelsa, propemodum ipsis avibus inaccessa, nisi qua flumen abiens tanquam litora quædam habet projecta) cum, inquam, prope abessem ab hac urbe, vir quidam Cynicus, cum pera & baculo mihi occurrit.

(4) MARCELLIUS, *L.* 21. *c.* 1. Quinquennalia augustus jam edidit: & ambitioso diademate utebatur, lapidum fulgore distincto, cum inter exordia principatus assumti vili corona circumdatus erat, Xystarchæ similis purpurato.

(5) IDEM. *l. c.* Accidebat autem, incendebatque ejus cupiditatem pacatis jam Galliis incessere ultro Constantium, conjiciens eum per vaticinandi præsagia multa (quæ callebat) & somnia, ex vita protinus excessurum.

(6) IDEM. *l. c. e.* 2. Utque omnes nullo impediente, ad sui favorem illiceret, adhærere cultui Christiano fingebat, a quo jam pridem occulte desciverat, arcanorum participibus paucis, haruspicinæ auguriisque intentus, & cæteris quæ deorum semper fecere cultores. Et ut hæc interim celarentur, feriarum die, quem celebrantes mense Januario Christiani epiphania dictitant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam, solemniter numine orato, discessit. *ad quem loc. conf. nota* Valesii.

§. LXIV. (1) AMM. MARCELLINUS *L. c. c.* 3. *p.* 207. Dum hæc ita aguntur, propinquante jam vere, nuntio percitus inopino, ad tristitiam versus est & mœrorem. Didicit enim Alamannos a pago Vadomarii exorsos, unde nihil post istum fœdus sperabatur incommodum, vastare confines Rætiis tractus: nihilque sinere intentatum manus prædatorias fusius discurrentes. M. Velserus *reads* Rætiarum tractus, *and* Cluverius *is of the same Opinion*, L. 3. c. 4.

(2) AMM. MARCELLINUS, *c. l.* Quod ne dissimulatum redivivas bellorum materias excita-

motions took their Riſe among the Subjects of *Vadomarius*. This Prince, whom *Ammianus* repreſents as a brave Soldier, and a ſubtle Genius, was a Favourite of *Conſtantius*; and *Julian* intercepted a Letter from the Emperor to him, in which he was deſired to give him a Diverſion in *Gaul* (3). The Emperor was, probably, in Hopes of making as advantageous an Uſe of the *Alemanni*, againſt *Julian*, as he had before done, againſt *Magnentius*. *Vadomarius* knew, in the mean while, how to diſſemble with *Julian*, and wrote to him in the moſt obliging Terms; but was caught in the Snare, which he himſelf had laid. He was ſo confident, that he even viſited the *Roman* General, who lay encamp'd on the other Side of the *Rhine*, and ſtaid to take a Repaſt with him: But there were already Orders given to detain him; and he was accordingly ſent Priſoner to *Julian*, who would not admit him into his Preſence, but immediately ſent him away to *Spain* (4). *Julian*,

excitaret; Libinonem quendam comitem cum Celtis & petulantibus miſit, hiemantibus ſecum, negotium, ut poſcebat ratio, correcturum. Qui cum mature prope opidum Sanctionem veniſſet, longe viſus a barbaris, qui jam certamina meditantes ſeſe per valles abdiderant: hortatuſque milites licet numero impares, cupidine tamen pugnandi vehementius irritatos, aggreditur inconſulte Germanos, interque dimicandi exordia ipſe concidit omnium primus: cujus interitu erecta barbarorum fiducia, Romaniſque ad ducis vindictam accenſis, certamen committitur obſtinatum, & urgente magnitudinis mole disjecti ſunt noſtri, occiſis paucis & vulneratis. Valeſius *imagines, that, inſtead of* Sanctionem, *ought to be read* Bezantionem. *But* Cluverius *ſays*, L. III. c. 4. *that by* opidum Sanctionem *is to be underſtood* Seckingen, *which lies on the left Banks of the* Rhine, *towards* Baſel.

(3) JULIANUS, *epiſt. ad Athen. p.* 286. A. At ille pro his omnibus officiis in nos barbaros commovit, & me apud eos hoſtem denunciavit: imo ad vaſtandas Gallias mercede illos auctoravit: ſcripſit inſuper ad eos, qui erant in Italia, & ut eos caverent, qui e Gallis venirent, hortatus eſt. Tum circa Galliarum limitem, vicinis in oppidis, Brigantiæ elaborati frumenti tricies millies centena medimnorum millia: totidem ad Alpes Cottias condita ſervari juſſit; ut adverſum me copias moveret. Quæ quidem non verbotenus jactata, ſed re ipſa ſcitote eſſe perfecta. Nam & litteras, quæ ad concitandos barbaros ſcriptæ erant, accepi; & annonam omnem, quam parari juſſerat, reperi.

(4) LIBANIUS, *in orat, parent. c.* 52. *p.* 277. Illa itaque cum rerum eſſet conditio, ad priſtinas artes ſuas confugit Conſtantius, litteris barbaros, ut antea fecerat, evocans, & beneficii loco ab iis poſcens, ut Romanas provincias jugo ſuo ſubmitterent, ex multis adeo, ut perjurus fieret, unico tantum perſuaſit. Hic vero ſimul latrocinia exercebat, & in iis, quos occupaverat agros indulgebat genio, & cum Romani exercitus ducibus, tanquam omni culpa vacaret, convivia inibat. Eum itaque contra fidem datam agere auſum, dum compotationibus indulgeret Julianus cepit, atque in ejus agros facta irruptione, meritam perjurii pœnam illi inflixit. Cum vero undiquaque eorum, qui ſervaverant pacta, metu perculſorum, fieret concurſus, omneſque criminum ejus ſumme puderet, & ſacramenta novis ſacramentis firmarentur, ſuggeſtu in mediis barbarorum terris conſcenſo, ex illo, in loco qui ſubditorum erat, inferiori conſiſtentes cum reliqua turba deſpiciens barbarorum principes, partim quidem in memoriam ipſis nonnulla revocavit, partim minas interpoſuit, atque ita diſceſſit. Libanius *makes*

farther

nevertheleſs, did not yet think himſelf ſecure; and as he was greatly concern'd for the peaceable State of *Gaul*, he now himſelf went, a fourth Time, over the *Rhine*, and fell ſo unexpectedly upon the Authors of theſe laſt Troubles, that moſt of them were oblig'd to yield themſelves Priſoners (5). The others, who had kept the Peace, renew'd it; and the Fate of their Neighbours ſerv'd as a Warning to them, not to violate their Engagements (6).

And from thence continues his March againſt *Conſtantius*, *Auguſta Rauracorum.*

§ LXV. *JULIAN*, thereupon, declar'd the War at *Auguſt* †, and order'd the Army to march, partly thro' *Rætia*, and partly thro' *Italy*, into *Illyricum*. He went himſelf, by the Way of the *Black Foreſt*, as far as where the *Danube* becomes navigable. There he embark'd for *Bonnonia* (1). *Conſtantius*, who had hitherto been buſied with the

further Mention of him: Quandoquidem multis gentibus, innumeris talentis in te concitatis, eorum ductorem facile correptum, maleficorum ſupplicio coërcuiſti, ejuſmodi lucro non inhiare, latus petendo, edocens. Marcellinus, *L.* 21. *c.* 4. *p.* 208. Finitiſque epulis Vadomarium fortiter apprehenſum, rectori militum arcte cuſtodiendum apud ſigna commiſit, textu lecto juſſorum, comitibus ejus ad ſua redire compulſis, ſuper quibus nihil fuerat imperatum. Exhibitus tamen idem rex ad principis caſtra, jamque ſpe veniæ omni præcluſa, cum interceptum notarium, & quæ ſcripſerat ad Conſtantium comperiſſet, jam publicata, ne convicio quidem tenus compellatus, miſſus eſt ad Hiſpanias. Id enim ſtudio curabatur ingenti, ne Juliano diſcedente a Galliis, immaniſſimus homo provinciarum ſtatum ægre compoſitum licentius conturbaret. *By the ſame Hiſtorian, this* German *Prince appears to have afterwards obtain'd the Government of* Phœnicia. *For he ſays of him,* L. c. c. 3. Ad perſtringendum, fallendumque miris modis ab ætatis primitiis callens, ut poſtea quoque ducatum per Phœnicen regens oſtendit. *He then mentions his valiant Atchievements in the* Eaſt, *L.* 29. *c.* 1. Exacta hieme rex Perſarum gentis Sapor pugnarum fiducia priſtinarum immaniter arrogans, ſuppleto numero ſuorum abundeque firmato, erupturos in noſtra cataphractos & ſagittarios & conductam miſit plebem. Contra has copias Trajanus comes, & Vadomarius ex rege Alamannorum, cum agminibus perrexere pervalidis, hoc obſervare principis juſſu appoſiti, ut arcerent potius quam laceſſerent Perſas. Qui cum veniſſent Vagabanta, legionibus habilem locum, rapidos turmarum procurſus hoſtilium in ſe ruentium acriter exceperunt inviti: operaque conſulta retrocedentes, ne ferro violarent adverſorum quemquem primi, & judicarentur diſciſſi fœderis rei, ultima tradente neceſſitate congreſſi ſunt: confoſſiſque multis diſceſſere victores.

(5) MARCELL. *L.* 21. *c.* 4. Hoc caſu elatior Julianus regis opinione citius intercepti, quem profecturus ad longinqua formidabat, nihil remittentibus curis barbaros adoriri diſpoſuit, quos peremiſſe Libinonem comitem in congreſſu cum militibus docuimus paucis. Et ne rumor adventus ſui nos ad remotiora traduceret, ſuperato Rheno noctis alto ſilentio, cum auxiliorum expeditiſſimis globis, nihil metuentes hujuſmodi circumvenit: excitatoſque hoſtilium fragore armorum, dum gladios circumſpectant & tela, celeriter involavit: & quoſdam occidit, orantes alios prædamque offerentes dediticios cepit: reliquis qui remanſere pacem precantibus dedit, quietem pollicitis firmam, *conf.* Libanius *in orat. funebr. p.* 286.

(6) *The* Briſigavi *are, in the* Notitia Imperii, *mention'd among the Auxiliaries. Perhaps they were compos'd of thoſe, whom* Julian, *on this Occaſion, made Priſoners of War.*

§ LXV. (1) *Urbem IX. M. paſſ. Sirmio diſſitam.*

Perſians

Perſian War, in *Aſia*, was broke up, and on his March to meet him; but died, by the Way, at *Mopſucrene* in *Cilicia* (2). *Julian* therefore, now obtain'd the quiet and ſole Poſſeſſion of the Empire, which he, however, ſoon after, loſt, together with his Life (3). The *Alemanni* and *Franks*, in the mean Time, kept the Peace; inſomuch that during his Reign, no Mention is made of the *Germans*, excepting the eminent Services he received from ſome *German* Princes, in the *Perſian* War (4).

(2) *A. C.* 361. *d.* 3. *Nov. v.* Till. *not.* 52.
(3) MARCELLIN. *L.* 21. *c.* 8 & 9.
(4) *De iis conf.* Marcell. *L.* 25, *c.* 6 & 8.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ANCIENT GERMANS.

BOOK VII.

To the GRAND TRANSMIGRATION of a Swarm of Nations.

SECT. I. *THE* Alemanni *invade* Gaul, *in* Valentinian's *Reign:* II. *But are defeated by* Jovinus. III. Valens *makes War with the* Goths. IV. *The* Franks *and* Saxons *make Depredations in* Britain. V. Valentinian *invades the* Alemanni, *in their own Territories, and obliges them to retire over the* Neckar. VI. *Makes a fruitleſs Attempt to build a Fort there. A Body of* Romans *defeated.* VII. *The* Saxons *invade* Gaul. VIII. Valentinian *excites the* Burgundians *againſt the* Alemanni: *Of the Origin of the* Burgundians. *Colonies of the* Alemanni *in* Italy. IX. Valentinian *endeavours to ſurprize* Macrianus, *a Prince of the* Alemanni. *Of the* Aquæ Mattiacæ. X. *The* Quadi *invade* Valeria; XI. *Which induces* Valentinian *to make Peace with the* Alemanni. *The farther Fate of* Macrianus. XII. Valentinian's *Expedition againſt the* Quadi. *His Death.* XIII. *Situation of the* Gothick *Nations. Deſcription of the* Alani. XIV. *An Account of the* Hunns. XV. *The* Hunns *overcome the* Alani: *And reduce the* Oſtro-Goths *to great Streights.* XVI. Athanaric, *Prince of the* Wiſi-Goths, *endeavours, in vain, to oppoſe them.* XVII. *A Body of* Goths *advances*

towards

towards the Danube. Athanaric *escapes to the Mountains.* XVIII. *The* Romans *take the* Goths *into their Protection:* XIX. *But the latter are soon obliged to take up Arms against the* Romans. XX. *A pitch'd Battle between the* Goths *and* Romans. XXI. *The* Goths *force the Passes of Mount* Hæmus, *and over-run* Thrace. XXII. Frigerid *defeats the* Gothick *Prince,* Farnobius, *and the* Taifali. XXIII. Gratian's *War with the* Lenticenſes. XXIV. Valens *is defeated by the* Goths *near* Adrianople. XXV. *The* Goths *attempt, in vain, to become Masters of* Adrianople *and* Conſtantinople. XXVI. *Maſſacre of the* Goths, *in* Aſia. XXVII. Gratian *endeavours to withſtand the* Goths, Alani *and* Huns. *Declares* Theodoſius *Emperor in the* Eaſt. XXVIII. *A Treaty with the* Goths. XXIX. Athanaric *comes to* Conſtantinople. XXX. *The* Greuthungi *are defeated.* XXXI. Maximus *uſurps the Empire in the* Weſt; *but is defeated by* Theodoſius. XXXII. *What Share the* Germans, *particularly the* Franks, *had in this War.* XXXIII. *Treaties of* Valentinian II *with the* Franks. XXXIV. Arbogaſtes *invades the Dominions of the* Franks. XXXV. Valentinian II *is aſſaſſinated, and* Eugenius *proclaimed Emperor.* XXXVI. *The new Emperor confirms the Leagues with the* Franks *and* Alemanni: XXXVII. *But is defeated by* Theodoſius, *with the Aſſiſtance of the* Goths. XXXVIII. *State of the Church in* Germany, Rætia, &c. XXXIX. *Converſion of the* Goths *to the* Chriſtian *Faith.* XL. *Their Apoſtacy into* Arianiſm: *Of* Ulphila, *and the* Gothick *Tranſlation of the* Goſpels.

§. I. AS this Book gives us a greater Light into the Hiſtory of the *Franks, Saxons* and *Burgundians*; ſo it likewiſe preſents to our View the great Changes, that happen'd in the Countries on the *Black Sea* and the *Danube:* For, the Irruptions of the *Hunns,* having obliged the *Goths* to retreat, they, thereupon, over-run *Thrace,* and ſtruck the firſt Blow towards the Decay of the *Roman* Empire. The more theſe *Goths* become known, by the Names of *Wiſi-Goths* and *Oſtro-Goths,* the more plainly does it appear, not alone from their Language, which is only diſtinguiſhed from the ancient *Alemannick* and *Saxon* Tongues, as one Dialect is from another, but from their Manners and Arms, that we have hitherto had Reaſon to interſperſe their Tranſactions with the *German* Hiſtory. The *Hunns* likewiſe, who are now providentially, as it were, firſt led out of their almoſt unknown Country, have, together with the *Alani,* in the Sequel, as great a Share in the *German* as in the *Roman* Hiſtory: Eſpecially ſince, after the Death of *Theodoſius,* whoſe Prudence and Valour kept all theſe People

The *Alemanni* invade *Gaul,* in *Valentinian's* Reign.

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in Aw, they, during the Reigns of his Sons, entirely broke thro' thoſe Reſtraints, which the *Rhine* and *Danube* had ſo long laid them under.

DURING the ſhort Reign of *Jovian*, we find no Mention of any Thing that relates to *German* Hiſtory. After his Death, *Valentinian* was choſen Emperor, who admitted his Brother *Valens* to a Share in the Government, and left to him the Adminiſtration of the *Eaſt*. The *Weſtern* Provinces he kept for himſelf (1), and went to *Milan*, there to enter upon his Conſulſhip for the Year 365: But he was ſoon after obliged to remove from thence to *Gaul*. The *Alemanni* were diſſatisfied with the *Roman* Court, becauſe ſome Deduction had been made from their uſual Subſidies, and the *Roman* Miniſter * had given a cold Reception to the Ambaſſadors, when they made their Remonſtrances thereupon. The *Alemanni*, therefore, thought themſelves no longer obliged to keep Meaſures, but invaded *Gaul*. *Valentinian*, juſt before his Arrival at *Paris*, received the News, that *Procopius*, one of *Julian*'s Relations, had aſſumed the Imperial Dignity, in the *Eaſt*, and had, at firſt, almoſt reſolved to alter his Journy, and to go into *Ilyricum*, to prevent this Rebellion from ſpreading as far as *Pannonia*: But the Danger, in which he muſt have left *Gaul*, was repreſented to him, in ſo lively a Manner, that he changed his Reſolution, and continued his Journy to *Rheims*, to be the nearer at Hand, to make his Preparations againſt the *Germans*.

* *Magiſter officiorum.*

§ II. THEY went, the Beginning of the next enſuing Year †, in ſeveral Bodies, over the *Rhine*, which was frozen up, and penetrated very far into *Gaul* (1). *Charietto*, who had, at that Time, the Command in both *Germanies*, was joined by *Severian*, who lay at *Chalons* on the *Saonne*, and fell upon one of their Armies; but with ſo little Succeſs, that his Men were routed, he himſelf loſt his Life, and *Severian* came off very much wounded. The *Heruli* and *Batavi*, who ſerv'd in the *Roman* Army, had loſt their Enſigns, and were obliged to diſplay their utmoſt Valour to recover them (2). *Valentinian*, thereupon,

But are defeated by *Jovinus*.

† 366.

§. I. (1) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *L.* 26. *c.* 5. Et poſt hæc cum ambo fratres Sirmium introiſſent, diviſo palatio, ut potiori decuerat, Valentinianus Mediolanum, Conſtantinopolim Valens diſceſſit. *From hence we may infer, that the* Weſt *was eſteemed the moſt conſiderable Part of the Empire.*

§ II. (1) MARCELLINUS, *L.* 27. *c.* 1. Statimque poſt Kal. Januarias, cum per glaciales tractus hiemis rigidum inhorreſceret ſidus, cuneatim egreſſa multitudo licentius vagabatur.

(2) IBID. Horum portioni primæ Charietto, tunc per utramque Germaniam comes, occurſurus, cum milite egreditur ad bella ineunda promtiſſimo, adſcito in ſocietatem laboris Severiano, itidem comite, invalido & longævo, qui apud Cabilona Divitenſibus præſidebat & Tungricanis. Proinde confertius agmine in unum coacto, ponteque brevioris aquæ firma celeritate tranſmiſſo, viſos eminus barbaros Romani ſagittis, aliiſque levibus jaculis inceſſebant, quæ illi reciprocis

thereupon, ſent *Jovian*, General of the Cavalry *, againſt them, who encounter'd and defeated them near *Scarponna* (3), which is now a ſmall Village, a little above *Pont a Mouſſon*. He then went in Search of another Body of them, whom he found, in great Security, on the Banks of a River, (which, by all Circumſtances, ſeems to have been the *Moſel* (4). Some were bathing, others dreſſing their Hair, and again others diverting themſelves with Liquor. They were therefore cut to Pieces, or put to the Flight, before they could take to their Arms (5). A third Body waited for the *Romans* at *Chalons* on the *Marne*, and did not quit the Field, till, after a ſtout Reſiſtance, they had left 6000 ſlain, on the Spot, and 4000 Priſoners (6). A Troop of *Romans*, in the Purſuit, took the King himſelf Priſoner, and the Soldiers, in their Fury, hung him on a Gibbet; which, however, their

* *Magiſter Equitum.*

ciprocis jactibus valide contorquebant. Ubi vero turmæ congreſſæ ſtrictis conflixere mucronibus, noſtrorum acies impetu hoſtium acriore concuſſa, nec reſiſtendi nec faciendi fortiter copiam reperit, cunctis metu compulſis in fugam, cum Severianum vidiſſent equo deturbatum, miſſilique telo peroffenſum. Ipſe denique Charietto, dum cedentes objectu corporis, & vocis jurgatorio ſono, audentius pertinet, pudendumque diluere dedecus fiducia diu ſtandi conatur, oppetiit telo letali confixus. Poſt cujus interitum, ERULORUM, BATAVORUMQUE vexillum direptum, quod inſultando tripudiantes barbari crebro ſublatum altius oſtendebant, poſt certamina receptum eſt magna. *The* Heruli, *here mentioned, ſeem, ſince* Gallienus's *Time, to have made a ſeparate Body among the Auxiliaries in the* Roman *Army. See above* L. 5. § XLIII. not. 4.

(3) IDEM *l. c. c.* 11. Jovinus equitum magiſter accingitur: & inſtructus paratuſque, cautiſſime obſervans utrumque ſui agminis latus venit prope locum Scarponna; ubi inopinus majorem barbarorum plebem, antequam armaretur, temporis brevi puncto præventam, ad internecionem exſtinxit.

(4) *Vid.* BUCHERIUS *Belg. p.* 346. §. 4. TILLEMONT T. V. *P.* I. *p.* 52. *not.* 2.

(5) MARCELLINUS, *L.* 27. *c.* 2. Exſultantes innoxii prœlii gloria milites ad alterius globi perniciem ducens, ſenſimque incedens rector eximius, ſpeculatione didicit fida, direptis propius villis vaſtatoriam manum quieſcere prope flumen: jamque adventans, abdituſque in valle denſitate arbuſtorum obſcura, videbat lavantes alios, quoſdam comas rutilantes ex more, potanteſque nonnullos. Et nactus horam impendio tempeſtivam, ſigno repente per lituos dato latrocinalia caſtra perrupit: contraque Germani nihil præter inefficaces minas jactanter ſonantes, & fremitum, nec expedire arma diſperſa, nec componere aciem, nec reſurgere in vires permittebantur, urgente inſtanter victore. Quo circa forati pilis & gladiis cecidere complures, abſque iis, quos verſos in pedes texere flexuoſi tramites, & anguſti.

(6) IBIDEM Hoc proſpero rerum effectu, quem virtus peregerat & fortuna, aucta fiducia Jovinus militem ducens, diligenti ſpeculatione præmiſſa, in tertium cuneum qui reſtabat, propere caſtra commovit: & maturato itinere omnem prope Catelaunos invenit ad congrediendum promptiſſimum. Et vallo opportune metato, ſuiſque pro tempore copia cibo recreatis & ſomno, primo auroræ exortu in aperta planitie compoſuit aciem dilatatam arte ſollerti, ut ſpatiis amplioribus occupatis æquiparare Romani hoſtium multitudinem apparerent, *inferiores* numero, licet viribus pares. Signo itaque per bucinas dato, cum pede collato res agi cœpiſſet, ſueta vexillorum ſplendentium facie territi ſtetere Germani, &c.

General

General highly disapproved (7). These Victories caused the greater Joy at *Paris*, as the Emperor *Valens* sent, about the same Time, to his Brother, the Head of *Procopius*, as a Token of his having suppressed that Rebellion.

Valens's War with the Goths.

§ III. Whilst *Valentinian* was employed, in *Gaul*, against the *Alemanni*, *Valens* made War with the *Goths* (1). But we find, by the Accounts we have of this War, that it was not with all the *Goths* in general, but only the *Wisi-Goths*; and particularly those, who dwelt in *Dacia* (2). These *Goths* had sent 3000 Auxiliaries to *Procopius*; who, after his Overthrow, were cut off, and obliged to yield themselves Prisoners, whereupon they were dispersed in several Parts of the Country. The *Wisi-Goths* were, at that Time, governed by *Athanaric*, whose Father was so highly esteemed by *Constantine*, the *Great*, that he caused a Statue to be erected in Honour of him, and who himself, as well on Account of his Valour and Magnanimity, as of his excellent Genius, may be reckoned among the most eminent *Gothick* Heroes. This Prince demanded of the Emperor *Valens* the captive *Goths*, and pretended, as an Excuse, that they had been obliged to furnish *Procopius* those Auxiliaries, as a Prince of *Constantine*'s House, by Virtue of their Treaties with former Emperors, promising that, since Fortune had now decided the Dispute, he would live in the same good Understanding with the Conqueror, as with his Predecessors: But *Valens*, who was then in a profound Peace, thought it adviseable, instead of restoring the Prisoners, to make War with the *Goths* themselves. He encamped, in the Spring of the Year 367, near *Daphne*, a Fort, which *Constantine*, the *Great*, had erected against the *Goths*, and there laid a Bridge of Boats over the *Danube* (3).

(7) Ibidem Exin progressus ulterius, revertens, ubi nullum repererat, didicit regem hostilium agminum cum paucis captum ab Ascariis, quos ipse per iter aliud ad diripienda tentoria miserat Alamannica, suffixum patibulo. Ideoque iratus in tribunum animadvertere statuit, ausum hoc inconsulta potestate superiore feciisse: eumque damnasset, ni militari impetu commissum facinus atrox, documentis evidentibus constitisset.

§ III. (1) *We find in* Theodoretus, L. 4. cap. 11. *a particular Circumstance of* Valens's *Armament for this Expedition.* Valens potitus imperio quanquam primæ doctrinæ apostolicæ ornamentis decoratus, cum Gothi Istrum trajeciissent, & Thraciam popularentur, consilio inito de colligendo exercitu, & bello contra eos suscipiendo, non putavit sibi consentaneum, ut nudus divina gratia expeditionem faceret, sed se perfecta sacrosancti baptismatis armatura tegeret, idque præclare & sapienter admodum.

(2) *Hence, we know,* Jornandes *has not mentioned this War, as his Province was chiefly the History of the* Ostro-Goths; *which might serve as an Answer to* Mons. Tillemont, *when he says,* T. V. P. I. p. 145. *of* Jornandes. Il paroit avoir été assez mal instruit de l'histoire de sa nation, puis qu'il ne parle point du tout de cette guerre contre Valens.

(3) Marcellinus, *L.* 27. *c.* 5.

The

The *Goths* retired among the Mountains †; so that the Emperor could not do any great Matters againſt them, but was forced to content himſelf with ravaging the Plains, by which Means, thoſe, who could not eſcape with the Reſt, were taken Priſoners. He intended to have viſited them again the next Year *; but the Inundation of the *Danube* was ſo great, and the Water remained ſo high, during the whole Summer-Seaſon, that he was obliged, at laſt, to ſend his Army, juſt as they came, into Winter-Quarters, to *Marcianopolis*, the largeſt City in *Thrace*. The next Year **, he, at Length, croſſed the River near *Novidun* (4), a Place in *Scythia Minor*, and advanced ſome Days March. *Athanaric* (5) came out to meet him, but was put to Flight (6). The Emperor had now made three Campaigns againſt the *Goths*, whence they had Reaſon to conclude, that he intended to purſue the War with Vigour. They had likewiſe ſuffer'd greatly by the Stop of Commerce, and therefore ſent Ambaſſadors to *Valens*, to ſue for Peace. The Emperor, who thought the Honour of the *Roman* Name now ſufficiently vindicated, was not averſe to their Propoſal. He ſent, therefore, on his Part, the two Generals *Victor* † and *Arinthæus* ††, to the *Goths*, to treat about the Conditions, and, at the ſame Time, to ſee whether they were in Earneſt. When the Articles were concluded on, and the two Monarchs were upon the Point of having a perſonal Interview, concerning them, *Athanaric* excuſed himſelf from paſſing the *Danube*, to the Emperor, becauſe he had promiſed his Father, upon Oath, never to ſet Foot in the *Roman* Dominions. *Valens* indulged him ſo far, that it was propoſed to meet on the *Danube*, in Boats, to which *Athanaric* conſented, and, in that Manner, the Peace was ſworn to (7). *Eutropius*, who wrote his *Roman* Hiſtory,

† *Montes Serrorum.*

* 365.

** 369.

† *Magiſter Equitum.*

†† *Magiſter Peditum.*

(4) *Caſtrum fuit in Scythia, ut docet* NOTITIA IMP. ROMANI, *&* PROCOPIUS *L.* IV. *de oper. publ. a Juſtiniano conditis.* Ptolomæus *ad Mœſiam refert. Hodie Nivors eſt, ut videtur* Cluverio *L.* 3. *c.* 42.

(5) MARCELLINUS *calls him* Judex Theruingorum. *See the Paſſage of* Themiſtius *not.* 9.

(6) MARCELLINUS *L.* 27. *c.* 5. *p.* 338. Simili pertinacia tertio quoque anno per Novidunum navibus ad tranſmittendum amnem connexis, perrupto barbarico, continuatis itineribus longius agentes Greuthungos, bellicoſam gentem adgreſſus eſt. Poſtque leviora certamina Athanaricum ea tempeſtate judicem potentiſſimum auſum reſiſtere cum manu quam ſibi crediderat abundare, extremorum metu coëgit in fugam: ipſeque cum omnibus ſuis Marcianopolim redivit ad hiemem agendam, ut in illis tractibus habilem.

(7) IDEM *l. c.* Et quoniam aſſerebat Athanaricus ſub timenda exſecratione jurisjurandi ſe eſſe obſtrictum, mandatiſque prohibitum patris, ne ſolum calcaret aliquando Romanorum, & adigi non poterat, indecorumque erat & vile, ad eum imperatorem tranſire: recte noſcentibus placuit, navibus remigio directis in medium flumen, quæ vehebant cum armigeris principem, gentiſque judicem inde cum ſuis, fœderari ut ſtatutum eſt pacem. Hocque compoſito, & acceptis obſidibus, Valens Conſtantinopolim rediit.

by the Command of this Emperor, gives him, on Account of theſe Advantages, the Name of *Gothicus*, in his Dedication: And, the famous Orator *Themiſtius*, ſpoke a Panegyrick in Honour of this Peace, by which ſeveral Circumſtances may be illuſtrated. He deſcribes the Manner, how the Peace was ratified in a Boat (8); and relates the Diſcourſe that paſſed between the Emperor and *Athanaric* (9): He likewiſe ſays, that the *Goths* had only the Liberty of two Cities allowed them, for their Commerce and Traffick with the *Romans* (10), and extols the Care of *Valens* to reſtore the Fences on the Confines, which were run to Ruin, eſpecially thoſe about the Mouth of the

(8) Themistius *orat.* X. *p.* 132. *C.* Eſt illud ſane quidem eximium ac magnificum, cum apparatu bellico trajicere Iſtrum, bis deinceps hoſtilem agrum populari, iteratis toties ſtativis eo progredi, quo ne per legatos quidem penetrare unquam auſi fuiſſemus. Sed quamlibet ea ſplendida ſint, ac generoſa pauciſque admodum olim conceſſa principum: tamen cum diei illius venit in mentem, cujus ego ſpectator fui, tum demum mihi ponte illo Xerxis, quo cum exercitu trajecit Helleſpontum, ad laudem atque gloriam amplior una illa navis videtur, qua fœdus imperator percuſſit; illo inquam ponte, qui bellum tranſmiſit, oneraria illa, quæ pacem importavit. Equidem Scythicas acies non vidi, ſed concionem metus plenam, terroris conſilium, Romanorum imperatorem Scytharum regibus imperantem vidi: nec clamores atque ululatus barbaricos audivi, ſed gemitus preceſque, & vocem captivis potius quam fœdus percutientibus dignam, quibus omnibus adamante ſolidior aliquis, infractus atque emollitus eſſet.

(9) Ibidem *p.* 134. *C.* Igitur ad imperatoris orationem eodem affici modo barbaros ſentiebamus, quo ab oratore præſtantiſſimo Græcos atque Athenienſes affici nihil mirum videatur. Quanquam patronum illi adhibuerant, qui neutra capi facile poſſet, quique non perinde ingenio eſſet, ut lingua barbarus, ſed intelligentia prudentiaque multo quam armis peritior. Ideo enim regis appellationem repudiat, uſurpat judicis. Eſt enim illa potentiæ, hæc prudentiæ ſapientiæque propria. Verum re ipſa tum eſt comprobatum, cauſam agere quam judicare multo eſſe difficilius. Et is ridiculus eſſe orator convictus eſt, qui judex alioquin optimus haberetur. Si quidem adeo illum dicendi facultate ſuperabat, ut ipſiſmet barbaris ſuum illum patronum ſuſpectum redderet, & dicendi certamen ipſi, quam armorum, operoſius efficeret. Verum enimvero proſtratum ac dejectum erexit illico, ac conſternato manum porrexit, eumque ſub iiſdem iis teſtibus, qui ſe injuria affectos crediderant, amicum effecit.

(10) Ibid. *p.* 135. *A.* Vidiſſes tum incredibile, ac longo intervallo revocatum ſpectaculum, pacem dantes non redimentes Romanos. Nemo hic aurum barbaris numeratum vidit, non argenti tot talenta, non veſte oneratas naves, non ea quæ prius a nobis tolerabantur, cum excurſione omni graviorem atque acerbiorem pacem ac quietem haberemus, cum annuum tributum penſitaremus. Cujus quidem nomen ipſum, cum rei interim nihil nos puderet, ejurare ſolebamus. At imperator quamvis alioqui munificentiſſimus, eo tamen tempore videri parciſſimus non erubuit: qui inſuper conſuetam iis annonam detraxit, & pro tantis copiis, quæ ad eos importabantur, vix uni exiguum aliquid conceſſit, quo uſus interprete fuerat: quaſi nihilo magis penſitatio ipſa ad Romanos quam ad Scythas pertineret. Ita porro per omnia palam iſtud facere pugnavit, non tam ſe cupiditate teneri pacis, quam barbaris velle parcere: adeo ut neque mercaturæ aut fori commercium, quod ſuperiori pace magna ubique iis cum libertate conceſſum fuerat, in eorum arbitrio & poteſtate relictum voluerit. Verum tametſi commune utrique genti lucrum ex mutuis ultro citroque contractibus eſſet: in duabus nihilominus duntaxat urbibus flumini impoſitis emporia conſtituit.

Danube

Danube (11). Now, tho' the Orator turns every Thing to the Honour of the Prince, who was the Subject of his Praiſe; yet the Advantages, he obtained, do not ſeem to have been ſo very great; ſince the Emperor, to procure this Peace, was obliged to make ſome Conceſſions to *Athanaric*, and to meet him, as it were, half Way on the *Danube*.

§ IV. IN the Year 367, *Valentinian* conferred on his eldeſt Son, *Gratian*, who was then about 9 Years of Age, the Imperial Dignity, and the Title of *Auguſtus*, at *Amiens*. When he went from thence to *Triers*, he received News from *Britain*, of that Province being almoſt wholly become a Prey to thoſe Nations, who inhabited the *Northern* Parts of the Iſland; that the *Saxons*, who became every Day more experienced in Navigation, had ravaged the *Northern* Coaſts of *Gaul*, and that the *Franks* invaded it by Land (1). He entruſted the Conduct of this War to *Theodoſius*, the *Great*; who reſtored the

The *Franks* and *Saxons* make Depredations in *Britain*.

(11) IBID. *p.* 135. *D.* Hoc autem eo pertinebat, ut indicio eſſet, a ſe ita fœdus iniri, nt omnia barbaris ad nutum imperaret, & cautionis prudentiæque erat, ut concluſo certis ac definitis locis commercio, ſi quid male agerent, latere facile non poſſent, Novit enim, opinor, illud, ſervari a ſe poſſe barbaros, naturam mutari non poſſe: ideoque omnem iis perfidiæ opportunitatem præcidit. Hæc enim cauſa & cur caſtella partim nova exſtruxerit, partim disjecta ac ſubverſa reſtituerit, partim quod deerat, adjunxerit: ſive altitudini, ſicubi humiliora eſſent; ſive craſſitudini, qua parte id erat neceſſarium: tum aquæ copiam adjecerit, ubicunque ejus inopia magnum incommodum afferebat. Addidit & horrea in omnibus locis, & vicino in mari portus, & militem conſcriptum, & præſidia, quæ non inanibus nominibus numerum mentiantur. Præterea armorum ac telorum vim, & machinas atque omnia ſummo cum ſtudio ac diligentia probata. Nam hactenus ob præſidiorum incuriam bellum ac pacem in ſuo utique arbitrio ſita eſſe hoſtes crediderant: cum milites non modo ſine armis, ſed magna ex parte ſine tunicis; & animis non minus quam corporibus imbelles & abjectos animadverterent: præfectos vero & centuriones mercatores potius eſſe, ac mancipiorum inſtitores; quibus hoc unum negotium incumberet, ut quam plurima emerent & diſtraherent. Præſidiariorum porro numerum imminui, quo eorum qui deerant ſtipendium privatum illi ad lucrum interverterent. Caſtella vero ipſa collapſa, ac tam viris quam armis deſtituta. Quæ cum barbari cernerent, non abſurde ita de ſe ſentiebant, ſuperiores ſe incurſionibus futuros: Quare ut bellum adhuc profiteri vererentur, licere tamen furtim omni cum impunitate prædas agere putabant. Itaque per omnem ripam non jam ſinguli, non bini duntaxat, ſed manipulatim ac turmatim oberrabant, latrones ſcil. non milites, prædas ſuas, ſpolia nominantes. Non ita vero hoc tempore: ſed a ſuperioriregione, quaſi adamantinus quidam murus & mare uſque perductus videtur: tanta caſtellorum, armorumque munitione firmata omnis atque obvallata provincia eſt.

§ IV. (1i) MARCELLINUS, *L.* 17. *c.* 8. Franci & Saxones iiſdem confines, quo quiſque erumpere potuit terra & mari, prædis acerbis, incendiiſque, & captivorum funeribus hominum violabant. *The* Saxons *ſeem likewiſe to have invaded* Britain *and the neighbouring Iſles: for when* Claudian de IV. Conſ. *relates the brave Exploits of* Theodoſius, *the* Elder, *he ſays, among other Things*, v. 3.

maduerunt Saxone fuſo
Orcades.

After this Explanation it would be needleſs to follow F. Pagi, *who attempts to prove, from this Paſſage, that ſome* Saxon *People dwelt actually, at that Time, in* Britain.

Roman Government in *Britain*, ſaved the City of *London*, and repelled the Enemy beyond that Wall, which ſeparated the *Roman* Provinces from them. We find, likewiſe, that he was ſucceſsful againſt the *Franks*, probably in the Iſland of *Batavia*, and againſt the *Saxons* at Sea (2).

Valentinian invades the Alemanni in their own Territories; and obliges them to retire over the Neckar.

§ V. *VALENTINIAN*, on his Part, prepared for an Expedition againſt the *Alemanni*: But, while he was thus employed, one of their Princes unexpectedly ſurprized the City of *Mentz*, when there happened to be a very ſmall or no Garriſon in it; and on a great Feſtival, when the Inhabitants, being at their Devotion, became a Prey to him, without any Reſiſtance, and were hurried into Captivity (1). Among the Princes of the *Alemanni*, none were ſo formidable to the *Romans*, as *Vithicabius*, a Son of the famous *Vadomar*, who had been ſo troubleſome to *Julian*. According to his outward Appearance, it would not have been expected of him; for he ſeemed weak and ſickly: But this infirm Body was animated by a Soul the more vigorous, capable of weighing all Circumſtances, and diſpoſing them for the Ends he aimed at; ſo that whatever Hoſtilities the others undertook, they were the Effects of his Counſels. The *Romans*, therefore, left no Stone unturned, 'till they had bribed one of his Confidents, treacherouſly to aſſaſſinate him: So widely had the Maxims of State now deviated from the Magnanimity of the ancient *Romans*, who eſteemed it even a Treachery, but to give Ear to thoſe, who ſpontaneouſly offered to be Actors of ſuch Villanies. By the Death of *Vithicabius*, the Irruptions of the *Alemanni* were, in ſome Meaſure, interrupted; and *Valentinian* employed this Reſpite to recruit his Army, and to ſend for *Sebaſtian*, with the Troops under his Command, in *Italy* and *Illyricum*: Whereupon he paſſed the *Rhine*, with *Gratian*, and the two Generals *Jovinus* and *Severus*, the Beginning of the Sum-

(2) PACATUS DREPANIUS, *an eminent* Gaul, *in his congratulatory Oration on* Theodoſius, *the* Great's, *Victory over* Maximus, cap. 5. *extols his Father's Atchievements againſt the* Franks *and* Saxons *in the following Words:* Quæ Rhenus aut Vahalis vidit aggrediar. Jam ſe mihi Sarmatica cæde ſanguineus Iſter objiciet. Attritam Pedeſtribus prœliis Bataviam referam. Saxo conſumtus bellis navalibus offeretur. Redactum ad paludes ſuas Scotum loquar. Compulſus in ſolitudines avias omnis Alemannus, & uterque Maurus occurrent. *He ſays, moreover, of him, that, by his ſucceſsful Expeditions againſt the* Saxons, *he merited the Surname of* Saxonicus.

§ V. (1) MARCELLINUS *L.* 27. *cap.* 10. Sub idem fere tempus, Valentiniano ad expeditionem caute ut rebatur profecto, Alamannus regalis, Rando nomine, diu præſtruens quod cogitabat, Moguntiacum præſidiis vacuum cum expeditis ad latrocinandum latenter irrepſit. Et quoniam caſu, Chriſtiani ritus invenit celebrari ſolemnitatem, impræpedite cujuſquemodi fortunæ, virile & muliebre ſexus, cum ſuppellectili non parva indefenſum abduxit.

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mer (2). The *Roman* Army marched in three Bodies: But, after ſome Days, they joined again, near *Solicinium* (3), in the Neighbourhood of which Place, the *Alemanni* had ſecured a ſteep Hill, which ſeem'd inacceſſible every where, but on the *North* Side. *Valentinian*, nevertheleſs, reſolved to attack them; but, while he was recognizing the Enemy, he narrowly eſcaped falling himſelf into the Hands of one of their Parties He therefore ordered *Sebaſtian* to take a By-Way, to inveſt the Mountain on the *North* Side; and leaving *Gratian*, who was yet too young to be in Action, in the Camp, with thoſe Legions, which, from *Diocletian*'s Surname, were called *Joviaræ*; he undertook the Attack himſelf, aided by two of the moſt valiant Officers, one of whom was a *German*, who ſerved as a Guide. They reached, with great Difficulty, the Top of the Hill, and, after a bloody Fight, brought the *Germans* into Diſorder, who, when they endeavoured to ſave themſelves on the other Side, where the Mountain was not ſo ſteep, fell in with a Body of Troops commanded by *Sebaſtian*, who entirely diſperſed them. But the *Romans* ſuſtained likewiſe no ſmall Loſs, which, together with the Seaſon of the Year, was, perhaps, the Reaſon why *Valentinian* did not compleat the Victory, but returned over the *Rhine* (4). He celebrated this Victory at *Triers*, with ſplendid Theatrical Repreſentations, which *Auſonius*, who taught the young Emperor, *Gratian*, the Sciences, was a Spectator at; by whoſe Relation we find, that the *Romans* boaſted of having drove the *Alemanni*

(2) *The Time of this Expedition we may judge of from ſeveral Decrees, dated in ſome of the Cities about the* Rhine, *in this Year; which we find in the* Codex Theodoſianus, e. g. L. 18. de epiſcopis, *A.* 368. *about the Middle, and* L. 8. *de medicis & profeſſ. towards the End of* January, L. 3. *de reparationis appellat.* L. 1. *ſi vagum mancipium.* L. 9. *de cohortalibus.* L. 9. *de piſtoribus, in* March, L. 10. *de exactionibus.* L. 1. *de executoribus.* L. 8. *de tironibus, in* April, L. 2. *de metatis, in* May, *ſi vagum petatur mancipium, in* June, *all at* Triers *L.* 3. *de prediis navicularіorum, towards the End of* July, *at* Worms. L. un. *ne damna provincialibus, towards the End of* September *at* Cologn, *and* L. 12. *de piſtoribus.* L. 29. *de curſu publ.* L. 3. *de relationibus, in* December *again at* Triers. *See* Jac. Gothofredi *chronologiam cod. Theod. ad h. A.*

(3) *Al. Soliconmo*, v. RHENANUS, *rer. Germ.* L. III. *who imagines* Sultz, *which lies below* Rothweil, *on the left Banks of the* Neckar, *to be here meant. It is at leaſt more probable, than to underſtand* Solms, *which lies between* Mentz *and* Triers, *as ſome have ſuppoſed from* Cruſius's *Account*, Ann. l. 7. P. I. cap. 2. p. 159. Bucherius *takes this*, Lib. 11. c. 9. § 3. *to be* Sultzbach *in the* Berg-Straſz, *above* Heidelberg. *He ſuppoſes* Valentinian *to have croſſed the* Rhine *near* Mentz, *and to have fallen upon thoſe* Alemanni, *who dwelt between the* Mayn *and the* Neckar, *and were partly retreated over the* Neckar.

(4) *As we find by the Decrees of this Year, which are dated the Beginning of* December *at* Triers. Blondel, *indeed, aſſerts in his Treatiſe* de la primauté dans l'egliſe, p. 133. *that* Valentinian *ſpent this Winter in* Illyricum; *but his Opinion is exploded by* Monſ. de Tillemont, not. 37. ad vit. Valentiniani.

beyond

beyond the *Neckar* (5), and taken from them *Lupodunum*; which, according to *Freherus*'s Conjecture, is the present *Ladenburg* (6). Several Stones, and other ancient Monuments, which are still met with about that Place, are Testimonies, that the *Romans* made some Stay there (7).

Valentinian makes a fruitless Attempt to build a Fort there.

§ VI. IN the Year 369, *Valentinian* took Advantage of the Tranquility of the *Alemanni*, to repair the Forts and Towers along the *Rhine*, and, as Opportunity offer'd, to build new ones, sometimes even on the *German* Territories (1). Several Decrees, yet extant, of this Emperor, that were enacted this Year, in Places adjacent to the *Rhine*, shew, that he assisted in Person at these Operations (2). *Marcellinus* here mentions the Fort, which he had caused to be erected before, on the *Neckar*, probably in the last Expedition (3): But, when he proceeded farther, and would have fortified a Place belonging to the *Alemanni* (4); they, who thought their Liberties endan-

(5) *This appears from a Poem, composed by* Ausonius, *in Honour of the* Mosel, v. 420.

Nec præmia in undis
Sola, sed Augustæ *(scil. Trevirorum)* veniens
quod mœnibus urbis,
Spectavit junctos natique, patrisque triumphos,
Hostibus exactis Nicrum super & Lupodunum,
Et fontem Latiis ignotum annalibus Istri.

add. BUCHERIUM L. II. c. 9. § 4. *Some Authors attempt, indeed, to apply this Passage to the Battle won afterwards by* Gratian *with the* Lenticenses *near* Argentuaria; *but* Valentinian *was dead at the Time of that Battle; and we find, by this Poem, that it was composed in his Life-Time.*

(6) *Vid.* MARQUARDI FREHERI de Lupoduno, antiquissimo Alemanniæ oppido, commentariolus.

(7) *Conf.* ID. *l. c. p. 6. & in origin. Palat. P. I. c.* 4.

§ VI. (1) MARCELLINUS *L.* 28. *c.* 2. *p.* 403. At Valentinianus magna animo concipiens & utilia, Rhenum omnem a Rætiarum exordio adusque fretalem oceanum magnis molibus communiebat, castra extollens altius, & castella, turresque assiduas, per habiles locos & opportunos, qua Galliarum extenditur longitudo: nonnunquam etiam ultra flumen ædificiis positis subradens barbaros fines.

(2) E. G. *L.* 4. *cod. Theodos. de reparatione appellat, at Altaripa: and L.* 8. *cod. Theodos. de privilegiis eorum, qui in sacro palatio, we find publ. at* Brisac *(Brisaci) vid.* Gotofredum, *l. c. ad hunc annum.*

(3) MARCELLINUS *l. c.* Denique cum reputaret munimentum celsum & tutum, quod ipse a primis fundarat auspiciis, præterlabente Nicro nomine fluvio, paullatim subverti posse undarum pulsu immani, meatum ipsum aliorsum vertere cogitavit: & quæsitis artificibus peritis aquariæ rei, copiosaque militis manu, arduum est opus adgressus. Per multos enim dies compaginatæ formæ e roboribus, conjectæ in alveum, fixis refixisque aliquotiens prope ingentibus stilis, fluctibus erectis confundebantur, avulsæque vi gurgitis interrumpebantur. Vicit tamen imperatoris vehementior cura, & morigeri militis labor, mento tenus, dum operaretur, sæpe demersi: tandemque non sine quorundam discrimine castra præsidiaria inquietudine urgentis amnis exemta, nunc valida sunt. Freherus and *Gruterus affirm this Place to be the present* Manheim: *But* Cluverius *is of a different Opinion.*

(4) IBID. *l. c.* In monte Piri, qui barbaricus locus est. Freherus *supposes it to be* Heydelberg.

ger'd

ger'd by all Fortifications, and could leaſt bear with them in the Midſt of their own Country, firſt repreſented to the *Romans*, that this was a Breach of Treaty; and, as this had no Effect, they fell upon the Workmen, and ſlew them all on the Spot.

§ VII. *VALENTINIAN* could not immediately revenge this Loſs, becauſe the *Saxons* made, at the ſame Time, an Invaſion. *Nannenus*, who commanded in *Lower Germany*, found his Forces too weak to withſtand them; wherefore the Emperor ſent *Severus*, General of the Infantry, to his Aſſiſtance (1). The Army being thus re-inforced, the *Saxons* would not hazard an Engagement, but ſued for an amicable Accommodation. To this the *Romans* were ready, and allowed them to return unmoleſted, on Condition, that they left a certain Number of their young Men behind, who were incorporated with the *Roman* Soldiery. But the *Romans* violated their Promiſe, and placed a large Number of Men, in Ambuſh, on both Sides of the Way, by which the *Saxons* were to paſs, who fell upon them, and, after a ſtout Reſiſtance, kill'd Part, and took Part Priſoners. *Ammianus Marcellinus* confeſſes this Breach of Faith of the *Romans*: But, as the evil as well as good Qualities of a Nation, either in general, or upon any particular Occaſion, are equally the Subject of an Author's Pen, he takes upon him to excuſe this Action, becauſe the *Saxons* were not to be regarded otherways, than as a Gang of Robbers; as if it were not a Matter of Importance to all Men to ſeek the Means of avoiding or concluding a War with an unjuſt Enemy.

The *Saxons* invade *Gaul*.

§ VIII. *VALENTINIAN* himſelf continued his Aſſiduity, in ſecuring the *Rhine* againſt the *Alemanni*, and, as he had humbled thoſe who dwelt about the *Neckar*, he now employed his Thoughts againſt *Macrianus*, whoſe Dominions were in the *Northern* Parts of *Alemannia*, about the *Mayn*, and who infeſted the *Romans* from that

Valentinian excites the *Burgundians* againſt the *Alemanni*.

Whether the *Burgundians* are to be accounted *Germans*.

§ VII. (1) MARCELLINUS, *L.* 28. *c.* 5. Erupit Auguſtis ter COSS. Saxonum multitudo, & oceani difficultatibus permeatis, Romanum limitem gradu petebat intento, ſæpe noſtrorum funeribus paſta: eruptionis primæ procellam Nannenus ſuſtinuit comes, regionibus iiſdem oppoſitus, dux diurno bellorum labore compertus. Sed tunc ad mortem deſtinatæ plebi congreſſus, cum milites quoſdam ruiſſe, & ſe vulneratum imparem fore certaminibus adverteret crebris, docto imperatore quid agi deberet, id eſt adeptus, ut peditum magiſter Severus opitulatum rebus dubiis adveniret. Qui ducens militem rei ſufficientem, cum veniſſet ad loca, diſcriminatis ordinibus, barbaros ante conluctationem adeo terruit, & turbavit, ut nec controverſas opponerent manus, ſed ſignorum aquilarumque fulgore præſtricti venialem poſcerent pacem. Diuque variatis conſiliis cum id reipubl. conducere videretur, pactis induciis, & datis ex conditione propoſita juvenibus multis, habilibus ad militiam, diſcedere permiſſi ſunt Saxones, ſine impedimento unde venerant reverſuri, &c.

Side,

Side, no leſs, than *Vithicabius* had before done from the other. *Valentinian* treated privately with the Princes of the *Burgundians*, who were Neighbours to the *Alemanni* (1), and prevailed upon them, to attack the *Alemanni* on the other Side, while he fell upon them from the *Rhine*. The *Burgundians*, who were frequently at Variance with them †, as well on Account of their Borders, as of ſome Salt-Springs, which were on the Confines of both Nations, and, therefore, the more readily accepted of this Offer (2), raiſed an Army, which, according to

§ VIII. (1) VALESIUS in notis ad h. l. p. 417. n. 9. *imagines, that the* Burgundi *and* Burgundiones *were different Nations: But it is very improbable.* Jerom *and* Oroſius *name the ſame Nation* Burgundiones, *which* Marcellinus *calls* Burgundi.

† *See above*, Lib. VI. § VI.

(2) MARCELLINUS, *L.* 28. *c.* 5. *p.* 416. Deditque conſilia alia poſt alia imperatori probanti, Burgundios in eorum excitari perniciem, bellicoſos & pubis immenſæ viribus affluentes, ideoque metuendos finitimis univerſis. Scribebatque frequenter ad eorum reges per taciturnos & fidos, ut iiſdem tempore præſtituto ſupervenirent, pollicitus ipſe quoque, tranſito cum Romanis agminibus Rheno, accurrere pavidis, pondus armorum vitantibus inſperatum. Gratanter ratione gemina principis acceptæ ſunt litteræ: prima quod jam inde temporibus priſcis, ſobolem ſe eſſe Romanam Burgundii ſciunt: dein quod ſalinarum finiumque cauſa Alamannis ſæpe jurgabant. Valeſius ad h. l. *imagines theſe to be the ſame Borders, on which the* Hermunduri *formerly waged War with the* Chatti, *on Account of theſe very Salt-Springs. This Opinion he founds on the Suppoſition, that the* Burgundians, *at this Time, inhabited the Country of the* Chatti; *and the* Alemanni, *that of the* Hermunduri; *but this is highly improbable. The* Alemanni *rather poſſeſs'd great Part of the Country of the* Chatti, *and* Marcellinus *expreſsly mentions, that the* Burgundians *were obliged to march thro' the Country of the* Alemanni, *when they went to the* Rhine. Bucherius *undertakes to give a more particular Account of this Salt-Spring, when he writes* L. 11. c. 11. n. 8. Erant igitur ſalinæ iſtæ in gentis utriuſque confiniis: extat adhuc hodie fluviolus Sala, qui ſub monte Fogelsberg apud vicum Saltz oritur, & per oppida Salemunſter, Salefeld & Hanau fluens Mœno paulo infra Francofurtum confunditur. Ad hujus igitur fluvioli fontem ſalinas iſtas ego quidem fuiſſe puto; nam Saltz Germanice ſalem ſignificare ſat conſtat. *But he ſeems to confound the* Sala *among the* Franks *with the River* Kitzing. *Moreover, as to the Origin of the* Burgundians, *the afore-cited Paſſage from* Marcellinus *has led ſome into the Error of deriving the* Burgundians *from the* Romans. *conf.* Valeſius *ad locum* Marcellini *not. n.* Oroſius *ſays on this Subject,* Lib. 7. c. 32. Burgundionum quoque, novorum hoſtium, cœpit novum nomen, qui pluſquam 80 millia armatorum ripæ Rheni fluminis inſederunt. Hos quondam, ſubacta interiore Germania a Druſo & Tiberio, adoptivis filiis Cæſaris, per caſtra diſpoſitos, aiunt in magnam coaluiſſe gentem. Atque etiam nomen ex opere præſumſiſſe, quia crebra per limitem habitacula conſtituta, burgos vulgo vocant: eorumque eſſe prævalidam & pernicioſam manum, Galliæ hodieque teſtes ſunt, in quibus præſumta poſſeſſione conſiſtunt. Quamvis providentia dei omnes Chriſtiani modo facti, catholica fide noſtriſque clericis, quibus obedirent receptis, blande, manſuete, innocenterque vivant, non quaſi ſubjectis Gallis, ſed vere cum fratribus Chriſtianis. Valeſius *rer. Franc.* L. 1. p. 49. *ſhews* Oroſius *to be miſtaken, when he ſays, that the Name of* Burgundians *was 'till then unknown. But, that they were a* German *People, appears from* Plin. Hiſt. Nat. Lib. 4. c. 28. *where he reckons them among the* Vandals. *See above* L. 1. § 2. not. 4. *And I obſerved before, that in the Times of* Probus *and* Maximian, *they, with the* Vandals, *invaded*

Gaul.

to ſome Writers, conſiſted of 80,000 Men (3). The *Alemanni*, being informed that the *Romans* deſigned to attack them, on the other Side, were ſo greatly terrified, that every one ſhifted for himſelf the beſt he could. The *Burgundians*, therefore, advanced to the *Rhine*, without any Oppoſition, before *Valentinian*, who was ſtill taken up with building his Forts, had made Preparations for the Campaign; and they now cauſed almoſt as great Apprehenſions among the *Romans*, as they before had done Terror among the *Alemanni*. The Emperor, who had already gained his Point, in preventing the *Alemanni* from interrupting his Works, for that Summer, now performed none of the Promiſes he had made, and the *Burgundians* returned home highly offended, and with a mean Opinion of the *Roman* Integrity: But *Theodoſius*, who, after his ſucceſsful Expeditions in *Britain*, was promoted to be General of the Cavalry, fell, out of *Rætia*, upon the *Alemanni*, who had taken Refuge in thoſe Parts, ſlew a great Number of them, and took many Priſoners, whom he ſent to *Italy*, where, on a Promiſe of the Payment of a Contribution ſtipulated, certain Tracts of Land, about the *Po*, were aſſigned them to cultivate (4).

Gaul. *The Accounts, we meet with, of their Manners, which entirely agree with thoſe of the other ancient* German *Nations, ſufficiently prove this; as well, as the Propriety of their Laws, and the Traces of their Language, which are tranſmitted to us, as well in the Names of thoſe Princes, as here and there in their Laws: as*, ex. gr. art. 9. Novigildum: art. 33. § 3. litus: art. 42. § 2. Morgengeba: art. 52. Fredegiſel: art. 66. § 1, 2. Witteman: art. 76. § 1. Wittiſcalci: Sidonius Apollinaris *ſays, therefore, of himſelf*:

Quid me, etſi valeam parare carmen
Feſcenninicolæ jubes Diones
Inter crinigeras ſitum catervas
Et GERMANICA verba ſuſtinentem
Laudantem tetrico ſubinde vultu,
Quod Burgundio cantat eſculentus,
Infundens acido comam butyro.

Valeſius, rer. Franc. l. cit. *thinks thoſe* Burgundians, *who border'd on the* Goths, *were different from thoſe of whom we here treat. But they may have been one Nation, and theſe latter, as it were, a Colony of the former, who were, perhaps, formerly taken into the Service of the* Romans, *to garriſon the Forts on the Frontiers, along the* Danube; *and hence, probably, aroſe the Story of their being of* Roman *Origin.* Agathias *reckons this Nation of the* Burgundians *among the* Hunns, *which is ſufficiently exploded by* Valeſius, p. 51. *It is very probable, that a Body of* Burgundians *ſerved under* Attila, *and that this occaſioned* Agathias, *to miſtake them for* Hunns.

(3) HIERONYMUS *in chron. ad A.* 374. Burgundionum 80 fere millia, quot nunquam ante, ad Rhenum deſcenderunt. Valeſius, in not. ad Marcell. *obſerves, there is a Miſtake in the Year, and that this Expedition muſt be placed in* 370.

(4) MARCELLINUS *l. c. p.* 417. Et catervas miſere lectiſſimas: quæ, antequam milites congregarentur in unum, aduſque Ripas Rheni progreſſæ, imperatore ad ſtruenda munimenta diſtricto, terrori noſtris fuere vel maximo. Igitur pauliſper morati, cum neque Valentinianus, ut ſpoponderat, die prædicto veniſſet; nec promiſſorum aliquid adverterent factum, ad comitatum miſere legatos, poſcentes adminicula ſibi dari redituris ad ſua, ne nuda hoſtibus exponerent terga. Quod ubi negari per ambages ſentirent & moras, mœſti exinde diſceſſerunt & indignati. Hocque comperto, reges, ut ludibrio

Valentinian endeavours to surprize *Macrianus*, a Prince of the *Alemanni*. Of the *Aquæ Mattiacæ*. † *contra Mattiacas Aquas.*

§ IX. The ensuing Year, 371, *Valentinian* invaded the Countries of those *Alemanni*, who dwelt between the *Mayn* and the *Lone*. His principal View was to seize their King *Macrianus*. He caused a Bridge of Boats to be laid over the *Rhine*, below *Mentz* †. *Severus* advanced towards the *Aquæ Mattiacæ*, near which *Macrianus* then resided; who, by some Circumstances, seems to have been indisposed. He met, by the Way, some People, who trafficked with Slaves; whom he caused to be put to Death; that the Approach of the *Romans* might not be discovered. *Valentinian* and *Theodosius* followed, and after they had halted some Hours in the Night, they marched again, at Day-break, to surprize *Macrianus*. *Theodosius* led the Van: But however strictly he had enjoined his Men to be still and quiet, lest they should be betrayed, yet the common Soldiers were not to be restrained from Fire and Plunder. When, therefore, those in *Macrianus*'s Head-Quarters discovered a great Smoak, they soon conceived the Meaning of it. The King was immediately carried off, in a light Carriage, thro' several unknown private Ways, where the *Romans* could not pursue him (1). *Valentinian*, seeing himself thus deprived of his

ludibrio habiti, sævientes, captivis omnibus interfectis, genitales repetunt terras. Apud hos generali nomine rex appellatur Hendinos, & ritu veteri potestate deposita removetur, si sub eo fortuna titubaverit belli, vel segetum copiam negaverit terra: ut solent Ægyptii casus ejusmodi suis adsignare rectoribus. Nam sacerdos apud Burgundios omnium maximus vocatur Sinistus, & est perpetuus, obnoxius discriminibus nullis, ut reges. Per hanc occasionem, impendio tempestivam, Alamannos, gentis ante dictæ metu dispersos aggressus per Rætias Theodosius, ea tempestate magister equitum, pluribus cæsis, quoscunque cepit, ad Italiam jussu principis misit, ubi fertilibus pagis acceptis jam tributarii circumcolunt Padum.

§ IX. (1) Marcellinus, *L.* 29. *cap.* 4. Agitabatur autem inter multiplices curas id omnium primum & potissimum, ut Macrianum regem, auctum inter mutationes crebras sententiarum, jamque in nostros adultis viribus exsurgentem, vi superstitem raperet, vel insidiis ut multo ante Vadomarium Julianus: & provisis quæ negotium poscebat & tempus, cognitoque transfugarum indiciis, ubi comprehendi nihil opperiens poterat ante dictus, tacite quantum concessit facultas, ne qui conserendo officeret ponti, junxit navibus Rhenum. Et antegressus contra Mattiacas aquas primus Severus, qui pedestrem curabat exercitum, perpensa militum paucitate territus stetit, timens, ne resistere nequiens, irruentium opprimeretur hostilium agminum mole. Et quia suspicabatur, venalia ducentes mancipia scurras, casu illic repertos, id quod viderant excursu celeri nuntiare, cunctos, mercibus direptis, occidit. Adventu itaque plurium copiarum animati judices, castrisque ad tempus brevissimum fixis, quia nec sarcinale jumentum quisquam, nec tabernaculum habuit, præter principem, cui tapetes suffecerant pro tentorio: parumper ob tenebras morati nocturnas, exsiliente procinctu pergebant ulterius, itinerum gnaris ducentibus, equitatu cum Theodosio rectore præire dispositio, equita verat . . . tempore jaceat extento strepitu suorum est impeditus: quibus assidue mandans, ut incendiis & rapinis abstinerent, impetrare non potuit. Ignium enim crepitu dissonisque clamoribus satellites exciti, idque quod acciderat suspecti, carpento veloci impositum regem, angusto aditu circumfractis collibus abdiderunt.

Prey;

Prey, and deceived in his Expectations, laid all the Country waſte, far and near, returned thereupon to *Triers*, and, to weaken the Power of *Macrianus*, appointed *Fraomarius* to be Prince of the *Bucinobantes* (2), who dwelt oppoſite to *Mentz*, and were before ſubject to *Macrianus*: But he found the Country ſo deſolate, that he could not poſſibly have a Suſtenance in it. The Emperor, therefore, ſent him to *Britain*, and gave him the Command of the Body of *Alemanni* which was there in the *Roman* Service. *Bitheridus* and *Hortarius*, two Perſons of Diſtinction, among the *Bucinobantes*, were likewiſe employed in the *Roman* Army: But *Hortarius* took it in his Head to correſpond with *Macrianus*, and other Chiefs of his Nation, againſt the *Romans*; which was detected by *Florentius*, Lieutenant in *Germany*, and *Hortarius* was burnt alive, for the untimely Affection he had diſcovered for his Country-Men (3).

§ X. *VALENTINIAN* marched, the enſuing Year †, again into *Alemannia*, and built a Fort oppoſite to the preſent City of *Baſil*, which was called *Robur* (1): But he there received Advices from *Illyricum*, which retarded his Deſigns. He had hitherto cauſed Forts to be built here and there on the *Danube*, to ſecure that River, as well as the *Rhine*, againſt the Enemy. But the Governor of *Valeria* went ſo far, as to build a Fort in the Territories of the *Quadi*; and, when they complained of it, as a Breach of the Treaties ſubſiſting, he did not ſcruple to ſupport his Conduct, by an Act yet more unjuſtifiable. He invite their King, *Gabinius*, to a ſolemn Banquet, and when he was riſing from Table, cauſed him to be murdered; imagining, that

The *Quadi* invade *Valeria*.

† 372.

(2) BUCHERIUS *attempts to gueſs at the Derivation of the Name of the* Bucinobantes: *He ſays*, L. 11. c. 11. § 9. p. 357. Contra Moguntiacum gens eſt Alemanna, a BUCHBANT, quaſi fagorum limite dicta.

(3) MARCELLINUS, *l. c.* Hac Valentinianus gloria defraudatus, nec ſua culpa, nec ducum, ſed intemperantia militis, quæ diſpendiis gravibus ſæpe rem Romanam afflixit, aduſque quinquagenteſimum lapidem terris hoſtilibus inflammatis, rediit Treviros mœſtus. Ubi tanquam leo ob cervum amiſſum vel capream morſus vacuos concrepans, dum hoſtium diſjecta frangeret timor, in Macriani locum Bucinobantibus, quæ contra Moguntiacum gens eſt Alamanna, regem Fraomarium ordinavit: quem paulo poſtea, quoniam recens excurſus eundem penitus vaſtaverat pagum, in Britannos tranſlatum, poteſtate tribuni Alamannorum præfecerat numero, multitudine viribuſque ea tempeſtate florenti: Bitheridum vero & Hortarium, nationis ejuſdem primates, item regere milites juſſit: e quibus Hortarius, proditus relatione Florentii Germaniæ ducis, contra remp. quædam ad Macrianum ſcripſiſſe, barbaroſque optimates, veritate tormentis expreſſa, conflagravit flamma pœnali.

§ X. (1) MARCELLINUS, *L.* 30. *c.* 3. *p.* 454. Secuto poſt hæc anno, Gratiano adſcito in trabeæ ſocietatem, Aequitio conſule, Valentiniano poſt vaſtatos aliquos Alamanniæ pagos munimentum ædificanti prope Baſiliam quod appellant accolæ Robur, &c. In cod. Theodoſiano L. 33. de curſ. publ. *is dated at* Robur *in this ſame Year*: (data id. Jul. Robore. Gratiano III, & Aequitio V. C. COSS.) (A. C. 374.)

the Death of their King would cauſe ſuch a Confuſion in the Nation, that they would not be able to obſtruct his building the Fort he was about: But the Event proved otherways. The *Quadi*, who reſolved to revenge the Death of their King, drew the neighbouring *Sarmatæ*, (probably the *Jazyges*) over to their Party, and went ſo unexpectedly over the *Danube*, that their firſt Exploit had like to have been the ſurprizing of *Fl. Maxima Conſtantia*, Daughter to the Emperor *Conſtantius*, and *Gratian*'s Bride, who was on her Journy to her intended Husband. They laid Siege to *Sirmium* †; but found the Place too well fortified, and turned to the Province of *Valeria*; where, by the Way, they almoſt entirely routed two Legions *. The *Sarmatæ Liberi*, whom *Conſtantius* had, ſome Years before, re-eſtabliſhed in their Country, attempted to make Advantage of theſe Troubles, and likewiſe invaded the *Roman* Dominions, on their Side: But *Theodoſius*, the *Younger*, who was then *Dux Mœſiæ*, and afterwards became Emperor, repell'd them with ſo much Valour, that they ſoon ſued for Peace (2).

† *adulta meſſe.*

* *Pannonicam & Mœſiacam.*

Valentinian makes Peace with the *Alemanni*.

§ XI. THESE Advices induced *Valentinian* privately to offer *Macrianus* favourable Terms, to which the latter was not averſe. The Peace was, therefore, ſoon agreed on, and it was ratified and ſworn to by the Emperor and *Macrianus*, in Perſon, in the Neighbourhood of *Mentz*. *Marcellinus* ſays, that the Prince of the *Alemanni* kept this Treaty inviolably, and did the *Romans* as great Service now, as he had before done them Prejudice: But, as a long Peace was incompatible, as well with him, as his Subjects, he was ſoon after involved in a bloody War with the *Franks*, who border'd on his Dominions from the *North*: And *Macrianus*, once, being in too eager Purſuit of Plunder, was decoy'd into an Ambuſh by *Mellobaudes*, King of the *Franks*, and there loſt his Life (1).

The farther Fate of *Macrianus*.

(2) MARCELLINUS, *l. c. cap. 6.*

§ XI (1) MARCELLINUS *L. 30. c. 3. p. 455.* Hæc memorantes addenteſque utilia, reduxere eum in meliorem ſententiam; ſtatimque ut conducebat rei communi, prope Mogontiacum blandius rex antedictus accitur, proclivis ipſe quoque ad excipiendum fœdus, ut apparebat. Et venit immane quo quantoque ſtatu diſtentus, ut futurus arbiter ſuperior pacis: dieque prædicto colloquii ad ipſum marginem Rheni caput altius erigens ſtetit, hinc inde ſonitu ſcutorum intonante gentilium. Contra auguſtus adſcenſis amnicis lembis, ſeptus ipſe quoque multitudine caſtrenſium ordinum, tutius prope ripas acceſſit, ſignorum fulgentium nitore conſpicuus: & immodeſtis geſtibus murmure que barbarico tandem ſedato, poſt dicta & audita ultro citroque verſus, amicitia media ſacramenti fide firmatur. Hiſque perfectis diſceſſit turbarum rex artifex delenitus, futurus deinceps nobis ſocius: & dedit poſtea ad uſque vitæ tempus extremum, conſtantis in concordiam animi facinorumque documentum pulchrorum. Periit autem in Francia poſtea: quam dum interneciue vaſtando perrumpit avidius, oppetiit Mellobaudis, bellicoſi regis, inſidiis circumventus. Poſt fœdus tamen ſollemni ritu impletum, Treviros Valentinianus ad hiberna diſceſſit.

§ XII.

§ XII. *VALENTINIAN* ſpent his Winter at *Triers*, and, in the Spring of the enſuing Year, 375, he broke up againſt the *Quadi*, and their Allies, the *Sarmatæ*. He was met, in his March, by Ambaſſadors from the *Sarmatæ*, who came to excuſe their late Incurſions: But he gave them no other Anſwer, than that he would enquire into the Affair, when he came to the Confines (1). He encamped near *Carnuntum* (2), which, at that Time, lay deſolate, and ſpent three Months in neceſſary Preparations for the Campaign. He then ſent *Merobaudes*, with the Cavalry under his Command, before, and he himſelf advanced to *Acincum* (3), where he cauſed a Bridge of Boats to be laid over the *Danube*, and invaded the Dominions of the *Quadi*, who were fled, with their Wives and Children, and their beſt Effects, to the Mountains: He, therefore, returned to *Acincum*, after having deſtroyed whatever fell in his Way with Fire; but without coming to a Battle. The Emperor went thereupon to *Bregetio*, and there diſtributed his Army into Winter-Quarters. Thither Ambaſſadors came from the *Quadi*, who, in Vindication of their Countrymen, pretended, that it was not the whole Nation of the *Quadi*, who begun the War with the *Romans*, but, that it was the ungovernable Populace, whom the *Roman* Lieutenant in *Valeria* had given Cauſe for Diſcontent, who had been enticed to paſs the *Danube*, by other Bands of vagrant Nations. They, therefore, ſued for Peace, and offer'd a certain Number of their young Men. The Emperor anſwered them himſelf, with great Warmth; but, in the Midſt of his Speech, he was ſeiz'd with an Apoplectick Fit, and would immediately have fallen, had he not been ſupported by ſome of his Retinue, who carried him into an inner Apartment, where he expired ſoon afterwards (4). His Death was concealed for a few Days, and *Merobaudes*, who was in the Dominions of the *Quadi*, was recalled; with Orders to break down the Bridge of Boats behind him. It was then reſolved, that the Emperor's younger Son, *Valentinian*, who attended his Father in this Campaign, as did alſo his Mother, *Juſtina*, ſhould be proclaimed Emperor, that the Army might be deprived of every Opportunity, or even Pretence, for a Rebellion. *Gratian*, who had remained at *Triers*, willingly allowed his Brother that Title (5), and, tho' *Marcellinus* does not expreſsly ſay ſo, yet may we conclude, from

Valentinian's Expedition againſt the *Quadi*. His Death.

§ XII. (1) AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, L. 30. c. 5.

(2) IBID. Deſertum quidem nunc & ſqualens, ſed ductori exercitus perquam opportunum.

(3) V. Reines. var. lect. L. 2. c. 15. *makes an Enquiry, where* Acincum *was ſituate.*

(4) MARCELLINUS *l. c. c.* 6.

(5) IBID. *c.* 10.

the

the Circumſtances, that the new Government made a Peace with the *Quadi* and *Sarmatæ*.

Situation of the *Gothick* Nations. Deſcription of the *Alani*.

§ XIII. A COMMOTION aroſe, about this Time, among thoſe Nations, who dwelt about the *Black Sea*, and the *Mæotick Lake*, which obliged ſome of them to retreat into the *Roman* Provinces; and this is looked upon, by ſome, as the Beginning of the Grand Tranſmigration. It will not be improper here, to give, previouſly, a brief Account of the Situation of thoſe Nations, whoſe Dominions extended along the *Danube*, and from the Mouth of that River along the Coaſts of the *Black Sea*. The *Alemanni*, *Marcomanni*, and *Quadi*, who dwelt oppoſite to *Rætia* and *Noricum*, on the *Danube*, are already ſufficiently noted in Hiſtory. Adjoining to the *Quadi* were the *Jazygi* and thoſe *Sarmatæ*, who had been once expell'd by their own Servants, but reſtored by *Conſtantius*; and whoſe Country was ſituate about the *Theis*. The People, who dwelt from thence as far as the *Tanais*, were *Goths*. Next to theſe were the *Taifali*, on whom the *Sarmatæ* border'd towards the *North-Eaſt*. The *Wiſi-Goths*, among whom the *Theruingi* were the moſt celebrated, inhabited from thence as far as the *Nieſter*, and, conſequently, poſſeſſed the preſent *Moldavia* and *Wallachia*, and, probably, beſides theſe, a Part of *Podolia*. This ſeems to have properly been the Province of *GOTHIA*, which is mentioned in Medals, as well as in Ancient Writers (1). The *Oſtro-Goths*, who are the principal Subject of the Hiſtories of *Caſſiodorus* and *Jornandes*, among whom the *Greuthungi* are mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus* and others, as the moſt renowned, had extended their Dominions as far as the *Don*. How far the *Gothick* Dominions reached towards the *North*, may be gathered from what has before been ſaid of the Subjection of the *Roxolani*, *Heruli*, *Venedi*, and *Æſtii*; for, from thence may be inferr'd, that they extended to the *Eaſt-Sea*, and *Weſtwards* to the *Viſtula*: But it ſeems not ſo very eaſy to comprehend, how all theſe Nations, which differ'd ſo very much in their Manners, Language and Inclinations, could remain united, and ſo regulate their State, as to be ſecure againſt all Inſults, from Abroad, and inteſtine Broils, at Home. The *Vandals*, *Gepidæ*, and other *German* Nations, border'd on the *Gothick* Dominions, towards the *Weſt*, as appears

§ XIII. (1) F. HARDUIN, in numis ſæculi Conſtantiani, in operibus ſelect. p. 719. *according to his uſual Manner, entertains a ſtrange Opinion of this Matter.* Gothia nobis quidem eſſe Toloſanus ager videtur, cui ut Gothiæ ſic Septimaniæ ex parte poſtea nomen fuit. Ibi Gothi Indigenæ. Qui e Dacia in hos tractus, ſive Hiſpaniam Italiamve commigraſſe putant, oſtendant in his terris aliquod Gothicæ linguæ, ſeu Germanicæ veteris veſtigium.

from

from their Wars with thoſe Nations: It is, nevertheleſs, impoſſible to be exact in aſſigning them their particular Limits. On the Right Side of the *Tanais* dwelt the *Alani* (2), and adjoining to them the

(2) MARCELLINUS *L.* 31. *c.* 2. *p.* 476. Hoc tranſito, in immenſum extentas Scythiæ ſolitudines Alani inhabitant, ex montium appellatione cognominati, paullatimque nationes conterminas crebritate victoriarum attritas ad gentilitatem ſui vocabuli traxerunt, ut Perſæ. Inter nos NEURI mediterranea incolunt loca, vicini verticibus celſis, quos præruptos geluque torquentes aquilones adſtringunt. Poſt quos Budini ſunt, & Geloni perquam feri, qui detractis peremptorum hoſtium cutibus indumenta ſibi, equiſque tegmina conficiunt, bellatrix gens. Gelonis Agathyrſi conlimitant, interſtincti colore cæruleo corpora ſimul & crines: & humiles quidem minutis atque raris, nobiles vero latis, fucatis, & denſioribus notis. Poſt hos Melanchlænas, & Antropophagos palari accepimus per diverſa, humanis corporibus victitantes: quibus ob hæc alimenta nefanda deſertis, finitimi omnes longa petiere terrarum. Ideoque plaga omnis orienti æſtivo objecta uſque dum venitur ad Seras, inhabitabilis manſit. Parte alia prope Amazonum ſedes Alani ſunt orienti adclines, diffuſi per populoſas gentes & amplas, Aſiaticos vergentes in tractus, quas dilatari ad uſque Gangem accepi fluvium, interſecantem terras Indorum, mareque inundantem auſtrale. Ibi partiti per utramque mundi plagam Alani (quorum gentes varias nunc recenſere non refert) licet dirempti ſpatiis longis, per pagos, ut Nomades, vagantur immenſos: ævi tamen progreſſu ad unum conceſſere vocabulum, & ſummatim omnes Alani cognominantur, * mores & media & efferatam vivendi, ſed jam immaturam. * Nec enim ulla ſunt illiſce tuguria, aut verſandi vomeris cura. Sed carne & copia victitant lactis, plauſtris ſuperſidentes, quæ operimentis curvatis corticum per ſolitudines conferunt ſine fine diſtantes. Cumque ad graminea venerint, in orbiculatam figuram locatis ſarracis ferino ritu veſcuntur: abſumtiſque pabulis, velut carpentis civitates impoſitas vehunt, mareſque ſupra cum feminis coeúnt, & naſcuntur in his, & educantur infantes: & habitacula ſunt hæc illis perpetua; & quocunque ierint, illic genuinum exiſtimant larem. Armenta præ ſe agentes cum gregibus paſcunt: maximeque equini pecoris eſt eis ſollicitior cura. Ibi campi ſemper herbeſcunt, interſitis pomiferis locis: atque ideo tranſeuntes quolibet, nec alimentis nec pabulis indigent: quod efficit humectum ſolum, & crebri fluminum prætermeantium curſus. Omnis igitur ætas & ſexus imbellis circa vehicula ipſa verſatur, muniiſque diſtringitur mollibus: juventus vero equitandi uſu a prima pueritia coaleſcens, incedere pedibus exiſtimat vile: & omnes multiplici diſciplina prudentes ſunt bellatores. Unde etiam Perſæ, qui ſunt originetus Scythæ, pugnandi ſunt peritiſſimi. Proceri autem Alani pæne ſunt omnes & pulchri, crinibus mediocriter flavis, oculorum temperata torvitate terribiles, & armorum levitate veloces, Hunniſque per omnia ſuppares, verum victu mitiores & cultu: latrocinando & venando ad uſque Mæotica ſtagna & Cimmerium Boſporon, itidemque Armenios diſcurrentes & Mediam. Utque hominibus quietis & placidis otium eſt voluptabile, ita illos pericula juvant & bella. Judicatur ibi beatus, qui in prælio profuderit animam: ſeneſcentes enim, & fortuitis mortibus mundo digreſſos, ut degeneres & ignavos conviciis atrocibus inſectantur: nec quidquam eſt quod elatius jactent, quam homine quolibet occiſo: proque exuviis glorioſis, interfectorum avulſis capitibus detractas pelles, pro phaleris, jumentis accommodant bellatoriis. Nec templum apud eos viſitur, aut delubrum; ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni uſque poteſt: ſed gladius barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem, regionum quas circumcircant præſulem, verecundius colunt. Futura miro præſagiunt modo; nec rectiores virgas vimineas colligentes, eaſque cum incantamentis quibuſdam ſecretis, præſtituto tempore diſcernentes, aperte quid portendatur norunt. Servitus quid ſit ignorabant, omnes generoſo ſemine procreati: judiceſque etiam nunc eligunt, diuturno bellandi uſu ſpectatos.

Huns:

Hunns. As therefore, these Countries, which, in the Opinion of some learned Men, are, in sacred Writ, comprehended under the Names of *Gog* and *Magog* (3), now first begun to be perfectly known; I shall here add a brief Description of the *Alani* and *Hunns*, that we may have a clearer Idea what will be mentioned of them in the Sequel. *Ammianus Marcellinus* says, that the *Alani*, properly so called, were the *Massagetæ* of the Ancients, and conquered many other Nations dwelling towards the *North*, who were afterwards included in the same Name. He mentions, in particular, besides the *Neuri* and *Gelони*, of whom we shall have Occasion to speak farther below, the *Agathyrsi*, among whom the Custom prevailed, which, at present, only remains among some Nations of *America*, of painting their Skin with blue Spots and Figures. Now, tho' the *Alani* extended their Dominions chiefly towards the *North*; yet, those among them, who dwelt most to the *Southwards*, made, more than once, Attempts in *Asia*; and *Procopius* assigns the Country, between the *Caucasus* and the *Portæ Caspiæ*, as the Habitation of the *Alani* (4). *Marcellinus* describes them, in general, as a tall, well-made People, almost resembling the *Germans*; that their chief Occupation was the Breeding of Horses; that they were almost always on Horse-Back; and, that they put their Wives and Children, with their Stores and Accoutrements, on Carriages. They are said to have been all free and of equal Condition; but very cruel in War (the common Vice of all the *Scythian* Nations) but they were not wholly destitute of Policy and Government among themselves; for, they appointed Judges out of those who had most Experience in War. He relates of them, moreover, that they judged of future Events by the Twigs of Trees; and mentions some other Customs, which, together with their Contempt of Death, they had in common with the *Germans*. We have, indeed, already made some Mention of the *Alani*, and, particularly, that

(3) CAMPEGIUS VITRINGA *in anacrisi apocalypseos Joannis p.* 870. Interim recte quoque Gog pro nomine gentis sumi abunde constat ex BOCHARTO, qui reliquias illius nominis ex historia gentium sive scytharum, qui circa Caucasum habitant montem, detexit. Utique nihil certius videtur, quam per Gogum & Magogum, Japheti posteros, apud Ezechielem intelligi populos aquilonares, qui terras inter Pontum Euxinum, & Caspium mare medias, & quæ supra has sunt ad septentrionem, versus Tanaim d occidentem, & Imaum montem ad orientem insederunt, quippe quod ex tota prophetia liquidum est.

(4) PROCOPIUS *L. V. p.* 415. Quicquid terrarum a Caucaso ad portas Caspias extenditur, Alani tenent, gens libera & Persis plerumque socia in Romanos, hostiumve alios. *Some are of Opinion, that* Procopius *takes them to be* Goths, *when he says,* Goth. hist. *L.* 1. Aliquanto ante Romani Scirros, & Alanos, & alias nationes Gothicas in societatem attraxerant: *But the Words only signify, that the* Romans *had, besides the* Scirri *and* Alani, *likewise* Goths *in their Service.*

they

they were repulsed by *Antoninus Pius* (5), what Share they had in the *German* Wars, under *M. Aurelius* (6), and afterwards in the Irruptions of the *Goths*, and how they beat *Gordian* near *Philippopolis* (7). But they never made themselves so noted, as at this Time, when they contributed to the Devastations made in the *Roman* Empire, 'till they afterwards disappeared again, as it were, at once. Some *Lithuanian* Historians have attempted to prove the Descent of their Country-Men from them (8); but the Sequel will shew what slender Grounds they go upon.

§ XIV. THE *Hunns* are, again, a People very different (1) from these, who were likewise divided into several Nations; and tho' ma- An Account of the *Hunns*.

(5) *See above* L. V. § 2.
(6) *See above* L. V. § 16. not. 1.
(7) *See above* L. V. § 32.
(8) *v. Albertus Wiiuk Koialowicz histor. Lithuan.* P. I. lib. 1. p. 10.

§ XIV. (11) MARCELLINUS *gives* l. c. cap. 2. *the following Description of this Nation*: Hunnorum gens, monumentis veteribus leviter nota, ultra paludes Mæoticas glacialem oceanum accolens, omnem modum feritatis excedit. Ubi quoniam ab ipsis nascendi primitiis infantum ferro sulcantur altius genæ, ut pilorum vigor tempestivus emergens corrugatis cicatricibus hebetetur, senescunt imberbes absque ulla venustate, spadonibus similes, compactis omnes firmisque membris, & opimis cervicibus: prodigiosæ formæ, & pandi, ut bipedes existimes bestias, vel quales in commarginandis pontibus effigiati stipites dolantur incompte. In hominum autem figura licet insuavi ita visi sunt asperi, ut neque igni, neque saporatis indigeant cibis, sed radicibus herbarum agrestium, & semicruda cujusvis pecoris carne vescantur, quam inter femora sua, & equorum terga subsertam, fotu calefaciunt brevi. Ædificiis nullis unquam tecti: sed hæc velut ab usu communi discreta sepulchra declinant. Nec enim apud eos vel arundine fastigatum reperiri tugurium potest. Sed vagi montes peragrantes & silvas, pruinas, famem, sitimque perferre ab incunabulis assuescunt. Peregre tecta nisi adigente maxima necessitate non subeunt: nec enim apud eos securos existimant esse sub tectis. Indumentis operiuntur linteis, vel ex pellibus silvestrium murium consarcinatis: nec alia illis domestica vestis est, alia forensis. Sed semel obsoleti coloris tunica collo inserta non ante deponitur aut mutatur, quam diuturna carie in pannulos defluxerit defrustata. Galeris incurvis capita tegunt, hirsuta crura coriis munientes hædinis: eorumque calcei formulis nullis aptati, vetant incedere gressibus liberis. Qua causa ad pedestres parum accommodati sunt pugnas: verum equis prope affixi duris quidem, sed deformibus, & muliebriter iisdem nonnunquam insidentes, funguntur muneribus consuetis. Ex ipsis quivis in hac natione pernox & perdius emit & vendit, cibumque sumit & potum, & inclinatus cervici angustæ jumenti, in altum soporem, adusque varietatem effunditur somniorum. Et deliberatione super rebus proposita seriis, hoc habitu omnes in commune consultant. Aguntur autem nulla severitate regali, sed tumultuario optimatum ductu contenti, perrumpunt quidquid inciderit. Et pugnant nonnunquam lacessiti, sed ineuntes prœlia cuneatim variis vocibus sonantibus torvum. Utque ad pernicitatem sunt leves & repentini; ita subito de industria dispersi vigescunt, & in composita acie cum cæde vasta discurrunt: nec invadentes vallum, nec castra inimica pilantes præ nimia rapiditate cernuntur. Eoque omnium acerrimos facile dixeris bellatores, quod procul missilibus telis, acutis ossibus pro spiculorum acumine arte mira coagmentatis, sed distinctis, comminus ferro, sine sui respectu confligunt, hostesque dum mucronum noxias observant, contortis laciniis illigant, ut laqueatis resistentium membris

ny Things, indeed, may be attributed to them in common with the *Alani*, and other *Scythian* Nations; they were, nevertheleſs, of a quite different Blood and Extraction, as the very Deſcription of their Stature, which is no leſs a Token of the Affinity of whole Nations, than of ſingle Families, itſelf ſhews. The Hatred the *Goths* bore them, has given Riſe to an odd and fabulous Account of their Deſcent, *viz.* That a King of the *Goths* cauſed certain Sorcereſſes, who, in the *Gothick* Language, were called *Aliruna*, to be drove out of his Army; and, that theſe, having converſed afterwards, in the impaſſable *Scythian* Foreſts, with Fawns and Satyrs, from them proceeded this ſpurious Brood (2). They are generally deſcribed by Hiſtorians, as having ſmall, deep Eyes, flat Noſes, ſhort Necks, and broad Shoulders; which are certain Signs, that the *Hunns*, and ſome of the preſent *Tartars*, had one

bris equitandi vel gravandi adimant facultatem. Nemo apud eos arat, nec ſtivam aliquando contingit. Omnes enim ſine ſedibus fixis, abſque lare vel lege aut ritu ſtabili diſpalantur, ſemper fugientium ſimiles, cum carpentis in quibus habitant: ubi conjuges atra illis veſtimenta contexunt, & coëunt cum maritis, & pariunt, & aduſque pubertatem nutriunt pueros. Nulluſque apud eos interrogatus, reſpondere unde oritur poteſt, alibi conceptus, natuſque procul, & longius educatus. Per inducias infidi, inconſtantes, ad omnem auram incidentis ſpei novæ perquamm obiles, totum furori incitatiſſimo tribuentes. Inconſultorum animalium ritu, quid honeſtum, inhoneſtumve ſit penitus ignorantes: flexiloqui & obſcuri, nullius religionis vel ſuperſtitionis reverentia aliquando diſtricti: auri cupidine immenſa flagrantes: adeo permutabiles, & iraſci faciles, ut eodem aliquoties die a ſociis nullo irritante ſæpe deſciſcant, itidemque propitientur nemine leniente. Hoc expeditum indomitumque hominum genus externa prædandi aviditate flagrans immani, per rapinas finitimorum graſſatum & cædes, aduſque Alanos pervenit, veteres Maſſagetas. *conf.* Lindendrogius, & Valeſ. *ad hunc locum*: *add.* Matthiæ Belii *Hungariæ antiquæ & novæ prodromus* L. 2. ſect. 1. cap. 1.

(2) JORNANDES *c.* 24. Nam hos, ut refert antiquitas, ita extitiſſe comperimus: Filimer rex Gothorum, & Gandarici magni filius, poſt egreſſum Scanziæ inſulæ jam quinto loco tenens principatum Getarum, qui & terras Scythicas cum ſua gente introiſſet, ſicut a nobis dictum eſt, reperit in populo ſuo quaſdam magas mulieres, quas patrio ſermone Aliuruncas dicunt, eaſque habens ſuſpectas, de medio ſui proturbat, longeque ab exercitu ſuo fugatas, in ſolitudine coëgit errare. *The* Goths *may be indulged in Fables of this Kind, to ſooth their Hatred againſt the* Hunns, *eſpicially as the Ancients generally were of Opinion, that ſuch Demons abounded in their Foreſts; but it is unpardonable in modern Writers, to relate ſuch Things as Matters of Fact; as, for Inſtance,* Philippus Callimachus *in* Attila *does.* Scribunt plerique, Filmirum Gothorum regem, ſed rerum antiquarum peritiores memoriæ proditum reliquere Idantirſum, exercitu luſtrato nonnullas fœminas, Alirumnas Scythæ vocant, ultra communem aliarum ſpeciem corpore atque indolæ auguſtas, Scytharum caſtris excluſiſſe. Eaſque ſubinde in ſolitudine trans Meotidem in Asia agitantes, a Faunis & Satyris compreſſas, Hunnos genuiſſe, quorum mox ſoboles tanta fœcunditate propagata, ut credi par foret, deorum quoque cujuſpiam ad id operam acceſſiſſe. *The Reaſon he alledges for mentioning this Circumſtance, is yet leſs excuſeable; he doing it,* quo vitæ, moribuſque & bellis Attilæ explicandis, ſiqua humanæ virtutis modum, in eo viro ſupergreſſa videbuntur, relato ad deos originis argumento, fidem accipiant.

and

and the ſame Origin. They had, with this, the ſtrange Cuſtom of gaſhing their Children's Cheeks, to prevent their Beards from growing, when they arrived at Manhood. Their Language, of which we may judge by the *Hungarian*, that being a Dialect of it, was equally different from the *German* and *Sclavonian*. They were ſeldom ſeen on Foot, and it is obſerved by the Ancients, as ſomething ſingular, thet they often ſat ſide-ways; perhaps, by that Change, to eaſe, in ſome Meaſure, the Fatigue of inceſſant Riding. In War, their Intrepidity in an Attack, and the Dexterity with which they could turn, and renew the Combat, is particularly recorded (3); they were, beſides, excellent Archers (4); tho' the Points of their Arrows were often only Pieces of Bones made ſharp, inſtead of Iron (5). In other Things, their Manner of living was very uncivilized. Their Diet conſiſted chiefly in Roots, and the Meat they did eat was no otherways dreſs'd, than by laying it under their Saddles, and riding upon it, to make it tenderer. The Skins of Beaſts ſerved them for Cloaths: They not only covered their Legs with them; but made a Sort of Cloaks of them, to defend them from the Rain, turning the Furs outwards, as the *Hungarians* and *Poles* do to this Day: They likewiſe made a Kind of Caps of them, ſuch as the common People in *Hungary* yet uſe. The Goodneſs and Beauty of theſe Skins did, perhaps, make Diſtinction in the Perſons who wore them; as, in particular, their Skins of Marters were ſought, far and near, even among other Nations (6). But, as Poverty, of itſelf, does not ſubdue the Paſſions,

(3) AGATHIAS, *L.* 5. Defecerat barbaros, præ timore ars illa, quam exequi pro ſua conſuetudine quam maxime ſolent, ut fugiendo acrius longe ſe inſectantes oppugnent, dum ex equis in hoſtem mox verſi, ſagittas immittunt, quas utique tunc violentius, in quem deſtinaverint, infigunt, quod ſane eo facilius fit, quo illi in perſequentes, recta & ex adverſo maximo impetu deferuntur, & inſectatores ipſi, effugo curſu, in arcus proruendo, ſagittis ſe induunt, & vulnera acriora excipiunt, dum his obviam eunt. *This Manner of fighting is obſerved as ſomewhat peculiar to the* Hunns, *as appears from the ſame Author*, L. 1. ſub fin. Narſes barbarum quoddam, & Hunnis magis uſitatum ſtratagema excogitavit. Suos enim vertere terga juſſit.

(4) SIDONIUS *carm.* 7. *Curſu Herulus, CHUNUS JACULIS Francuſque natatu.*

(5) TACITUS *obſerves the ſame of the* Fenni *de M. G. c.* 46. Fennis mira feritas, fœda paupertas; non arma, non equi, non penates. Victui herba, veſtitui pelles, cubile humus, ſola in ſagittis ſpes, quas inopia ferri, oſſibus aſperant.

(6) *What ancient Writers call* Pelles murinæ, *is by* Helmoldus *named Marter.* L. 1. c. 1. Pellibus abundant perigrinis, quas odor letiferum noſtro orbi ſuperbiæ venenum propinavit. Et illi quidem ut ſtercora hæc habent, ad noſtram quaſi damnationem, qui ad marturinam veſtem anhelamus quaſi ad ſummam beatitudinem. Itaque pro laneis indumentis, quos nos appellamus ſaldones, illi offerunt tam pretioſos martures.

and we cannot, from the abject Manner, in which a Nation lives, draw an Inference of their Moderation; ſo the *Hunns*, in the Midſt of their Penury, were but the more ſavage; and they had ſo little Diſcipline among them, that ſome even ſay, they had no religious Worſhip. But, as to the latter, we find, in the Hiſtory of *Attila*, not only that they worſhip'd a God of War (7); but, likewiſe, that they eſteemed Oaths to be ſacred, and obſerved certain Forms (8) in them, which argue their Belief of a Divine Providence. After they had, about theſe Times, invaded *Europe*, they were diſtinguiſhed by the different Names, *Aſiatick* and *Europæan Hunns*; and gave the *Roman* Empire Uneaſineſs enough, in both thoſe Parts of the World; 'till the preſent *Hungarians*, after having experienced the advantageous Change, which a better Soil and Climat; an Intercourſe with civiliz'd Nations, and more particularly the *Chriſtian* Religion, could produce in a Nation, became a Barrier to that Empire, which their Anceſtors had ſo frequently laid waſte.

The *Hunns* overcome the *Alani*, and reduce the *Goths* to great Streights. † *Ermanaricus ap. Jord.*

§ XV. The firſt Commotions were now raiſed by the *Hunns*. They invaded the Dominions of thoſe *Alani*, who dwelt neareſt to the *Don*. After having harraſs'd one another, for ſome Time, they agreed, with united Force, to fall upon the *Goths*. The neareſt of theſe were the *Greuthungi*, who were then governed by *Ermeric* †, one of the moſt mighty Kings, that we meet with in the *Gothick* Hiſtory, of whoſe brave and ſucceſsful Atchievements we have made ſome Mention above. *Ermeric*, whoſe great Age diſabled him from bearing Arms any longer, choſe rather to prevent the Danger which threatened him, by a ſpontaneous Death, than to run the Hazard of ſurviving that Glory, which he had, in his younger Years, acquired. *Vithimer* was appointed to ſucceed him, who, being aſſiſted by ſome other *Hunnick* Nations, whom he had hired, valiantly withſtood the Enemy (1); but was, at Length, ſlain in Battle. The Nation elected *Videric*, his Son, in his Room, tho' he was too young to hold the Reins of Government; and two renowned Generals, *Aletheus* and *Saphrax*, took upon them

(7) *See below*, Lib. 9.

(8) Priscus Conditionibus pacem Romani & Hunni pepigerunt, qua jurejurando, patrio ritu utrinque firmata, utrique ad ſuos redierunt.

§. XV. (1) Marcellinus, *L.* 31. *c.* 3. *p.* 478. Igitur Hunni pervaſis Alanorum regionibus, quos Greuthungis confines, Tanaitas conſuetudo nominavit, interfectiſque multis, & ſpoliatis, reliquos ſibi concordandi fide pacta junxerunt, eiſque adjunctis, confidentius Ermerichi late patentes, & uberes pagos repentino impetu perruperunt, bellicoſiſſimi regis, & per multa variaque fortiter facta, vicinis nationibus formidati. Qui vi ſubitæ procellæ perculſus, quamvis manere fundatus, & ſtabilis diu conatus eſt, impendentium tamen diritatem augente vulgatius fama, magnorum diſcriminum metum voluntaria morte ſedavit. Cujus poſt obitum,

them the Guardianſhip and the Adminiſtration. They could not ſo eaſily recover the Loſs ſuſtain'd in their late Overthrow; but retreated to the *Nieſter*, into the preſent *Podolia*, where they expected to meet with Aſſiſtance from the bordering *Wiſi-Gothick* Nations.

Athanaric, Prince of the *Theruingi*, endeavours in vain to oppoſe them.

§ XVI. *ATHANARIC*, Prince of the *Theruingi*, who was encouraged by the Wars with the *Romans*, took to Arms, and advanced, indeed, towards the *Nieſter*, to repel the Enemy, if they attempted to croſs that River, and to invade his Dominions: But, contrary to *Athanaric*'s Expectations, they found another Paſſage over the River, and drew near to his Camp, before the Spies, he had ſent out, could bring him Advice of their Approach. *Athanaric* was now ſo ſtreighten'd, that he could not, without Loſs, retreat into the Mountains. He cauſed, with the utmoſt Expedition, a Line to be thrown up there, between the *Pruth* (1), and the *Danube*, before the *Hunns* and *Alani*, who, by Reaſon of their Booty, could not advance ſo faſt, were able to come up with him (2).

A Body of *Goths* advance towards the *Danube*. *Athanaric* eſcapes to the Mountains.

§ XVII. FEAR had, in the mean Time, ſo ſeized *Athanaric*'s Subjects, that they thought of nothing but of ſubmiting themſelves, in

tum, rex Vithimeris creatus, reſtitit aliquantiſper Alanis, Hunnis aliis fretus, quos mercede ſociaverat partibus ſuis. Verum poſt multas, quas pertulit clades, animam effudit in prœlio, vi ſuperatus armorum. Cujus parvi filii Viderichi nomine curam ſuſceptam Alatheus tuebatur & Saphrax, duces exerciti, & firmitate pectorum noti; qui cum tempore arto præventi abjeciſſent fiduciam repugnandi, cautius diſcedentes ad amnem Danaſtum pervenerunt inter Hiſtrum & Boryſthenem per camporum ampla ſpatia diffluentem. *This Paſſage confirms what has been ſaid above* § XIII. *of the Dominion of the* Oſtro-Goths, *and particularly, that the preſent* Ukrania, *deſcribed by* Monſ. de Beauplan, *appertains thereto.*

§ XVI. (1) HIERASUS Ptolemæi, GERASUS Marcellini *in loco, quem vide not.* 2.

(2) MARCELLINUS, *L.* 31. *c.* 3. *p.* 479. Hæc ita præter ſpem accidiſſe doctus Athanaricus Theruingorum judex (in quem ut ante relatum eſt, ob auxilia miſſa Procopio dudum Valens commoverat ſigna) ſtare gradu fixo tentabat, ſurrecturus in vires, ſi ipſe quoque laceſſeretur ut cæteri. Caſtris denique prope Danaſti margines ac Greuthungorum vallem longius opportune metatis, Munderichum, ducem poſtea limitis per Arabiam, cum Lagarimano & optimatibus aliis, ad uſque viceſimum lapidem miſit, hoſtium ſpeculaturos adventum, ipſe aciem nullo turbante interim ſtruens. Verum longe aliter, quam rebatur, evenit. Hunni enim (ut ſunt in conjectura ſagaces) multitudinem eſſe longius aliquam ſuſpicati, prætermiſſis quos viderant, in quietem tanquam nullo obſtante compoſitis, rumpente noctis tenebras luna, vado fluminis penetrato, id quod erat potiſſimum elegerunt: & veriti, ne præcurſorius index procul agentes abſterreat, Athanaricum ipſum ictu petivere veloci. Eumque ſtupentem ad impetum primum, amiſſis quibuſdam ſuorum coegerunt ad effugia properare montium præruptorum. Qua rei novitate, majoreque venturi pavore conſtrictus, a ſuperciliis GERASI fluminis, ad uſque Danubium Taifalorum terras præſtringens, muros altius erigebat: hac lorica diligentia celeri conſummata, in tuto locandam ſecuritatem ſuam exiſtimans & ſalutem. Dumque efficax opera ſuſcitatur, Hunni paſſibus eum citis urgebant: & jam oppreſſerant adventantes, ni gravate prædarum onere deſtitiſſent.

ſome

ſome Meaſure, to the *Romans*, and of entreating the Emperor to grant them a Habitation in *Thrace*. *Valens* was then at *Antioch*, and was preparing for the War againſt *Perſia*; for which he had already taken *Gothick* Troops into his Service (1). The Matter was propoſed, and the *Goths* ſent themſelves an Ambaſſy to him, of which, according to the Relation of *Sozomenus* (2), their Biſhop *Ulphila* was the Head. They marched, in the mean Time, under the Command of *Alavius*, towards the *Danube* (3). The Emperor granted their Requeſt, becauſe *Thrace* was here and there deſolate, and the *Romans* had long found it advantageous, to be capable of forming their Armies with Foreign Troops; for, their Provinces always choſe rather to furniſh Mony than Men (4): But when, ſoon after, *Vitherius*, the young King of the *Greuthungi*, and his two Guardians, *Alatheus* and *Saphrax*, together with *Farnobius*, another *Oſtro-Gothick* Prince, implored the ſame Favour, the Court denied it them; becauſe the *Theruingi* were already thought as great a Number as *Thrace* could bear with. *Athanaric* remember'd the Pretence he had, ſome Years before, made, that he was under an Oath, not to ſet Foot on the other Side of the *Da-*

§ XVII. (1) MARCELLINUS, *L.* 30. *c.* 2. Parabantur magna Inſtrumenta bellorum, ut mollita hieme imperatore trinis agminibus perrupturo Perſidem, ideoque Scytharum auxilia feſtina celeritate mercante.

(2) SOZOMENUS, *Lib.* 6. *c.* 37.

(3) MARCELLINUS, *L.* 31. *C.* 3 & 4. *p.* 479. Fama tamen late ſerpente per Gothorum reliquas gentes, quod inuſitatumtantehac hominum genus, modo ruens ut turbo montibus celſis, ex abdito ſinu coortum, oppoſita quæque convellit & corrumpit: populi pars major, quæ Athanaricum attenuata neceſſariorum penuria deſerverat, quæritabat domicilium remotum ab omni notitia barbarorum: diuque deliberans quas eligeret ſedes, cogitavit Thraciæ receptaculum gemina ratione ſibi convenientius, quod & ceſpitis eſt feraciſſimi, & amplitudine fluentorum Hiſtri diſtinguitur a barbaris, patentibus jam peregrini fulminibus Martis: hoc quoque idem reſidui velut mente cogitavere communi. Itaque duce Alavivo ripas occupavere Danubii: miſſiſque oratoribus ad Valentem, ſuſcipi ſe humili prece poſcebant, & quiete victuros ſe pollicentes, & daturos, ſi res flagitaſſet, auxilia.

(4) IDEM *L. c. c.* 4. Negotium lætitiæ fuit potius quam timori, eruditis adulatoribus in majus fortunam principis extollentibus: quod ex ultimis terris tot tirocinia trahens, ei nec opinanti offerret, ut collatis in unum ſuis & alienigenis viribus invictum haberet exercitum, & pro militari ſupplemento quod provinciatim annuum pendebatur, theſauris accederet auri cumulus magnus. Hacque ſpe mittuntur diverſi, qui cum vehiculis plebem transferant truculentam. Et navabatur opera diligens, ne qui Romanam rem derelinqueretur everſurus, vel quaſſatus morbo letali. Perinde permiſſu imperatoris tranſeundi Danubium copiam colendique adepti Thraciæ partes, transfretabantur in dies & noctes, navibus ratibuſque & cavatis arborum alveis, agminatim impoſiti: atque per amnem longe omnium difficilimum, imbriumque crebritate tunc auctum, ob denſitatem nimiam contra ictus aquarum nitentes quidam & natare conati, hauſti ſunt plures. Ita turbido inſtantium ſtudio orbis Romani pernicies ducebatur. Illud ſane neque obſcurum eſt neque incertum, infauſtos tranſvehendi barbaram plebem miniſtros, numerum ejus comprehendere calculo ſæpe tentantes, conquieviſſe fruſtratos.

nube,

nube, by which he, in a Manner, obliged the Emperor Valens, to meet him on that River, to ratify the Peace. He, therefore, fearing he might now be ſcornfully put in Mind of his Vow, and would not ask Permiſſion to paſs the *Danube*; but retreated to a high and almoſt inacceſſible Mountain, and, by Force, drove out ſome *Sarmatæ*, who were in Poſſeſſion of it (5). There he ſtood his Ground, for ſome Time, 'till, in the Reign of *Theodoſius*, he was, at Length, obliged to ſeek Refuge, in the *Roman* Dominions, among the *Theruingi*.

§ XVIII. AN innumerable Swarm of *Theruingi* was therefore tranſported: To which Purpoſe, all the *Roman* Veſſels, on the *Danube*, were employed, and when thoſe were inſufficient, the River was covered with Floats and hollow'd Trees, which many made Uſe of inſtead of Boats. Some even ventured to ſwim over, and the Eagerneſs with which every one endeavoured to ſave himſelf, cauſed ſome Diſorders, whereby many were drowned (1). The Emperor, *Valens*, had indeed ordered, that the Children ſhould firſt be taken and conveyed to *Aſia*, where they might be kept, in a Manner, as Hoſtages' for the Fidelity of their Parents; and that the *Goths* themſelves ſhould not be allowed to bring their Arms with them: But the Officers were ſo blinded by their private Advantage and Voluptuouſneſs, that the *Goths* were at once tranſported, and brought their Arms, privately at leaſt, with them, which they had, ſoon after, Occaſion for (2).

The *Romans* take the *Goths* under their Protection.

§ XIX.

(5) IDEM, *l. c. p.* 481. Per hos dies interea etiam Vithericus Greuthungorum rex cum Alatheo & Saphrace quorum arbitrio regebatur, itemque Farnobio, propinquans Hiſtri marginibus, ut ſimili ſuſciperetur humanitate obſecravit imperatorem, legatis propere miſſis. Quibus ut communi rei conducere videbatur repudiatis, & quid capeſſerent anxiis, Athanaricus paria pertimeſcens abſceſſit, memor, Valentem dudum cum fœderaretur concordia deſpexiſſe, affirmantem ſe religione devinetum, ne calcaret ſolum aliquando Romanum, hacque cauſatione principem firmare pacem in medio flumine coegiſſe: quam ſimultatem veritus, ut adhuc durantem, ad Caucaldenſem locum, altitudine ſilvarum inacceſſum & montium, cum ſuis omnibus declinavit, Sarmatis inde extruſis.

§ XVIII. (1) *See the foregoing Section*, n. 5.

(2) ZOSIMUS, *Lib.* 4. *c.* 20. *p.* 10. Eam rem, cum præſidiis oppidorum ad Iſtrum præfecti eo uſque differrent, dum de voluntate principis cognitum fuiſſet: Valens uti reciperentur, armis prius depoſitis, permiſit. Itaque tribuni legionum, militumque duces, transjiciebant illi quidem, ut abſque armis barbaros in fines Romanos deducerent: verum nihil agebant aliud, quam quod elegantis formæ mulieres deligerent, & pueros formoſos ad uſum obſcenum venarentur, aut colonos, agricolaſve compararent; quibus ſolis intenti cætera publicam ad utilitatem ſpectantia negligebant. Unde fiebat, ut complures clam cum armis tranſvectos ignorarerur: qui ſimul atque ſolum Romanum ingreſſi fuiſſent, neque precum illarum ſupplicum, neque ſacramentorum recordabantur. Eunapius *mentions beſides*, p. 19. *that the* Goths *preſented them with fine Carpets and*

They rebel against the *Romans*.

† *Comes per Thracias.*

§ XIX. FOR when there began to be a Scarcity of Provisions, before the *Goths* were dispersed, *Maximus*, Lieutenant of *Thrace* †, and the General *Lupicinus*, took so infamous an Advantage of their Necessity, that they were even obliged to part with their Children in Exchange for a miserable Sustenance; and they carried their Villany so far, that the *Theruingi*, at Length, began to shew their Resentment, and took to their Arms, in the Neighbourhood of *Marcianopolis*: And to this *Lupicinus* gave them fresh Provocation. He had invited the two Princes, *Alavius* and *Fritigernus*, whom *Ammianus Marcellinus* calls Kings, to an Entertainment in the City; but order'd the Soldiers to admit none of the other *Goths*. This occasion'd a Tumult at the City-Gate; of which *Lupicinus* being privately inform'd, he order'd the Guard, which attended the two *Gothick* Princes, to be attack'd. The People without the Gate were no sooner made acquainted with this, than the Tumult encreas'd; it being at the same Time, reported, that their two Princes were kill'd: And the Event might perhaps have been fatal to them, had not *Fritigernus*, in this dangerous Situation, preserved a Presence of Mind, which is often as certain a Demonstration of Heroism, as Heat and Fire. In this *Dilemma* he immediately thought of an Expedient, and represented to the *Roman General*, that there was no other Means to appease the Fury of the People, but for him and *Alavius* to shew themselves, and thereby convince them of the Error, which had caused this Tumult: But the two Princes no sooner saw themselves at full Liberty, than they headed their Men, and let the *Romans* see they would not fall a Prey to such secret Practices. They were so fortunate, that they put *Lupicinus*, who went out against them, to the Flight (1): And the Arms of those *Romans*, who were kill'd on the Spot,

and Linnen. Jusserat autem imperator ab Antiochia, ut primum imbellem & nulli usui aptam susciperent ætatem, & per Romanorum ditionis terras dimitterent, & tanquam obsides tuto loco haberent, neque eo secius milites ad ripas consistere, ut turbas pugnæ aptas minime transgredi sinerent, neque navigia illis ad trajectionem præberent, priusquam arma deposuissent, quo nudos transmitterent. At eorum, qui ista mandata exceperunt, exarsit hic in amore unus pueri candidi & vultu grati, ex his qui trajecti fuerant, alter misertus est uxoris formosæ unius ex captivis, hic captivus fuit sub virgine formosa, alios magnitudo munerum cepit, linea vestimenta stragula ab utraque parte fimbriata. *What is here said of Linnen, may put the Reader in Mind, that I shew'd before,* L. 2. § 39. not. 1. *from a Passage of* Pliny, *that the* Germans *were acquainted with this Manufacture, in the earliest Times.*

§ XIX. (1) MARCELLINUS. *l. c. c.* 5. *p.* 482. At vero Theruingi jam dudum transire permissi, prope ripas etiamtum vagabantur, duplici impedimento adstricti, quod ducum dissimulatione perniciosa nec victui congruis sunt adjuti, & tenebantur consulto nefandis nudandi commerciis. Quo intellecto, ad perfidiam instantium malorum subsidium vertendi mussabant: & Lupicinus ne jam deficerent pertimescens, eos admotis militi-

Spot, prov'd a very acceptable Booty, at that Time, when they had no Chance left, but to purſue the War with Vigour. The *Greuthungi*, to whom the Paſſage had before been refuſed, found, in the mean Time, an Opportunity of croſſing the *Danube*, on Floats; the *Romans* not having their Poſts ſufficiently beſet (2); and *Fritigernus* began to form a Deſign of joining them, in Caſe of Neceſſity. There were, beſides theſe, two other *Gothick* Generals, *Sueridus* and *Colias*, with a Body of Men, ſtation'd near *Adrianople*, who were probably intended to be employed in the War with the *Perſians*: Theſe Troops had begun to prepare for their Winter-Quarters, when they received the

militibus adigebat ocius proficiſci. Id tempus opportunum nacti Greuthungi, cum alibi militibus occupatis, navigia ultro citroque diſcurrere ſolita tranſgreſſum eorum prohibentia quieſcere proſpexiſſent, ratibus tranſire male contextis, caſtraque a Fritigerno locavere longiſſime. At ille genuina prævidendi ſollertia venturos muniens caſus, ut & imperiis obediret & regibus validis jungeretur, incedens ſegnius, Marcianopolim tarde pervenit itineribus lentis. Ubi aliud acceſſit atrocius, quod arſuras in commune exitium faces furiales accendit. Alavivo & Fritigerno ad convivium corrogatis, Lupicinus ab oppidi mœnibus barbaram plebem oppoſito milite procul arcebat introire ad comparanda victui neceſſaria, ut ditioni noſtræ obnoxiam & concordem, per preces aſſidue poſtulantem: ortiſque majoribus jurgiis inter habitatores & vetitos, aduſque neceſſitatem pugnandi eſt ventum. Efferatique acrius barbari, cum neceſſitudines hoſtiliter rapi ſentirent, ſpoliarunt interfectam militum manum. Quod accidens idem Lupicinus latenti nuntio doctus, dum in nepotali menſa ludicris concrepantibus diu diſcumbens vino marcebat & ſomno: futuri conjiciens exitum, ſatellites omnes, qui pro prætorio, honoris & tutelæ cauſa, duces præſtolabantur, occidit. Hocque populus, qui muros obſidebat, dolenter accepto, ad vindictam detentorum regum, ut opinabatur, paullatim augeſcens, multa minabatur, & fæva. Utque erat Fritigernus expediti conſilii, veritus, ne teneretur obſidis vice cum ceteris, exclamavit graviore pugnandum exitio, ni ipſe ad leniendum vulgus ſineretur exire cum ſociis: quod arbitratum humanitatis ſpecie ductores ſuos occiſos, in tumultum exarſit. Hocque impetrato egreſſi omnes, exceptique cum plauſu & gaudiis, aſcenſis equis evolarunt, moturi incitamenta diverſa bellorum. Hæc ubi fama rumorum nutrix maligna diſperſit, urebatur dimicandi ſtudio Theruingorum natio omnis: & inter metuenda multa, periculorumque prævia maximorum, vexillis de more ſublatis, auditiſque triſte ſonantibus claſſicis, jam turmæ prædatoriæ concurſabant, pilando villas & incendendo, vaſtiſque cladibus quidquid inveniri poterat permiſcentes. Adverſus quos Lupicinus, properatione tumultuaria coactis militibus, temere magis quam conſulte progreſſus, in nono ab urbe miliario ſtetit paratus ad decernendum. Barbarique hoc contemplato, globos irrupere noſtrorum incautos, & parmas ſuppoſitis corporibus illidendo obvios haſtis perforabant, & gladiis: furoreque urgente cruento, & tribuni & pleraque pars armatorum periere ſignis ereptis; præter ducem infauſtum, qui ad id ſolum intentus, ut confligentibus aliis proriperet ipſe ſemet in fugam, urbem curſu concito petiit. Poſt quæ hoſtes, armis induti Romanis, nullo vetante per varia graſſabantur.

(2) MARCELLINUS, *Lib. cit. c.* 5. Id tempus opportunum nacti Greuthungi, cum alibi militibus occupatis, navigia ultra citraque diſcurrere ſolita, tranſgreſſum eorum prohibentia quieſcere proſpexiſſent, ratibus tranſiere male contextis, caſtraque a Fritigerno locavere longiſſime, &c.

Emperor's Command, to march towards the *Helleſpont*: But when they inſiſted upon two Days delay, and made a Demand of the City, of ſome Proviſions for their March, the Inhabitants, whoſe Eſtates had already greatly ſuffer'd by their being quarter'd upon them, ventur'd to ſally out, in Order to drive them away by Force: But the *Goths* gave them ſo warm a Reception, that very few return'd unhurt; and the Booty they made on this Occaſion, was a large Quantity of *Roman* Arms; they having before only had their Shields, Spears and Swords. *Fritigernus*, quickly after, approaching with his Army, theſe *Goths* join'd him, and put him upon beſieging *Adrianople* (3): But he ſoon found, that the *Goths* were Strangers to Sieges; and therefore repreſented to his Men, that it was not adviſable to make War with Walls and Stones, when the open Country gave them ſo fair a Proſpect of furniſhing themſelves with Neceſſaries. He therefore raiſed the Siege, and, with his Troops, over-ſpread the adjacent Territories, where they were joined, by many of their Country-Men, whom they themſelves had before, and ſome of them very lately, ſold as Slaves. Theſe, and many others, who aſſociated themſelves to them, gave them an Inſight into many Things: They had particularly the Advantage of a great Number of Workers in the Mines, who, as they could no longer ſubſiſt, by their Labour, now undertook to diſcover to them every Foot-Path in the Mountains of *Thrace* (4).

A pitch'd Battle between the *Goths* and *Romans*.

§ XX. *VALENS* received this melancholy News at *Antioch*, and thereby ſaw all his Deſigns fruſtrated. Inſtead of making War with the *Perſians*, he now ſent his General *Victor* to treat with them, in the beſt Manner he could: And, thinking it neceſſary to return himſelf to *Conſtantinople*, he immediately order'd two other Generals, *Profuturus*

(3) IDEM, *L. c. cap. 6. init.*

(4) IDEM, *c. 6. p. 485.* In qua difficultate diutius poſiti, paſſim & promiſcue ruebant: eminenſque aliquorum audacia peribat inulta, multique ſagittis & rotatis per fundas lapidibus interibant. Tunc Fritigernus fruſtra cum tot cladibus conluctari homines ignaros obſidendi contemplans, relicta ibi manu ſufficiente, abire negotio imperfecto ſuaſit, pacem ſibi eſſe cum parietibus memorans, ſuadenſque ut populandas opimas regiones & uberes abſque diſcrimine ullo, vacuas præſidiis etiamtum adorirentur. Laudato regis conſilio, quem cogitatorum norant fore ſocium efficacem, per Thraciarum latus omne diſperſi caute gradiebantur, dedititiis vel captivis vicos uberes oſtendentibus, eos præcipue, ubi alimentorum reperiri ſatietas dicebatur, eo maxime adjumento præter genuinam erecti fiduciam quod confluebat ad eos in dies ex eadem gente multitudo, dudum a mercatoribus venumdati, adjectis plurimis, quos primo tranſitu necati inedia, vino exili, vel panis fruſtis mutavere viliſſimis. Quibus acceſſere ſequendarum auri venarum periti non pauci, vectigalium perferre poſſe non ſufficientes ſarcinas graves: ſuſceptique libenti conſenſione cunctorum, magno uſui iiſdem fuere ignota peragrantibus loca conditoria frugum occulta & latebras hominum & receptacula ſecretiora monſtrando. Nec quicquam niſi inacceſſum & devium, præeuntibus iiſdem manſit intactum.

and

and *Trajan*, to keep the Enemy at Bay, 'till he could follow. *Gratian*, on his Part, not only order'd *Frigerid*, who commanded in *Illyricum*, to march to the Aſſiſtance of the *Eaſt*; but likewiſe ſent the valiant *Richomer*, who, with *Mallobaudes*, a King of the *Franks*, commanded the *Prætorian* Band, and was himſelf ſuppoſed to be a Prince of the *Franks*, with a Body of Troops thither (1). *Frigerid*, for his Part, excuſed himſelf with the Pretence of a Fit of the Gout; and *Richomer* had, thereupon, the Command of all the auxiliary Troops conferr'd upon him. He joined *Valens*'s Generals near *Salices* (2), a City in *Scythia Minor*, not far from *Tomos*. The main Army of the *Goths*, which lay at a ſmall Diſtance from thence, entrench'd amidſt their Carriages, cauſed thoſe Troops, which were diſperſed about the Country, to join them by Degrees, 'till they thought themſelves of Force enough to attack the *Romans*; whereupon a bloody Battle enſued (3),

§ XX. (1) MARCELLINUS, *Lib.* 31. *c.* 7. Hi numeri nondum experti, quid cum deſperatione rabies valeret indomita, truſo hoſte ultra Æmi montis abſciſos ſcopulos, faucibus inſedere præruptis, uti barbaros locis incluſos, nuſquam reperientes exitum diuturna conſumeret fames, & opperirentur ipſi Frigeridum ducem, cum Pannonicis, & tranſalpinis auxiliis adventantem, quem petitu Valentis Gratianus ire diſpoſuit in procinctum, laturum ſuppetias iis, qui ad ultimum vexabantur exitium. Poſt quem Richomeres, domeſticorum tunc comes, imperatu ejuſdem Gratiani motus e Galliis, properavit ad Thracias, ductans cohortes aliquas nominetenus: quarum pars pleraque deſeruerat, (ut jactavere quidam) Merobaudis ſuaſu, veriti ne deſtitutæ adminiculis Galliæ vaſtarentur licenter Rheno perrupto. Verum articulorum dolore Frigeridо præpedito, vel certe ut obtrectatores finxere malevoli, morbum cauſante, ne ferventibus prœliis intereſſet, univerſos regens ex communi ſententia Richomeres Profuturo ſociatur, & Trajano, tendentibus prope oppidum Salices, &c.

(2) *A City in* Scythia, *ſituate between* Tomos *and* Salmuris. *v.* Valeſius *ad h. l.* Marcellini,

(3) *In* Marcellinus's *Deſcription of this Battle*, L. 31. c. 7. *we meet with ſeveral Circumſtances, which may ſerve to illuſtrate the military Hiſtory of the* Goths. Richomeres Profuturo ſociatur & Trajano, tendentibus prope oppidum Salices: unde haud longo ſpatio ſeparatum vulgus in æſtimabile barbarorum, ad orbis rotundi figuram multitudine digeſta plauſtrorum, tanquam intramuranis cohibitum ſpatiis, otio fruebatur & ubertate prædarum. Prævia igitur ſpe meliorum Romani duces, ſi fors copiam attuliſſet auſuri aliquid glorioſum, Gothos quidquid molirentur ſagaciter obſervabant: id ſcilicet præſtruentes, ut ſi aliorſum caſtra moviſſent, quod fecere creberrime, terga ultimorum adorti plures perfoderent confiſi, magnamque ſpoliorum averterent partem. Hoc intellecto hoſtes, vel transfugarum indiciis docti, per quos nihil latebat incognitum, in eodem loco diu manſerunt: ſed oppoſiti exercitus metu præſtricti, aliorumque militum quos affluere jam ſperabant: teſſara data gentili, per diverſa prope diffuſas accivere vaſtatorias manus: quæ (juſſis) optimatum acceptis, ſtatim ut incenſi malleoli, ad carraginem (quam ita ipſi appellant) aliti velocitate regreſſæ, incentivum audendi majora popularibus addiderunt. Nihil poſt hæc inter partes præter inducias laxatum eſt breves. Reverſis enim his quos neceſſitas evocarat, plebs omnis intra ſeptorum ambitum etiamtum contruſa, immaniter fremens, animiſque

which laſted 'till Night parted them. But the Loſs ſeems to have been the greateſt on the Side of the *Romans* (4); who retreated to *Marcianople*, while the *Goths* return'd to their Entrenchment of Carriages. The former ſecured all the Paſſes into the Province of *Hæmimont*, and cauſed all their Proviſions to be convey'd into the fortified Cities; in Hopes, that, as the *Goths* were yet unexperienc'd in Sieges, and the Country between the *Danube* and the Mountains was laid waſte, a Famine would conſume the Enemy's Army, and thereby effect what their Arms had miſcarried in.

The *Goths* force the Paſſes of Mount *Hæmus*, and over-run *Thrace*.

§ XXI. The *Goths* made ſeveral Attempts to break thro'; but were vigorouſly repulſed; and, at Length, call'd to their Aſſiſtance ſome Troops of *Hunns* and *Alani*, whoſe Thirſt after Booty could not be ſatiated in the *Gothick* Territories. The General, *Saturninus*, whom

que concita truculentis, experiri poſtrema diſcrimina, nec principibus gentis qui aderant, renuentibus, cruditate feſtinabat. Et quoniam hæc ſole agebantur extremo, noxque adventans ad quietem invitos retinebat & mæſtos, capto per otium cibo ſomni manſerunt expertes. Contra Romani his cognitis, ipſi quoque exſomnes verebantur hoſtes, & male ſanos eorum ductores ut rabidas feras: eventum licet ancipitem, ut numero ſatis inferiores, proſperum tamen ob juſtiorem ſui cauſam mentibus expectantes impavidis. Candente itaque protinus die, ſigno ad arma capienda ex utraque parte per lituos dato, barbari poſtquam inter eos ex more juratum eſt, tumuloſos locos appetere tentaverunt: quo exinde per proclive rotarum modo obvios impetu convoluerent acriore. Hocque viſo ad ſuos quiſque manipulos properans miles, ſtabili gradu conſiſtens nec vagabatur, nec relictis ordinibus præcurſabat. Ergo ubi utrimque acies cautius incedentes greſſu ſteterunt immobili, torvitate muta bellatores luminibus ſe contuebantur obliquis. Et Romani quidem voce undique Martia concinentes, a minore ſolita ad majorem protolli, quam gentilitate appellant barritum, vires validas erigebant. Barbari vero majorum laudes clamoribus ſtridebant inconditis: interque varios ſermonis diſſoni ſtrepitus leviora prœlia tentabantur. Jamque verutis & ſimilibus aliis utrimque ſemet eminus laceſſentes, ad conferendas coiere minaciter manus: & ſcutis in teſtudinum formam coagmentatis, pes cum pede collatus eſt. Barbarique ut reparabiles ſemper & celeres, ingentes clavas in noſtros conjicientes ambuſtas, mucroneſque acrius reſiſtentium pectoribus illidentes, ſiniſtrum cornu perrumpunt: quod inclinatum ſubſidialis robuſtiſſimus globus, e propinquo latere fortiter excitus, hærente jam morte cervicibus ſuſtentavit. Fervente igitur denſis cædibus prœlio, in confertos quiſque promptior ruens, ritu grandinis undique volitantibus telis oppetebat & gladiis: & ſequebantur equites hinc inde fugientibus occipitia lacertis ingentibus præcidentes & terga: itidemque altrinſecus pedites lapſorum timore impeditorum, ſecando ſuffragines. Et cum omnia cæſorum corporibus opplerentur, jacebant inter eos quidam ſemianimes ſpem vitæ inaniter uſurpando; alii glande fundis excuſſa, vel harundinibus armatis ferro confixi: quorundam capita per medium frontis & verticis mucrone diſtincta, in utrumque humerum magno cum horrore pendebant. Et pertinaci certatione nondum laſſatæ, æquo Marte partes ſemet altrinſecus afflictabant: nec de rigore genuino quiſquam remittebat, dum vires animorum alacritas excitaret. Diremit tamen interneciva certamina cedens veſpero dies: & cunctis qua quiſque potuit incompoſite diſcedentibus, reſidui omnes repetunt tentoria triſtiores.

(4) *Conf.* Theodoreti *hiſt. eccleſ. L.* 4. *c.* 29.

Valens

Valens had, in the mean Time, ſent to the Aſſiſtance of *Profuturus* and *Trajan*, and of whom we ſhall, in the Sequel, make farther Mention, thereupon retreated, not thinking himſelf in a Condition, in the long Run, to reſiſt ſo infinite a Number. Whereupon, the *Goths* broke in like a reſiſtleſs Torrent, which, when it has once thrown down the Dams, overflows a whole Country, and carries away whatever oppoſes its Force. At *Deultum*, a *Roman* Colony on the River *Panyſus* (1), they fell in with an Army of *Roman* Infantry, which they cut in Pieces (2), and over-run the Plains of *Thrace*, as far as Mount *Rhodope*, and the *Streights* (3).

§ XXII. THEY reſolved, thereupon, to attack *Frigerid*, who was in *Thrace*, near *Beræa*. The latter, finding himſelf too weak to encounter them, retreated, in Time, to *Illyricum*, and, by the Way, found, unexpectedly, an Opportunity of clearing himſelf from the Imputation of having been, 'till then, an idle Spectator. He fell in with the *Oſtro-Gothick* Prince *Farnobius* (1), who had drawn over to his Party the *Taifali*, they having taken the Opportunity of the *Romans* not being in a Condition to beſet the *Danube*, to paſs that River unmoleſted. *Farnobius*, with ſome others of their Chiefs, were killed on the Spot: The Reſt were forced to yield themſelves Priſoners, and were ſent by *Frigerid* to *Italy*, into the Countries about *Parma*, *Modena* and *Reggio*, to till the Ground. Thus *Italy* admitted one Colony after another, of thoſe Nations, who ſoon after became its Maſters (2).

Frigerid defeats the Gothick Prince Farnobius, and the Taifali.

§ XXI. (1) COLONIA FLAVIA PACENSIS DEULTUM. *The Place is likewiſe ſometimes named* Develtus. Marcellinus *calls it* Dibaltum, vetus Romanorum ad Panyſum amnem colonia. *The River* Panyſus *diſcharges itſelf above* Meſembria *into the* Black Sea.

(2) MARCELLINUS *Lib. cit. c.* 8. *p.* 489. Barbari tamen, velut diffractis caveis beſtiæ, per ſpatiorum amplitudines fuſius incitati, oppidum petivere nomine Dibaltum, ubi tribunum ſcutariorum Barzimerem inventum cum ſuis, cornutiſque, & aliis peditum numeris, caſtra ponentem adſiliunt, eruditum pulvere militari rectorem. Qui confeſtim (ut adigebat neceſſitas inſtantis exitii) juſſa canere bellicum tuba, lateribus firmatis, prærupit cum promptis adcinctis ad prœlium: fortiterque reſiſtendo pari pugnandi ſorte diſceſſiſſet, ni eum equitum adcurſus complurium anhelum circumveniſſet & feſſum. Et ita cecidit interfectis barbarorum non paucis, quorum clades copiarum magnitudo celabat.

(3) IBIDEM.

§ XXII. (1) *See above*, § 17.

(2) MARCELLINUS, *L.* 31. *c.* 9. *p.* 489. Repedando enim, congregatoſque in cuneos ſenſim progrediens, Gothorum optimatem, Farnobium, cum vaſtatoriis globis vagantem licentius occupavit, ducentemque Taifalos nuper in ſocietatem adhibitos: qui, ſi dignum eſt dici, noſtris ignotarum gentium terrore diſperſis, tranſiere flumen, direpturi vacua defenſoribus loca. Eorum catervis ſubito viſis, certare comminus dux cautiſſimus parans, adortuſque nationis utriuſque graſſatores, minantes etiamtum acerba, trucidaſſet omnes ad unum, ut ne nuntius quidem cladis poſt appareret, ni cum aliis multis perempto Farnobio, metuendo antehac incenſore turbarum, obteſtatus prece impenſa ſuperſtitibus peperciſſet: vivoſque omnes circa Mutinam, Regiumque & Parmam Italica oppida, rura culturos exterminavit.

§ XXIII.

Gratian's War with the Lenticenſes.

§ XXIII. WHEN the Report of this *Gothick* War, and of *Gratian*'s Preparation to go to the Aſſiſtance of his Kinſman, reached the Ears of the *Alemanni*, the *Lenticenſes*, who border'd on *Rætia*, and are already known by the Wars between them and *Conſtantius*, fell into *Gaul*, in *Febr.* A. 378, when the *Rhine*, being covered with Ice, gave them a free Paſſage. They then, by Degrees, induc'd more of their Country-Men to join them; 'till they conſiſted of 40,000, or as ſome ſay, 70,000 Men. But *Gratian* ſent Count *Nannienus*, of whom Mention is made above, with *Mallobaudes*, the valiant King of the *Franks*, who was, at the ſame Time, *Comes Domeſticorum*, againſt them. They fell upon the *Alemanni*, near *Argentaria*, which, according to *Cluverius*, is the preſent *Colmar*, in *Alſace*; but others ſuppoſe it to be *Arburg*, of which there are now no Remains but Heaps of Ruins (1). The *Roman* Army carried the Day, and *Gratian*, thereupon, paſs'd the *Rhine* himſelf, in Hopes of extirpating the Nation of the *Lenticenſes*, and then to march, with more Security, to the *Eaſt*: But they retreated into their inacceſſible Mountains, where *Gratian*, in vain, endeavoured to purſue them, and, therefore, concluded a Peace, on Condition of their delivering up to him a certain Number of their

§ XXIII. (1) MARCELLINUS, L. 31. cap. 10. p. 490. *relates the Battle at large.* Quibus Gratianus cum formidine magna compertis, revocatis cohortibus, quas præmiſerat in Pannonias, convocatiſque aliis, quas in Galliis retinuerat diſpoſitio prudens, Nannieno negotium dedit, virtutis ſobriæ duci: eique Mallobaudem junxit, pari poteſtate collegam, domeſticorum comitem, regemque Francorum virum bellicoſum & fortem. Nannieno igitur penſante fortunarum verſabiles caſus, ideoque cunctandum eſſe cenſente; Mallobaudes alta pugnandi cupiditate raptatus, ut conſueverat, ire in hoſtem differendi impatiens angebatur. Proinde horrifico adverſum fragore terrente, primum apud Argentariam, ſigno per cornicines dato, concurri eſt cœptum: ſagittarum verutorumque miſſilium pulſibus crebriores hinc inde ſternebantur. Sed in ipſo prœliorum ardore, infinita hoſtium multitudine milites viſa, vitanteſque aperta diſcrimina, per colles conſitas arboribus & anguſtas, ut quiſque potuit diſperſi, paullo poſtea ſtetere fidentius: & ſplendore conſimili, proculque nitore fulgentes armorum, imperatorii adventus injecere barbaris metum. Qui repente verſi in terga, reſiſtenteſque interdum, ne quid ultimæ rationis omitterent, ita ſunt cæſi, ut ex prædicto numero non plus quam quinque millia, ut æſtimabatur, evaderent, denſitate nemorum tecta: inter complures alios audaces & fortes rege quoque PRIARIO interfecto, exitialium concitore pugnarum. Velſerus *and* Lindenbrogius ad h. l. *imagine, that inſtead of* Priarius *muſt be read* Priamus: *and ſuppoſe this to be the Prince of the* Franks, *of whom* Proſper *writes in his Chronicle* ad A. IV. Gratiani. Priamus quidam regnat in Francia, quantum altius colligere potuimus. *But it ſeems improbable, that a King of the* Franks *ſhould be now in ſo ſtrict Alliance with the* Lenticenſes, *who were at ſuch a Diſtance, as to be, in a Manner, one Nation. When, therefore, we read* Priamus *in* Proſper, *we might ſooner ſuppoſe, that he confounds the* Franks *with the* Alemanni, *and means the ſame Prince, whom* Marcellinus *calls* Priarius.

young

young Men (2). *Gratian* could now proceed without Interruption on his March to the *Eaſt* (3). *Frigeridus*, in the mean Time, had enough to do, in *Illyricum*, to ſecure the Paſs, which ſeparated *Illyricum* from *Gratian*'s Dominions, againſt any Attempts of the *Goths*. *Gratian* wrote to the Emperor *Valens*, that he was upon the Point of his Departure; and he accordingly broke up ſoon after, and march'd, by the

(2) IBID. *p.* 490. Hac læti ſucceſſus fiducia Gratianus erectus, jamque ad partes tendens Eoas, lævorſus flexo itinere, latenter Rheno tranſito, ſpe incitatior bona, univerſam (ſi id tentanti ſors affuiſſet) delere ſtatuit malefidam, & turbarum avidam gentem. Hocque urgentibus aliis ſuper alios nuntiis cognito, Lenticenſes ærumnis populi ſui ad internecionem pæne deleti, & repentino principis adventu defixi, quid capeſſerent ambigentes, cum neque repugnandi, neque agendi aliquid, aut moliendi laxamentum poſſent invenire vel breve, impetu celeri obſeſſos petiverunt inviis cautibus colles: abruptiſque per ambitum rupibus inſiſtentes, rebus caritatibuſque ſuis, quas ſecum duxerant, omni virium robore propugnabant. Qua difficultate perpenſa, velut murorum obicibus opponendi per legiones ſingulas quingenteni leguntur armati, uſu prudenter bellandi comperti. Qui ea re animorum aucta fiducia, quod verſari inter anteſignanos viſebatur acriter princeps, montes ſcandere nitebantur, tanquam venaticias prædas, ſi calcaſſent editiora, confeſtim ſine certamine ullo rapturi; exorſumque prœlium vergente in meridiem die, tenebræ quoque occupavere nocturnæ. Quippe magno utriuſque partis pugnabatur exitio: cædebant cadebantque noſtrorum non pauci: ſimul arma imperatorii comitatus auro colorumque micantia claritudine, jaculatione ponderum denſa confringebantur. Etenim diu reputante Gratiano cum optimatibus, pernicioſum apparebat & irritum contra aſperitates aggerum prominentium intempeſtiva contendere pertinacia: multis (ut in tali negotio) variatis ſententiis, otioſo milite circumvallari placuit barbaros, fœdia fatigatos, quia locorum iniquitate detinebantur. Verum cum obſtinatiore ſimili renitentes Germani peritique regionum perſtiterint alios montes, his quos ante inſederant altiores: converſus illuc cum exercitu imperator, eadem qua antea fortitudine ſemitas ducentes ad ardua quæritabat. Quem Lenticenſes intentum jugulis ſuis omni perſeverandi ſtudio contemplantes, poſt deditionem, quam impetravere ſupplici prece, oblata (ut præceptum eſt juventute valida noſtris tirociniis permiſcenda, ad genitales terras innoxii ire permiſſi ſunt.

(3) THEMISTIUS *in orat.* 13. *p.* 179. *B.* At certe Scipio cum aſſertum a vinculis Terentium Carthagine adduceret, jucundius eſt a vetuſtis illis Romanis conſpectus: atque hæc triumphi maxime ſplendida & magnifica pars fuit, vir Romanus illuſtris, Scipionem in libertatis pileo aſſectans. At Gratianum ſolenni pompa ingredientem, quantum agmen eorum, qui ſervati & ſoluti ſunt, ſine pileo, aut alia libertatis nota ſequetur? Ego vero ſanctiorem hunc triumphum exiſtimo, quem de iis, quos ſervaverit & cuſtodierit, ducet. Petavius, *in his Annotations*, p. 466, *ſuppoſes* Gratian *to have come to* Rome *in that Year, and that* Themiſtius *here boaſts before-hand, of the Entry he made. But* Pagius, ad A. 377. n. 17. *differs from him, and is of Opinion, that, after the Victory,* Gratian *celebrated his Triumph at* Triers: THEMISTIUS itaque loquitur de ingreſſu Gratiani in urbem Trevirenſem, poſt victoriam Alamannicam hoc anno reportatam, de quo anno ſequenti agemus. Poſt pugnam enim Argentuarenſem, ſeu victoriam, Treveros reverſus eſt: ubi data ab eo XV. kal Octob. lex 3. Cod. Theodoſ. Tributa in ipſis ſpeciebus. *But from* Themiſtius's *Oration, which was ſpoken after* Theodoſius's *Acceſſion to the Imperial Throne, it appears, that he did not deſcribe a real Triumph, but, as an Orator, only ſhewed how ſplendid a Triumph was due to* Gratian, *if he ſhould come to* Rome: *And he urges the* Romans *to invite him and* Theodoſius *thither.*

Way

Way of *Rætia* and *Noricum*, to *Sirmium*, from whence he went down the *Danube* as far as *Castrum Martis*. On this last March, the *Alani* ventur'd to attack him; but were repell'd with Loss (4).

Valens is defeated by the *Goths*, near *Adrianople*.

§ XXIV. *VALENS*, in the mean Time, arrived in *Europe*, A. 378, and being dissatisfied with the Conduct of his Generals, deprived *Trajan* of the Command of the Infantry, and gave it to *Sebastian*, who, being an experienced Commander, he had desired him of *Gratian*, and he resolved, besides this, to go himself to the Field. The *Goths*, therefore, hastned back from the Countries about Mount *Rhodope*, with a great Booty, in Order to join their Country-men, who were at *Beræa* and *Nicopolis* (1). *Sebastian* fell in with a Party of them, on the River *Hebro*, not far from *Adrianople*, and re-took all their Booty. *Fritigernus*, therefore, took the more Pains to draw his Men into a Body, and encamped near *Calybe*, in a Plain, where he could be better furnished with Provisions, and was not in so much Danger of falling into Ambushes (2). When the *Goths*, thereupon, approached *Nice* (3),

(4) MARCELLINUS, *L.* 31. *c.* 10. *p.* 492. Dispositis igitur quæ pro temporum captu per Gallias res rationesque poscebant, & punito scutario proditore, qui festinare principem ad Illyricum barbaris indicarat: Gratianus exinde digressus, per castra, quibus Felicis-Arboris nomen est, per Lauriacum ad opitulandum oppressæ parti porrectis itineribus ire tendebat. Iisdemque diebus Frigerido multa atque utilia pro securitate communi sollertissime cogitanti, munireque properanti Succorum angustias, ne discursatores hostes & leves, tanquam exæstuantes vi torrentes per septentrionales provincias fusius vagarentur; successor Maurus nomine mittitur comes, venalis ferociæ specie, & ad cuncta mobilis & incertus. *And cap.* 11. *p.* 493. Dum hæc aguntur in Thraciis, Gratianus docto litteris patruo, qua industria superaverit Alamannos, pedestri itinere: præmissis impedimentis & sarcinis, ipse cum expeditiore militum manu permeato Danubio, delatus Bononiam, Sirmium introiit: & quatriduum ibi moratus, per idem flumen ad Martis Castra descendit, febribus intervallatis afflictus; in quo tractu Alanorum impetu repentino tentatus, amisit sequentium paucos.

§ XXIV (1) MARCELLINUS, *L.* 31. *c.* 11. *p.* 493. Unde cum itinere edicto per tesseram Nicen veniisset, quæ statio ita cognominatur, relatione speculatorum didicit, refertos opima barbaros præda, a Rhodopeis tractibus prope Hadrianopolim revertisse: qui motu imperatoris, cum abundanti milite cognito, popularibus jungere festinant, circa Berœam, & Nicopolin, ingentibus præsidiis fixis.

(2) IBID. Qua causa percitus Fritigernus, & extimescens, ne dux, ut sæpe audierat, impetrabilis dispersos licenter suorum globos raptuique intentos consumeret, improvisos adoriens: revocatis omnibus prope Cabylen oppidum cito discessit, ut agentes in regionibus patulis nec inedia, nec occultis vexarentur insidiis.

(3) IDEM *L.* 31. *c.* 12. Triduoque proximo cum barbari gradu incederent leni, & metuentes eruptionem per devia, quindecim millibus passuum a civitate discreti stationem peterent Nicen: incertum quo errore pro cursatoribus omnem illam multitudinis partem quam viderant, in numero decem millium esse firmantibus: imperator procaci quodam calore perculsus iisdem occurrere festinabat. Proinde agmine quadrato incedens prope suburbanum Hadrianopoleos venit: ubi vallo sudibus fossaque firmato, Gratianum impatienter opperiens, Richomerem comitem domesticorum suscepit, ab eodem imperatore præmissum cum litteris, ipsum quoque venturum mox indicantibus.

the

the Emperor broke up to encounter them, and encamped near *Adrianople*, intending to wait for *Gratian*. Thither *Richomer* likewiſe came, with Aſſurances, that the Emperor, his Maſter, would ſoon follow him. *Victor*, a *Sarmatian* by Birth, and General of the Cavalry, adviſed to wait his Coming: But *Sebaſtian*, encouraged by the Advantage he had lately obtained over the *Goths*, repreſented the Victory as ſo eaſy to the Emperor, that he reſolved to have the Honour of it himſelf, and the rather, as he envied his Kinſman the Glory, he had acquired in the *Alemannick* War. When every Thing was ready for the March, an Ambaſſy came to Court from *Fritigernus*, at the Head of which was a *Chriſtian* Prieſt, his peculiar Favourite: This Divine deliver'd a Letter, in which the *Gothick* Prince excuſed his Incurſions, by the Neceſſity he had been reduced to thro' the Proceedings of the *Roman* Generals, and again promiſed, at the ſame Time, that he, together with his Subjects, would be faithful and obedient to the Emperor, if they might have Leave to ſettle in *Thrace*. But this Offer was little regarded, and the Emperor broke up, nevertheleſs, on the 9th of *Auguſt*, left his Treaſures, and the greater Part of his Retinue behind him, at *Adrianople*, and the Ammunition and Proviſion, with a ſufficient Garriſon, under the Walls of that City. They had march'd but 8 *Roman* Miles, when they began to hear the Cry of the *Goths*, and, thereupon, placed themſelves in Order of Battle. *Fritigernus*, who would gladly have avoided an Engagement, or, at leaſt, have gained Time 'till he could join the *Greuthungi*, once more ſued for an Accommodation. Theſe laſt Ambaſſadors muſt have made better Propoſals than the former; for *Valens* ſo far complied, that he deſired the Chiefs of the *Goths* might come to him in Perſon, as he could treat more ſecurely with them, and, if they came to any Agreement, it might be immediately ratified. *Fritigernus*, hereupon, ſent an Herald, with a Meſſage, that the *Goths* conſented to this, if they would deliver certain Hoſtages for the Security of their Perſons. *Richomer* had already offer'd himſelf for one; when, during theſe Negociations, a Company of *Roman* Archers fell upon the *Goths*, who, ſeing the Cavalry they expected, under the Command of *Alatheus* and *Saphrax*, together with a Body of *Alani*, coming with Precipitation down from the Hills, engag'd without farther Reflection. *Amm. Marcellinus* deſcribes the Battle that enſued; in which the *Romans* met with ſuch an Overthrow, as, in his Opinion, they had not undergone ſince their unhappy Fate *ad Cannas* (4). *Valens* loſt his Life in

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(4) *That Relation informs us, among other Particulars, that there were* Batavian *Auxiliaries in this Battle, and that* Richomer *and* Saturninus *eſcaped. The Words,* l. c. cap. 13. *are:*

the Battle; but we find no certain Circumſtances how he came by his Death.

The *Goths*, in vain, attempt to take *Adrianople*.

§ XXV. THE Conquerors immediately made an Attempt on *Adrianople*; but were obliged, as *Fritigernus* foretold them, to raiſe the Siege,

are: Cumque arma ex latere omni concuterentur & tela, lituoſque Bellona luctuoſos inflaret, in clades Romanas ſolito immanius furens; cedentes noſtri multis interclamantibus reſtiterunt: & prœlium flammarum ritu creſcens terrebat militum animos, confixis quibuſdam rotatis ictibus jaculorum & ſagittarum. Deinde colliſæ in modum roſtrorum navium acies, trudenteſque ſe viciſſim, undarum ſpecie motibus ſunt reciprocis jactitatæ. Et quia ſiniſtrum cornu aduſque plauſtra ipſa acceſſit, ultra (ſi qui tuliſſent ſuppetias) proceſſurum: a reliquo equitatu deſertum, multitudine hoſtili urgente, ſicut ruina aggeris magni oppreſſum atque dejectum eſt: ſteterunt improtecti pedites, ita concatervatis manipulis, ut vix mucronem exerere, aut manus reducere quiſquam poſſet. Nec jam objectu pulveris cœlum patere potuit ad proſpectum, clamoribus reſultans horrificis. Qua cauſa tela undique mortem vibrantia, deſtinata cadebant & noxia, quod nec prævideri poterant nec caveri. Verum ubi effuſi immenſis agminibus barbari, jumenta conterebant & viros, & neque ad receptum confertis ordinibus laxari uſquam poterat locus, & evadendi copiam conſtipatio denſior adimebat: noſtri quoque ultimo cadendi contemptu occurſantes receptis gladiis obtruncabant, & mutuis ſecurium ictibus galeæ perfringebantur atque loricæ. Videreque licebat celſum ferocia barbarum, genis ſtridore conſtrictis, ſucciſo poplite aut abſciſſa ferro dextera, vel confoſſo latere, inter ipſa quoque mortis confinia minaciter circumferentem oculos truces: ruinaque confligentium mutua, ac humo corporibus ſtratis, campi peremptis impleti ſunt: & morientium gemitus, profundiſque vulneribus transfixorum, cum timore audiebantur ingenti. In hoc tanto tamque confuſæ rei tumultu exhauſti labore & periculis pedites, cum deinceps neque vires illis, neque mentes ſuppeterent ad conſilium, diffractis haſtarum pleriſque colliſione aſſidua, gladiis contenti deſtrictis in confertas hoſtium turmas mergebant ſe, ſalutis immemores, circumſpectantes, ademptum eſſe omne evadendi ſuffragium. Et quia humus, rivis operta ſanguineis, greſſus habiles evertebat, conabantur modis omnibus vitam impendere non inultam: adeo magno animorum robore oppoſiti incumbentibus, ut etiam telis quidam propriis interirent. Atra denique cruoris facie omnia conturbante, & quocunque ſe inflexerant oculi acervis cæſorum aggeſtis, exanimata cadavera ſine parcimonia calcabantur. Solque ſublimior, decurſo leone, ad domicilium cæleſtis virginis tranſiens, Romanos magis attenuatos inedia, ſitique confectos etiam armorum gravantibus ſarcinis exurebat. At ultimum incumbente barbarorum pondere acies inclinatæ noſtrorum, quod ſolum poſtremis malis habuere ſubſidium, incondite (qua quiſque poterat) vertuntur in pedes. Dumque omnes diſperſi per ignotos tramites cedunt, imperator diris pavoribus circumſæptus, paullatimque inſiliens funerum moles, ad Lancearios confugit & Mattiarios: qui, dum multitudo tolerabatur hoſtilis, fixis corporibus ſteterant inconcuſſi. Eoque viſo Trajanus exclamat, ſpem omnem abſumptam, ni deſertus ab armigeris princeps ſaltem adventicio tegeretur auxilio. Hocque audito Victor nomine comes, BATAVOS in ſubſidiis locatos haud procul ad imperatoris præſidium raptim cogere properans, cum invenire neminem poſſet, gradiens retro diſceſſit: parique modo Richomeres periculo ſemet exemit, & Saturninus. Sequebantur itaque furore ex oculis lucente barbari noſtros, jam linquente venarum calore torpentes: quorum aliqui percuſſoribus cadebant incertis, nonnulli ponderibus ſolis urgentium obruti, ictuque ſuorum aliqui trucidati: nec enim ſæpe renitentibus cedebatur, aut parcebat cedentibus quiſquam.

Super

Siege, for Want of neceſſary Arms and Ammunition (1): And this Inexperience in the Art of War ſeems to have been one of the principal Reaſons, why the *Goths*, and other *German* Nations, could not keep Poſſeſſion of the Countries they conquer'd. They marched to *Perinthus*, but, finding that Place likewiſe too well fortified, ravag'd only the adjacent Country. They, nevertheleſs, thought it, ſoon after, poſſible to ſurprize *Conſtantinople*: But they found the City much better provided for than they expected, and the Inhumanity of the *Saracens*, who then lay in that City, is ſaid, in particular, to have deterr'd them from their Deſign: For when they made a Sally on a Party of *Goths*, a *Saracen*, taking one of them Priſoner, cut his Throat alive, and ſuck'd the warm Blood from the Wound (2). This horrid Cru-

elty,

Super his obſtruebant itinera jacentes multi ſemineces, cruciatus vulnerum non ferentes: cum quibus aggeres quoque equorum conſtrati cadaveribus campos implerunt. Diremit hæc nunquam penſabilia damna (quæ magno rebus ſtetere Romanis) nullo ſplendore lunari nox fulgens.

§ XXV. (1) *The Siege is deſcribed by* Marcellinus, *l. c. cap.* 15. *p.* 501. Omni itaque bellandi apparatu præſtructo, adventante vigilia tertia, barbari abolito præteritorum vulnerum metu, in urbis obſeratos aditus multiplicatis ordinibus inundarunt, & obſtinatione magnatium majore. At cum armatis provinciales & palatini ad obruendos eos excitatius exſurgebant: & cujuſquemodi tela, in multitudine tanta vel temere miſſa, cadere ſine noxa non poterant. Animadverſum eſt a noſtris, iiſdem telis barbaros uti, quibus petebantur. Ideoque mandatum eſt, ut nervis ferrum lignumque connectentibus ante jactum inciſis, emitterentur arcu ſagittæ: quæ volitantes vires integras inſervabant: infixæ vero corporibus, nihil vigoris perdebant, aut certe ſi cecidiſſent in vanum, illico frangebantur. Dedit autem rebus ita flagrantibus grave momentum caſus admodum inopinus. Scorpio, genus tormenti, quem onagrum ſermo vulgaris appellat, e regione contra hoſtium aciem denſam locatus, lapidem contorſit ingentem: qui licet humo fruſtra illiſus eſt, viſus tamen ita eos exanimavit, ut, ſtupore ſpectaculi novi cedentes, e medio abire tentarent. Sed bucinis optimatum monitu occinentibus, inſtauratum eſt prœlium: & pari modo res Romana ſuperior ſtetit, nullo ferme alio telo, vel fundatoris amento incaſſum excuſſo. Agmina enim præeuntium ductorum, quos rapiendi Valentis malis lucubrationibus quæſita cupiditas incendebat, ſecuti cæteri præ ſe ferebant, æquiparaſſe diſcrimina potiorum, namque ſemineces aliqui, aut magnis obtriti ponderibus, vel confixi jaculis pectora volvebantur: nonnulli ſcalas vehendo, adſcenſumque in muros ex latere omni parantes, ſub oneribns ipſis obruebantur, contruſis per pronum ſaxis, & columnarum fragmentis & cylindris. Nec quemquam furentium cruoris horrenda ſpecies ad ſerum uſque diem ab alacritate faciendi fortiter avertebat: hoc incitante, quod etiam defenſorum plurimos cadere diverſis ictibus videntes eminus lætabantur. Ita ſine requie ulla vel modo pro mœnibus & contra mœnia ingentibus animis pugnabatur. Et quia nullo ordine jam, ſed per præcurſus pugnabatur & globos, quod deſperationis erat ſignum extremæ, flexo in veſperam die digreſſi omnes rediere ad tentoria triſtes, inconſideratæ dementiæ alter alterum arguentes, quod non ut ſuaſerat antea Fritigernus, obſidionales ærumnas ubique declinarunt.

(2) IDEM, *L. c. cap.* 16, *p.* 502. Unde Conſtantinopolim, copiarum cumulis inhiantes ampliſſimis, formas quadratorum agminum inſidiarum metu ſervantes, ire ocius feſtinabant, multa in exitium urbis inclitæ

moli-

elty, which was ſtill practis'd among the *Saracens*, even in the Time of the *Croiſades* (3), appear'd ſhocking to the *Goths* and *Alani*, however barbarous they themſelves are ſaid to have been in War. They made themſelves Maſters of the Paſs into *Illyricum*, and over-run thoſe Provinces, as far as the *Julian* or *Venetian Alps*, which ſeparated them from *Italy* (4). The *Romans* ſuffer'd every where ſo greatly by theſe Incurſions, as to occaſion a Proverb, that as the *Goths* could not withſtand the *Hunns*, ſo the *Romans* were incapable of oppoſing the *Goths* (5). The *Sarmatæ*, *Marcomanni* and *Quadi* were not idle, on this Occaſion, but likewiſe paſſed the *Danube*; and thereupon enſued that terrible Devaſtation of thoſe Provinces, of which St. *Jerom* gives an Account (6); and which appear'd ſo frightful to St. *Ambroſius*, that he

moliturі. Quos inſerentes ſeſe immodice, obiceſque portarum pæne pulſantes, hoc caſu cœleſte repulit numen. Saracenorum cuneus, (ſuper quorum origine moribuſque diverſis in locis retulimus plura) ad ſortem magis expeditionalium rerum, quam ad concurſatorias habilis pugnas, recens illuc accerſitus, congreſſurus, barbarorum globo repente conſpecto, a civitate fidenter erupit: diuque extento certamine pertinaci, æquis partes diſceſſere momentis. Sed orientalis turma novo neque ante viſo ſuperavit eventu. Ex ea enim crinitus quidam, nudus omnia præter pubem, ſubraucum & lugubre ſtrepens, educto pugione agmini ſe medio Gothorum inſeruit, & interfecti hoſtis jugulo labra admovit, effuſumque cruorem exſuxit. Quo monſtroſo miraculo barbari territi, poſtea non ferocientes ex more, cum agendum appeterent aliquid, ſed ambiguis greſſibus incedebant.

(3) Lamb. Schafnab. *ad A.* 1065. *Ubi de epiſcopis aliquot Germaniæ, in peregrinatione Hieroſolymitana a Sarazenis in villa quadam obſeſſis, ſcribit:* Dux Arabum ait, ſe omnibus, quæ haberent ſublatis, carnes eorum comeſturum, & ſanguinem bibiturum. Marianus Scotus *ad eundem A. de Gunthero epiſcopo Babenbergenſi:* Epiſcopus vero per interpretem ait: quid mihi facies? Et ille (*dux Arabum*) iſtum pulchrum ſanguinem gutturis tui ſugam, & ſuſpendam te ſicut canem ante caſtellum.

(4) Marcellinus, *l. c.* Proceſſu dein audacia fracta, cum murorum ambitum inſularumque ſpatiis immenſis oblongum, & inacceſſas pulchritudines urbis, & incolentium plebem conſiderarent immenſam, juxtaque fretum, quod pontum diſterminat & Ægeum: diſjectis bellorum officinis quas parabant, poſt accepta majora funera quam illata, exinde digreſſi ſunt effuſorie per Arctoas provincias: quas peragravere licenter aduſque radices Alpium Juliarum, quas Venetas appellabat antiquitas.

(5) Eunapius, *p.* 21, *A.* Neque Hunnorum nomen Scythas, neque Romanos Scytharum ferre.

(6) Hieronymus, *epiſt.* 95. *which is ſuppos'd to have been written in the Year* 396, Horret animus temporum noſtrorum ruinas perſequi. Viginti & eo amplius anni ſunt, quod inter Conſtantinopolim & Alpes Julias quotidie Romanus ſanguis effunditur: Scythiam, Thraciam, Macedoniam, Dardaniam, Daciam, Theſſaliam, Achaiam, Dalmatiam, cunctaſque Pannonias Gothus, Sarmata, Quadus, Alanus, Hunni, Wandali, Marcomanni vaſtant, trahunt, rapiunt. Quot matronæ, quot virgines dei, & ingenua nobiliaque corpora his belluis fuere ludibrio! Capti epiſcopi, presbyteri interfecti ſunt. Subverſæ eccleſiæ, ad altaria Chriſti ſtabulati equi, martyrum exfoſſæ reliquiæ, ubique gemitus, & plurima mortis imago. Romanus orbis ruit, & tamen cervix noſtra erecta non flectitur.

repre-

represented them to the *Christians*, as Indications of the approaching Dissolution of the World (7).

§ XXVI. BEFORE this bloody Scene broke out in *Thrace*, many of the *Goths* had taken Refuge into *Asia*, or were sent thither, and dispersed in those Parts, by the Emperor. *Julius*, General of those Troops which lay beyond Mount *Taurus*, fear'd lest these might now likewise become seditious, or join their Country-Men, if they should invade *Asia*, as they had done in former Times. There had been, from the Beginning, the Precaution taken, of putting them under *Roman* Officers: And to these Officers *Julius* issued private Orders, to massacre all the *Goths*, who were under their Command, on one Day (1). This was immediately executed, which did, perhaps, save *Asia* at that Time, but so incensed the *Goths*, that they revenged the Death of their Country-Men in a more sensible Manner, in other Places, and, from that Time, discover'd a more than ordinary Diffidence, in all their Negotiations with the *Romans*.

Massacre of the *Goths* in *Asia*.

§ XXVII. BUT the Devastation would have been much greater (1), had not *Gratian* been in the Neighbourhood. He took Compassion of the distress'd Provinces, as far as the Overthrow, and the Terror which it had occasion'd, would permit him; and to this must be referr'd what *Ausonius* says of his Exploits against the *Goths*, *Alani* and *Hunns*

Gratian endeavours to withstand the *Goths*, *Alani*, and *Hunns*. Declares *Theodosius* Emperor in the *East*.

(7) AMBROSIUS, *commentar. in evangel. Lucæ*, L. 10. *p.* 202. Verborum autem cœlestium nulli magis quam nos testes sumus, quos mundi finis invenit. Quanta enim prælia, & quas opiniones accipimus prœliorum! Hunni in Alanos, Alani in Gothos, Gothi in Thaifalos & Sarmatas insurrexerunt. Nos quoque in Illyrico exules patria Gothorum exilia fecerunt, & nondum est finis. Quæ omnium fames, lues pariter boum atque hominum cæterique pecoris, ut etiam nos, qui bellum non pertulimus, debellatis tamen pares fecerit pestilentia. Ergo quia in occasu sæculi sumus, præcedunt quædam ægritudines mundi. *He soon after proceeds*: Prædicetur evangelium, ut sæculum destruatur. Sicut enim præcessit in orbem terræ evangelii prædicatio, cui jam & Gothi & Armenii crediderunt, & ideo mundi finem videmus.

§ XXVI. (1) MARCEL. *l. c. p.* 503. His diebus efficacia Julii magistri militiæ trans Taurum enituit salutaris & velox. Comperta enim fatorum sorte per Thracias, Gothos antea susceptos, dispersosque per varias civitates & castra, datis tectioribus litteris ad eorum rectores Romanos omnes, quod his temporibus raro contingit, universos, tanquam vexillo erecto, uno eodemque die mandavit occidi, exspectatione promissi stipendii securos ad suburbana productos. Quo consilio prudenti sine strepitu vel mora completo, orientales provinciæ discriminibus ereptæ sunt magnis. Zosimus *relates this Proceeding with Circumstances somewhat different*, L. 4. c. 26. *and, at the same Time, makes it appear, that this happen'd at the Beginning of* Theodosius's *Reign.*

§ XXVII. (1) THEMISTIUS *represents this Calamity in a very lively Manner, orat.* 16 *ad Theodos. de pace, p.* 206. D. Nam post inexplicabilem illam apud Istrum malorum Iliadem,

Hunns (2): But as his own Dominions were not ſpared, and the *Eaſt* required an Emperor alone, who might govern, and go to the Field in Perſon; and his Brother *Valentinian* being yet too young; he pitch'd upon *Theodoſius*, whom he had, juſt before, recall'd from *Spain*, dignified him, in the Beginning of the Year 379, on the 19th of *January*, with the Title of *Auguſtus* (3), and put him in Poſſeſſion, not only of thoſe Provinces, which appertain'd before to the *Eaſt*, but a Part of the adjacent *Illyricum*; which gave Riſe to the *Illyricum Orientale*. He endeavour'd, thereupon, to eſtabliſh Peace in thoſe Countries which he had retained for his own Share; and *Theodoſius*, who had before acquired great Renown, by ſeveral ſucceſsful Exploits, encreaſed that Fame by a victorious Battle with the *Goths* (4). Whereupon, a Peace, indeed,

dem, poſtque deplorandam iſtius incendii vaſtitatem, cum nondum Romanis rebus præeſſet imperator, direpta Thracia, & Illyrico, ac totis funditus inſtar umbræ deletis exercitibus, cumque nec impervia montium juga, nec impenetrabiles propter altitudinem fluvii, nec aſperrimi anguſtorum itinerum calles hoſtem aditu prohiberent: ac poſtremo tota propemodum adverſus barbaros in unum terra & mare coiiſſet, atque illos circa utrinque circumſiderent Celtæ, Aſſyrii, Armeni, Afri, Iberi, quotquot ab extremis finibus ad extremos Romanum propugnant imperium, &c.

(2) AUSONII *edyllium* 8, *which bears the Title of* Auſonii coſ, deſignati, prid. kal. Januarii faſcibus ſumtis, *and was, conſequently, compos'd,* A. 378, *on the laſt of* November, *when, on the following Day, he was to enter upon the Conſulſhip, for the Year* 379, *contains the following Verſes relating to this Hiſtory:*

Jane, veni; novus anne, veni: renovate veni ſol
Hoſtibus edomitis, qua Francia mixta Suevis.
Certat ad obſequium, Latiis ut militet armis:
Qua vaga Sauromatas ſibi jünxerat agmina Chuni,
Quaque Getes ſociis, Hiſtrum adſultabat Alanis.
Hoc mihi præpetibus victoria nuntiat alis.
Jam venit Auguſtus, noſtros ut comat honores.
Officio exornans, quos participare cupiſſet.

(3) AUR. VICTOR, *epit. c.* 47. Hic cum animadvertiſſet, Thraciam Daciamque tanquam genitales terras poſſidentibus Gothis, Taifalis, atque omni pernicie atrocioribus Hunnis, & Alanis, extremum periculum inſtare nomini Romano; accito ab Hiſpania Theodoſio, cunctis faventibus, agenti annum a triceſimo tertium, imperium committit.

(4) ZOSIMUS, *L.* 4. *c.* 24. *p.* 399. Rebus ad ſpem minutiſſimam redactis, dux equitatus Romani Victor, e periculo cum nonnullis equitibus elapſus, quum in Macedoniam Theſſaliamque contendiſſet, atque inde ad Myſos & Pannonias excurriſſet; Gratiano (in iis locis commoranti rem uti accidiſſet, nuntiat: itemque tam exercitus quam imperatoris interitum. Ille non admodum mœſto patrui cædem animo tulit, quod inter eos ſuſpicio quædam intercederet. Sed quia videbat, ſe rebus adminiſtrandis non ſufficere, Thracia quidem a barbaris qui eam invaſerant, occupata: Myſiæ vero Pannoniæque locis, ab hærentibus ibidem barbaris, vexatis: Rhenanis denique nationibus urbes, citra cujuſquam impedimentum, infeſtantibus: imperii conſortem Theodoſium deligit, oriundum ex oppido Hiſpanicæ Callæciæ Cauca, hominem bellicoſum

deed enſued, but was of ſhort Duration. For when *Theodoſius* was, ſoon after, dangerouſly ill at *Theſſalonica*, and *Gratian* had enough to do, in *Gaul*, *Fritigernus* form'd the Deſign of ravaging *Theſſalia*, *Epirus* and *Achaia*; and the two *Oſtro-Gothick* Princes, *Alatheus* and *Saphrax*, invaded *Pannonia* (5). *Gratian* ſent two renowned *Franconian* Generals, *Bauto* and *Arbogaſtes*, to the *Eaſt*, (6) to aſſiſt *Theodoſius* in repelling the Enemy, and they afterwards became famed in Hiſtory.

ſum & imperii militaris haud ignarum. Hoc Thraciæ rebus & orienti præfecto, ipſe ad occidentales Gallos tendit; ut eorum locorum res, ſi poſſet, componeret. *Theſe Circumſtances are likewiſe confirmed by other Hiſtorians.* Socrates, *L.* 5. *c.* 6. Per illud tempus, ubi Gratianus & Theodoſius victoriam contra barbaros reportaverant, Gratianus extemplo propterea in Galliam profectus eſt, quod Germani fuerant ejus regionis agros depopulati. Theodoſius autem poſt erecta trophæa, Conſtantinopolim ire maturans, Theſſalonicam pervenit. Ibi in morbum incidens, cupiebat baptiſmo donari. Sozomenus, *L.* 8. *c.* 4. Sub hoc tempus Gratianus, Alemannis Galatas occidentales adhuc infeſtantibus, ad paternam imperii ſortem reverſus eſt, quam ipſi, fratrique ipſius gubernandam reliquerat, cum prius Illyricos, & orientis imperium Theodoſio commiſiſſet. Res autem illi ex voto contra Alemannos, ut & Theodoſio contra Iſtrum accolentes barbaros confecta eſt. Illos enim bello ſubegit, hos in amicitiam populi Romani ſupplices recepit: a quibus acceptis obſidibus firmata pace, Theſſalonicam venit. Ibi morbo correptus, cum per Aſcholium ejus urbis epiſcopum fidei myſteria edoctus eſſet, Chriſto initiatus fuit & convaluit. *That Circumſtance, in particular, of* Gaul's *being endanger'd, is moreover confirmed in* Latini Pacati Panegyricus, c. 11. *where the Orator introduces the* Roman Empire, *as addreſſing* Theodoſius, *at the ſame Time, when* Gratian *nominated him Emperor, in this Manner*: Perdidi infortunata Pannonias, lugeo funus Illyrici: ſpecto excidium Galliarum. Principum ſenior in tanta bella non ſufficit: alter etſi futurus ſit aliquando fortiſſimus, adhuc tamen parvus eſt. *The Advantages gained by* Theodoſius *over the* Goths, *in the Year* 379, *are mention'd by* Idatius, in faſtis ad h. a. Ipſo illo anno multa bella Romani cum Gothis commiſerunt. Deinde victoriæ nuntiatæ ſunt adverſus Gothos, Alanos atque Hunnos die XV. kal, Decembris.

(5) JORNAND. *c.* 27. *p.* 205. Sed Theodoſio principe pæne tunc uſque ad deſperationem ægrotante, datur iterum Gothis audacia, diviſoque exercitu, Fridigernus ad Theſſaliam prædandam, Epiros, & Achaiam digreſſus eſt: Alatheus vero & Safrach cum reſiduis copiis Pannoniam petierunt. Quod quum Gratianus imperator, qui tunc Roma in Gallias ob incurſionem Wandalorum receſſerat, comperiſſet, quia Theodoſio fatali deſperatione ſuccumbente, Gothi magis ſævirent, mox ad eos collecto venit exercitu, nec tamen fretus in armis, ſed gratia eos muneribuſque victurus, pacemque, & victualia illis concedens, cum ipſis inito fœdere fecit. Ubi vero poſt hæc, Theodoſius convaluit imperator reperitque Gratianum cum Gothis & Romanis pepigiſſe fœdus, quod ipſe optaverat, admodum grato animo ferens, & ipſe in hac pace conſiſtit. Zoſimus *relates theſe very Incurſions of the* Gothick *Princes more circumſtantially*, L. 4. c. 25, & ſequ.

(6) ZOSIMUS, *L.* 4. *c.* 33. Erant ambo genere Franci, amiciſſimis in Romanos animis, ab avaritia, doniſque captandis prorſus immunes, in bellicis rebus prudentia pariter ac robore præſtantes.

§ XXVIII.

A Treaty with the *Goths.*

§ XXVIII. BUT it would be difficult to obſerve an exact Order in relating the Circumſtances of this War (1). We only find, that *Theodoſius*, before he came, *A.* 380, in the Month of *November*, to *Conſtantinople*, defeated a Part of the *Goths*, and drove them back over the *Danube*, and admitted others on certain Terms: For his Entrance into the Capitol is a Kind of Triumph over the *Goths*, and, as it were, the Beginning of a Tranquility in the State, and a Security to the Church, which had ſo long groaned under the Oppreſſion of the *Arians*, in the *Eaſt* (2). Whilſt he was thus occupied with the *Goths*, *Gratian* ſeems, on his Part, to have appeas'd the *Alani* and *Hunns*, who, as well as the *Goths*, had been making ſome Attempts; and having aſſign'd them a certain Diſtrict, ſomewhere in *Pannonia* (3), to have reſtored Peace in *Gaul*, likewiſe (4).

§ XXIX.

§. XXVIII. (1) *Beſides what has been mentioned in the preceding* Sect. *of* Theodoſius's *firſt Exploits againſt the* Goths, *it appears likewiſe, from* Sidonius Apollinaris's carmen Panegyricum in Majorianum, *that the ſame Emperor's Grand-Father commanded at that Time under* Theodoſius, *and was ſucceſsful againſt the* Goths, *carm.* 5. *v.* 107.

Fertur, Pannoniæ qua Martia pollet Acincus
Illyricum rexiſſe ſolum, cum tractibus Iſtri
Hujus avus. Nam Teudoſius quo tempore Sirmi
Auguſtum ſumſit nomen, per utramque magiſtrum
Militiam, ad partes regni venturus Eoas
Majorianum habuit.

Alaric, *on the other Hand, diſtinguiſhed himſelf even then among the* Gothick *Commanders, as is obſerved in the following Book.*

(2) GREGORIUS NAZIANZENUS *ſays, that* Theodoſius *beat the* Goths, *before he came, the firſt Time, to* Conſtantinople, *as Emperor.* in carmine de vita ſua, *p.* 10.

——— dum ſtatu nos hoc ſumus
En imperator nobis advenit repens
Terra ex Macedna, Marte domitis barbaris.
Stimularat ingens quos manus & ingens furor.

MARCELLINUS, *in chr. p.* 20. Gratiano auguſto V. & Theodoſio aug. coſſ. Nam his coſſ. Theodoſius M, poſtquam de Scythicis gentibus triumphavit, expulſis continuo ab orthodoxorum eccleſia Arianis, qui eam per XL ferme annos ſub Arianis imperatoribus tentaverant, noſtris catholicis orthodoxus reſtituit imperator eam menſe Decembri.

(3) MARQ. FREHERUS, in originibus palantis, P. 2. c. 10. *is of Opinion, that he aſſign'd to the* Hunns *that Diſtrict on the* Rhine, *which is ſtill call'd* Hundſrück: *He refers to the following Paſſage in* Auſonius's Moſella:

Tranſieram celerem nebuloſo flumine Navam:
Unde iter ingrediens nemoroſa per avia ſolum
Et nulla humani ſpectans veſtigia cultus
Prætereo arentem ſitientibus undique terris
Dumniſſum, riguaſque perenni fonte tabernas
Arvaque Sauromatum nuper metata colonis.

Put

§ XXIX. I OBSERVED before, that the *Gothick* Prince *Athanaric*, notwithstanding the Irruption of the *Hunns*, stood his Ground, on the other Side of the *Danube*. But, about the Year 380, he was drove away by some other *Goths*, problaby those who, by Virtue of the Peace concluded with the *Romans*, were oblig'd to go back over that River. Necessity now made him forget the Pretence, he had formerly made, for not passing the *Danube*, to the Emperor *Valens*. He had Recourse to *Theodosius*, who concluded an advantageous Treaty with him, by Virtue of which he repaired to *Constantinople*. He arrived there in the Beginning of the Year 381 (1), and, together with his Retinue, was received very graciously by *Theodosius*. He was himself almost astonish'd, when he saw, in that City, the external Tokens of the Power of the Empire, how the *Goths* had been able to do so much against it; but he died a few Days afterwards, and the Emperor honour'd him with a pompous Funeral, at which he himself walk'd before the Corpse. How great the Renown of this Prince must have been, we may conclude not only from *Zozimus* (2), *Jornandes* (3),

Athanaric comes to Constantinople. A Peace concluded with the Goths.

But it is Matter of Doubt, whether by Coloni Sauromatum *the* Hunns *are understood:* Ausonius, *otherwise, always distinguishes them, as in* Edyll. 8.

Qua vaga Sauromates sibi junxerat agmina Chuni
Quaque Getes sociis Histrum assultabat Alanis:

And, Epigr. 1.

Arma inter Chunosque vagos furtoque nocentes
Sauromatas.

(4) *See the Quotations from* Zosimus, Socrates, *and* Sozomenus, *in the preceding* Sect. not. 4.

§. XXIX. (1) d. 11. Jan. *Mons. de* Tillemont *mentions the Time of his Arrival, and the Circumstances of his Death*; not. 9. ad vit. Theodosii.

(2) ZOSIMUS, *L.* 4. *c.* 34. Dum hæc Theodosius ageret, Gratianus imperator ad legiones Illyrici ducem mittit Vitalianum, hominem, qui rebus fatiscentibus nequaquam sufficere posset. Hoc ducis munus administrante, duo Germanicarum trans Rhenum nationum agmina, quorum alterum ducem Fritigernum habebat, alterum sub Alatheo & Safrace militabat, dum Celticas gentes premunt; Gratianum imperatorem eo compulerunt, ut ipsis, modo regiones Celticas reliquissent, Istro transjecto, Pannoniæ Mysiæque superioris adeundæ potestatem faceret. Hoc enim studiose agebat, ut horum irruptione continua liberaretur. Quum igitur ob hæc illi navigatione per Istrum instituta, transire per Pannoniam in Epirum, & Achelao transmisso, Græcas adgredi civitates cogitarent: prius commeatus sibi copiam comparandam, & Athanarichum totius regii Scytharum generis principem, longe removendum arbitrabantur; ne quem haberent a tergo, qui conatum ipsorum impediret. Hunc igitur adorti, nullo labore locis iis, in quibus erat, expulerunt. At is celeriter ad Theodosium se contulit, non ita pridem morbo liberatum, qui spem de vita dubiam fecerat. Theodosius hominem cum barbaris comitibus amanter excipit, spatium

non

(3),and other Hiſtorians (4),who obſerve this as a memorable Occurrence, and from *Themiſtius* (5), who mentions it as one of the moſt glorious

non exiguum extra Conſtantinopolim obviam ei progreſſus. Quumque non multo poſt extinctus fuiſſet, regia ſepultura mortuum terra mandavit. Et tantam ſane magnificentiam adhibuit, ut tam ſuperbo funere barbaris omnibus obſtupefactis, Scythæ domum redirent, nec Romanos amplius infeſtarent, bonitatem principis admirati: quotquot autem cum rege vita defuncto venerant, cuſtodiendæ ripæ fluminis intenti, diu, quo minus incurſionibus Romani vexarentur, impedirent. *Some Circumſtances of this Relation are, indeed, dubious; but it is neverthelefs evident, that* Fritigernus, Alatheus *and* Safrax, *muſt be here underſtood. Now, ſince* Marcellinus, L. 27. c. 5. *ſays of* Athanaricus, Valens Conſtantinopolim rediit, ubi poſtea Athanaricus proximorum factione genitalibus terris expulſus, fatali ſorte deceſſit, &, ambitioſis obſequiis, ritu ſepultus eſt noſtro: *It is poſſible, that the* Gothick *Princes, mentioned by* Zoſimus, *or one of them, is meant by the Words* proximorum factione.

(3) JORNANDES, *c.* 28. Athanaricum quoque regem, qui tunc Fritigerno ſucceſſerat, datis ſibi muneribus ſociavit moribus ſuis benigniſſimis, & ad ſe eum in Conſtantinopolim accedere invitavit. Qui omnino libenter acquieſcens, regiam urbem ingreſſus eſt, miranſque: En, inquit, cerno quod ſæpe incredulus audiebam, famam videlicet tantæ urbis, & huc illuc oculos volens, nunc ſitum urbis, commeatumque navium, nunc mœnia clara proſpectu miratur, populoſque diverſarum gentium, quaſi fonte in uno e diverſis partibus ſcaturiente unda, ſic quoque militem adornatum aſpiciens: Deus, inquit, ſine dubio terrenus eſt imperator, & quiſquis adverſus eum manum moverit, ipſe ſui ſanguinis reus exiſtit. In tali ergo admiratione, majoreque a principe honore ſuffultus, paucis menſibus interjectis, ab hac luce migravit. Quem princeps affectionis gratia pæne plus mortuum, quam vivum honorans, digne tradidit ſepulturæ: ipſe quoque in exequiis feretro ejus præiens. Defuncto ergo Athanarico, cunctus exercitus in ſervitio Theodoſii imperatoris perdurans, Romano ſe imperio ſubdens, cum milite velut unum corpus efficit, militiaque illa dudum ſub Conſtantio principe fœderatorum renovata, & ipſi dicti ſunt fœderati. E quibus imperator contra Eugenium tyrannum, qui occiſo Gratiano Gallias occupaſſet, plus quam XX millia armatorum, fideles ſibi, & amicos intelligens ſecum duxit, victoriaque de prædicto tyranno potitus, ultionem exegit. *The Relations of* Zoſimus *and* Jornandes *vary, indeed, in Regard to the Circumſtance, why* Athanaric *quitted his Country: But we follow* Zoſimus, *becauſe he agrees with what has been cited from* Marcellinus, Ambroſius, *and* Themiſtius.

(4) IDATIUS, *in faſtis SYAGRIO & EUCHERIO COSS.* His conſulibus ingreſſus eſt Athanaricus rex Gothorum Conſtantinopolim die III. idus Januar. Eodem menſe diem functus idem Athanaricus VIII. kal. Febr. *The Chronicle ſays:* Athanaricus rex Gothorum apud Conſtantinopolim decimo quinto die, ex quo a Theodoſio fuerat ſuſceptus, interiit. *Chronic.* Marcellini: Athanaricus rex Gothorum, cum quo Theodoſius imperator fœdus pepigerat, Conſtantinopolim menſe Januario venit, eodemque menſe morbo periit. *The other Hiſtorians are all of the ſame Opinion: And* Tillemont *obſerves,* not. 8. *and* 9. ad vit. Valentiniani, *the Errors, that are crept in.*

(5) THEMISTIUS *orat.* 15. *p.* 190. *C.* Quo fit, ut nemo, ſolo tui conſpectu, omnem ex animo metum non excutiat. Quamobrem cui inter hoſtes hactenus vel ipſa erant ſuſpecta fœdera, ut nec menſæ particeps præ ſuſpicione auderet eſſe, ſine ferro & armis accedit ultro, & ad nutum ſe tuum offerre paratum non dubitat: certus, non pro hoſte tractandum eſſe ſe, ſed itidem ut Porum Indorum regem adhibuit Alexander,aut Artaxerxes Athenienſem Themiſtoclem, aut Romani Afrum Maſſaniſſam. Itaque quos armis vincere non potuimus, eos fide tua, ac ſponte excitos, conciliatos habemus. Et quemadmodum a magnete lapide attrahuntur ultro ramenta ferrea: ſic ipſe ſine labore

rious Incidents of *Theodoſius*'s Reign; but even from St. *Ambroſius* (6), who extols it as a Token, that the Wrath of God was appeas'd. The kind Reception the Emperor gave *Athanaric*, and the Offers he made the *Goths* by *Saturninus*, his General, occaſion'd them, more and more, to ſubmit: Whence the entire Pacification of the *Goths* is ſuppos'd to have been in the Year 382. *Themiſtius*'s congratulatory Oration to the Emperor, on that Occaſion, in which he likewiſe extols *Saturninus*, who obtained the Conſulſhip for the next enſuing Year is yet extant (7). The *Goths* themſelves had a Habitation aſſign'd them in *Moæſia* and *Dacia Ripenſis*. Some have, indeed, reproach'd *Theodoſius*, with having admited too many Foreigners into the *Roman* Dominions (8): But *Themiſtius* acknowledges, that it would not have been ſo eaſy a Matter to ſubdue the *Goths*; and extols it as an Artifice, by which the Emperor converted Enemies into Friends and Subjects (9): And other Hiſtorians agree in this, that the *Roman*

bore ac prœlio Getarum attraxiſti regulum, (δυναςεύη) & ſuperbus ille quondam, ac timidus, ſponte ad te venit, ac ſupplex regiam civitatem ingreditur: cujus ad placandum parentem maximus ille Conſtantinus ſtatuam olim erexerat, quæ poſt curiam adhuc collocata cernitur.

(6) AMBROSIUS *de ſpiritu ſancto, L.* 1. *in pr. p.* 214. Tu nobis, domine Jeſu! hodie mille mundaſti. Quantos in urbe Roma, quantos Alexandriæ, quantos Antiochiæ, quantos etiam Conſtantinopoli? Nam etiam Conſtantinopolis jam dei verbum recepit, & evidentia meruit tui documenta judicii: Etenim quamdiu venena Arianorum ſuis fovebat incluſa viſceribus, bellis finitimis inquieta, murus armis circumſonabat hoſtilibus. Poſtea vero quam fidei exules abdicavit, hoſtem ipſum, judicem regum, quem ſemper timere conſueverat, deditum vidit, ſupplicem recepit, morientem obruit, ſepultum poſſidet.

(7) *Conf.* THEMISTII *oratio* 16. *gratulatoria ad imperatorem, de pace & de conſulatu Saturnini ducis.*

(8) SYNESIUS *openly blames* Theodoſius *for his Oration, on the good Diſpoſition of the Government, which he afterwards addreſs'd to the Emperor* Arcadius, *p.* 25. *C.* Quibus de cauſis cum parenti tuo adverſus eos cum armis profecto pœnas dependiſſent, confeſtim miſeri ac ſupplices cum uxoribus conſidebant. Ille vero bene victor, miſericordia longe inferior erat. Supplices itaque ſurgere juſſos in belli ſocietatem ac civitatis recepit; magiſtratuumque participes fecit, ac Romani agri non nihil iſtis reipubl. peſtibus aſſignavit; vir indolis magnificentiam & generoſitatem ad manſuetudinem, clementiamque convertens. Verum barbari ſenſum virtutis minime capiunt. Inde enim exorſi in hunc uſque diem nos derident, ſibi ipſis eorum conſcii, tam quæ de nobis meriti eſſent, quam quibus ſunt a nobis affecti. Ejus rei fama finitimis quoque illorum aditum ad nos patefecit, & ex peregrinis equeſtres aliquot ſagittarii, relicta patria, ad homines nimium faciles proficiſcuntur, comiter ac benigne excipi ſeſe poſtulantes, atque in exemplum ſibi nequiores illos propoſitos habentes. Ita, ut ad eam, quam vulgus vocat, perſuaſionem cum neceſſitate conjunctam malum ipſum progredi videatur. Philoſophiæ enim non multum de nominibus pugnandum, quæ adminiſtras ſententiarum ſuarum voces requirit, licet eas ex ima fæce populi, ad res explicandas, dilucidas, ac conſentaneas corrogare neceſſe ſit.

(9) ZOSIMUS, *L.* 4. *c.* 30. Quum autem Theodoſius imperator admodum deminutos exercitus animadverteret, Tranſiſtrianis barbaris ad ſe veniendi, quicunque vellent, poteſtatem fecit, &c.

Armies were almoſt exhauſted, and that it was neceſſary to furniſh the State with Soldiers, in this Manner (10). The ancient *Romans* had frequently, with great Advantage, admitted their Enemies to be their Fellow Citizens, and knew how to turn thoſe Counſels, and that Valour, which had before oppoſed *Rome*, to her Benefit: But as they would not now go ſo far with the *Goths*, it ſeems, indeed, as if it would have been more adviſeable, to diſperſe and intermix them with the Army, or at leaſt to put them under the Command of *Roman* Officers. And here the *Roman* Empire became ſenſible how fatal the Conſequences were of a Breach of publick Faith; and it has already been obſerved by others, that, as the *Goths*, knowing by Experience, how little they could confide in the *Romans*, made it an expreſs Article of their Agreement, that they would remain together, and be commanded by their own Chiefs (11). Of theſe *Goths*, the Emperor form'd a Body of above 20,000 Men, in like manner, as *Conſtantine*, the *Great*, had done before him (12): And as theſe are the very *Goths*, who afterwards made ſo great a Figure under *Alaric*, it is evident that all theſe Things are chiefly to be underſtood of the *Wiſi-Goths*. Now, tho' the formidable Power of the *Gothick* Empire met with ſuch a Shock; yet not only the *Oſtro-Goths*, in a great Meaſure, ſupported themſelves. as a Seperate People, in the Midſt of thoſe Nations, who

(10) Themistius *orat.* 16. *p.* 211. At ecce odioſiſſimum illud Scytharum nomen quam gratum modo eſt, quamque modo jucundum! quam modo & familiare! ſolemnem ecce illius in honorem ducis, a quo magno ſuo commodo victi ſunt, indictam celebritatem nobiſcum frequentant, ac reportato de ſe triumpho, feſtivam hilariter una peragunt. Quod ſi non omnes occidione deleti ſunt, minime eſt ægre ferendum. Nam quæ perſuaſione ac clementia obtinentur victoriæ, tales ſunt, ut eos, qui moleſti fuerunt, non interimant, ſed meliores efficiant. Fingamus enim facile id nobis fuiſſe, illos e medio tollere, potuiſſeque nos quidquid libitum eſſet ita iis facere, nihil ut ab ipſis viciſſim pateremur. Quamquam ſi ex iis, quæ ſæpius evenerunt, conjicere oportet, non erant iſta conſentanea nec veriſimilia, verum, uti dixi, demus hoc in noſtra ſitum eſſe poteſtate, utrum nam melius fuit mortuis replere Thraciam, an agrorum cultoribus? Sepulchris refertam an hominibus reddere? eandem ſitu ſqualidam, ac deſertam, an excultam peragrare? cæſos in ea, an aratores numerare? Phrygas aut Bithynos, ſi res ita ferret, eo tranſportare, an victos a nobis ad habitandum ibi conſtituere? Equidem ab iis audio, qui inde veniunt, gladiorum illos ac loricarum ferrum in ligones falceſque conflare; & Martem e longinquo ſalutantes Cereri Bacchoque ſupplicare.

(11) Tillemont, *p.* 489. Mais il y a aſſez ſujet de croire, que ces barbares, qui connoiſſoient l'avarice, l'injuſtice, les violences, & l'infidelité des officiers Romains, refuſerent abſolument de ſe mettre a leur diſcretion, & ne voulurent conſentir a la paix, qu'a condition de demeurer toujours unis enſemble.

(12) Jornandes, *l. c. in not.* 3.

were

were before ſubject to them, as we ſhall ſee, in *Attila*'s Time; but ſome *Wiſi-Goths* ſeem likewiſe to have kept their Ground in their former Habitations (13): Which, if other Circumſtances, related of them, would concur, might ſerve to confirm the Conjecture of thoſe, who imagine the *Germans* in *Tranſylvania* to be a Reſidue of the *Goths* (14).

§ XXX. BUT as all the Nations beyond the *Danube*, from the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni* to the uttermoſt Borders of *Scythia*, were rouzed, by this Fate of the *Goths* (1), and one Nation was continually exciting another, we need not wonder, that the Fame, partly of the Irruption of the *Goths* into the *Roman* Provinces, and partly of their Convention with *Theodoſius*, ſtirr'd up other Nations to the like Attempts. But the Event did not anſwer their Wiſhes: For *Zoſimus* ſays (2), that the Emperor oblig'd a Swarm of *Northern* Nations, who were led by the *Scyrri*, of whom we ſhall take further Notice below, to retire, with great Loſs, over the *Danube*. In the Year 486, ſome *Oſtro-Gothick* Nations made a freſh Attempt. *Idatius* obſerves only briefly, that the *Greuthungi* were overcome, and that *Theodoſius*, together with *Arcadius*, held a Triumph, on the 12th of *October*, at *Conſtantinople* (3): But *Claudian*, who calls them *Gothunni*, relates farther, that *Theodoſius* fought this

The *Scyrri* and *Greuthungi* are defeated.

(13) *According to the Words of* Zoſimus, *which are cited* not. 1. *and merit, on Account of the Circumſtances quoted in* not. 3. *more Credit, than* Jornandes's *Relation*, Fritigernus, *the* Wiſi-Gothick *Prince, drove* Athanaricus *before him, and eſtabliſhed himſelf in his Room.*

(14) *Two learned* Tranſylvanians *differ in this Point.* Laur. Toppeltinus, in origin. Tranſylvanorum, c. 3. p. 5. *aſſerts, that, notwithſtanding they were generally called* Saxons, *they were Deſcendants of the* Goths: *But* Valent. Franck, in orig. nationum, &c. p. 5 *and* 6, *is of a different Opinion, and makes the former Conjecture, at leaſt, very dubious.*

§ XXX. (1) AMMIANUS MARCELL. *L.* 31. *c.* 4. Dum aguntur hæc in externis, novos, majoreſque ſolitis caſus verſare gentes Arctöas, rumores terribiles diffuderunt: per omne quicquid ad Pontum a Marcomannis prætenditur & Quadis, multitudinem barbaram abditarum nationum vi ſubita ſedibus pulſam, circa flumen Hiſtrum vagari cum caritatibus ſuis diſſeminantes.

(2) ZOSIMUS, *L.* 4. *c.* 34. Eodem tempore Theodoſio quidam alii quoque proſperi caſus acciderunt. Nam Scyrros & Carpodacos, permiſtos Hunnis, propulſavit; & prœlio ſuperatos Iſtrum transjicere, ſuaſque ſedes repetere compulit.

(3) IDATIUS *in Chron.* Greuthingorum gens a Theodoſio ſuperatur.
IDEM *in faſtis*: HONORIO NOB. & EVODIO COSS.
His coſſ. victi atque expugnati, atque in Romaniam captivi adducti, gens Greuthingorum a noſtris. Theodoſius & Arcadius deinde cum victoria & triumpho ingreſſi ſunt Conſtantinopolim, die IV idus Octobris. Marcellini *chronicon. ad A.* 386. Honorio Cæſare, & Evodio Coſſ. Invaſam princeps Theodoſius ab hoſtibus Thraciam vindicavit, victorque cum Archadio filio ſuo urbem ingreſſus eſt. Claudian, *likewiſe, places it in this Year.*

Battle

Battle in Perſon, and that *Odotheus*, their General, was ſlain (4). *Zoſimus* likewiſe takes Notice of this War (5); but attributes all the Glory of it to *Promotus*, General of the Infantry, in *Thrace*, who only invited *Theodoſius*, at the laſt, when the Enemy was in a manner vanquiſh'd, to aſſume the Honour of the Victory: And accordingly it was he who ſet the Priſoners at Liberty, and engag'd them, by Gifts (6), into his Service, to make Uſe of them againſt *Maximus*. A Monument of this Victory, obtained over the *Goths*, has ſurviv'd all the Devaſtations the City of *Conſtantinople* has undergone;

(4) CLAUDIAN de IV. conſ. Honorii, *extols this Victory as a happy Occurrence, whereby* Honorius's *firſt Conſulate became famous (a Circumſtance which confirms the Computation of the Year) and*, v. 624, *he proceeds thus:*

Auſi Danubium quondam tranſnare Gothunni
In lintres fregere nemus. tibi mille ruebant
Per flaminum plenæ cuneis immanibus alni
Dux Odothæus erat. tantæ conamina claſſis
Incipiens ætas & primus contudit annus
Submerſæ ſedere rates fluitantia nunquam
Largius arctöos pavere cadavera piſces
Corporibus premitur Peuce per quinque recurrens
Oſtia, barbaricos vix egerit unda cruores.
Conſeſſuſque parens Odothæi regis opima
Rettulit, exuviaſque tibi. civile ſecundis
Conficis auſpiciis bellum. tibi debeat orbis
Fata Gothunorum debellatumque tyrannum.

This Nation is, in the printed Book, indeed, call'd Gothunni, *but, from* Idatius, *it appears, that they were the* Greuthungi: *Hence alſo, in the Words of* Zoſimus, *which are quoted in the following Note, inſtead of* Prothingi *we muſt read* Grothingi.

(5) ZOSIMUS, *L.* 4. *c.* 38. Sub eadem hæc tempora natio quædam Scythica trans Iſtrum prodiit, omnibus iſtuc incolis ignota: quos eorum locorum barbari Prothingos appellabant. Hi, cum multitudine abundarent, & armis neceſſariis inſtructi eſſent, præterea robore corporis excellerent: nullo negotio peragratis interjectorum barbarorum terris, ad ipſam uſque ripam Iſtri pervenerunt, & fluminis tranſmittendi copiam ſibi concedi poſtularunt. Promotus autem, militum in iis locis magiſter, exercitibus ad ripam fluminis, quam fieri poterat, longiſſime porrectis, a tranſitis ſitu barbaros arcebat. *He then at large deſcribes the Preparations made by* Promotus. *He mentions this War more briefly in another Place*, c. 35. Promotus autem, dux copiarum in Thracia pedeſtrium, Oedotheo, qui maximum exercitum, non de Iſtri dumtaxat adcolis, verum etiam de remotiſſimis & ignotis gentibus collegerat, jamque cum militibus ſuis aderat, & amnem tranſmittebat, cum terreſtribus copiis & navigiis fluvialibus occurrens, tantam cædem edidit, ut & ipſum flumen plenum cadaveribus eſſet, & in terra cæſi non facile numerari poſſent.

(6) *Among the Preſents the Emperors uſed to give to the* Goths, *golden Chains are particularly mentioned: Thus, for Inſtance,* Zoſimus *ſays, L.* 4. *c.* 40. Erant autem aurei torques ad ornatum eis a principe dati. Tacitus *ſays, that a Part of the Pomp of the Ancient* Germans, *in his Time, conſiſted therein,* de M. G. *c.* 18. Gaudent finitimarum gentium donis, quæ non modo a ſingulis, ſed publice mittuntur, electi equi, magna arma, phaleræ, torqueſque.

dergone; and is now the more remarkable, as the *Turks* are Enemies to Things of that Kind. *Arcadius*, in Honour of his Father, erected a Column, to the Top of which there was an Aſcent, by Steps in the Inſide, in the ſame manner as thoſe at *Rome*, rais'd in Honour of *Trajan* (from whom *Theodoſius* deſcended) and *M. Antoninus*. This Column has, indeed, ſuffer'd greatly by Earthquakes, and the terrible Conflagrations, which that City has been liable to (7): But what yet remains of it diſtinguiſhable, has been delineated by *Gentilis Bellinus*, a Painter of *Venice*, whom *Mahomet* II ſent for to *Conſtantinople* (8), and repreſents, in ſome Meaſure, the Victory obtained over the *Goths*, and their Surrender. The Stature and Habits of the Priſoners, as well as the *Gothick* Princes, who are repreſented ſitting, with their Conſorts, on Chariots, drawn by Oxen, are not unlike the Figures on *M. Antoninus*'s Column. The Booty is chiefly expreſs'd by Horſes and Oxen, for therein probably conſiſted their greateſt Riches: For their excellent Paſture encourag'd them to the Breeding of Cattle, and their Horſes were particularly valued for their Service (9). And, if the Idols placed on Camels, and the Prieſteſs, leading a Deer, were a Part of this *Gothick* Monument, it is a Sign, that ſome of that Nation, who were conquer'd by *Theodoſius*, or ſubjected themſelves to him, were at that Time ſtill Pagans: And the Sequel will ſhew, that *Athanaric* perſiſted in the Idolatory of his Anceſtors, long after a great Part of the *Goths* had embrac'd the Chriſtian Faith.

§ XXXI. IT likewiſe prov'd very happy for *Theodoſius*, that he eſtabliſhed Peace, as far as was in his Power, on the *Danube*: For *Maximus*, a *Spaniard* by Birth, raiſed an Inſurrection in the *Weſt*. He paſs'd over into *Belgica*, and ſail'd up the *Rhine* (1). *Gratian*, who had incurr'd the *Odium* of one Part of the Army, by heaping too great a Share of his Favours and Confidence on ſome Foreigners (2), ſeing,

Maximus uſurps the Empire of the *Weſt*.

(7) *Conf.* GILLIUS *topograph. Conſtantinop.* L. 4. c. 7.

(8) *Theſe Draughts are preſerved in the Academy of Painting, at* Paris: Claudius Franciſcus Meneſtrier, S. I. *cauſed them to be engraven; as did after him* F. Banduri, *who, with the Addition of ſome brief Explanations, inſerted them in his* Imperium orientale. T. 2. p. 508. ſq. *conf. idem in præfatione operis generali*, p. 14.

(9) VEGETIUS RENATUS *in mulo-medicina*, L. 4. c. 6. Hunnuſcorum longe primo docetur utilitas patientiæ, laboris, frigoris, famis. Toringos deinde, & Burgundios injuriæ tolerantes. *By the Name of* Toringi *thoſe* Goths *are, very probably, meant, whom* Ammianus Marcellinus *frequently calls* Theruingi.

§. XXXI. (1) ZOSIMUS, *L.* 4. *c.* 35. Tranſmiſſo navibus oceano, ad oſtia Rheni adpulerunt.

(2) AUR. VICT. *epit. c.* 47. Nam dum exercitum negligeret, & paucos ex Alanis, quos ingenti auro ad ſe tranſtulerat, anteferret

seing, after an unsuccessful Battle, the discontented Party deserting from him to the Enemy, was forc'd to fly; but being pursued and
† A. 383. taken by *Andragathius*, *Maximus*'s General, was put to Death †. *Merobaudes*, who was *Magister Utriusque Militiæ*, and had acquired a great Reputation, likewise lost his Life (3). *Valentinian* and *Theodosius* were indeed both obliged to acknowledge their new Partner in the Empire, and the former had Reason to be glad, that *Maximus* had left him *Italy* and *Illyricum*: And we find, in a Letter of St. *Ambrosius*, some Tokens of his having treated, on the Part of *Valentinian*, with *Maximus* (4). We likewise meet with his Account of another Ambassy, in which he was employ'd to treat about a Peace with *Maximus*, at *Triers* (5): But *Maximus* soon after took up Arms, and obliged *Valentinian* to fly to *Thessalonica*. *Theodosius*, who not only owed his Promotion to *Valentinian*'s House, but could likewise not expect so many Advantages from *Maximus*, as from him, took his Part, to the utmost of his Power, and met with all the Assistance, he could hope for, from the *Goths* (6). *Maximus*'s Army was thereupon beaten near *Seisseg*, on the *Sau*, and

ferret veteri ac Romano militi, adeoque barbarorum comitatu & prope amicitia capitur, ut nonnunquam eodem habitu iter faceret, odia contra se militum excitavit. Zosimus, *l. c.* Alanos quosdam transfugos susceptos, & in militum numeris adscriptos muneribus largis cohonestabat, tantique faciebat, ut eis res maximi momenti crederet, nulla ratione suorum militum habita, &c. *The Circumstance, mentioned of the* Alani, *by* Victor *and* Zosimus, *is not met with in any other Historian. The two Princes of the Franks*, Bauto *and* Arbogastes, *are, on the contrary, well known to have been in great Esteem, in his Reign, as well as* Merobaudes.

(3) *Conf.* Latini Pacati *Panegyricus*, *c.* 28. Merobaudes *was* Consul, A. 377 *and* 383: *Which it is proper to observe here, because the Learned imagine him to have been a* Frank. *In the common Editions of* Victor's Epitome, *we read, at the Conclusion of the* 45*th Chapter, which contains the Life of* Valentinian *the Elder, the following Passage*; Itaque eo mortuo, Valentinianus adhuc quadriennis, auctore Equitio, ac Merobaude propinquo, ubi cum matre fuerat allatus, creatus est imperator. *Hence some of the Learned have taken Occasion to mention* Merobaudes, *as related to* Valentinian: *V.* Ægidii Lacarry *historia Christiana imperatorum*, ad A. 377. Tillemont *supposes him, indeed*, p. 235, *to be a* Frank; *but conjectures, that he, probably, married a Relation of the Empress* Justina, *because he is called* Propinquus Valentiniani. *But* Dacier *proves, from ancient Manuscripts, that it must be read,* auctore Equitio & Merobaude, e propinquo ubi cum matre fuerat allatus, creatus est imperator.

(4) Ambrosius, *Epist.* 27.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Latini Pacati *panegyricus*, *c.* 32. Postremo populis barbarorum, ultroneam tibi operam ferre voventibus, commilitonum munus indulges, ut & limiti manus suspecta decederet, & militi auxiliator accederet. Qua tua benignitate pellectæ omnes Scythicæ nationes tantis examinibus confluebant, ut, quem remiseras tuis, barbaris videreris imperasse dilectum. O res digna memoratu. Ibat sub ducibus vexillisque Romanis hostis aliquando Romanus, & signa, contra quæ steterat, sequebatur, urbesque Pannoniæ, quas inimica dudum populatione vacuaverat, miles impleverat. Gothus

ille,

near *Petau* (7). *Theodoſius* then continu'd his March thro' *Hemone* †, and paſs'd the *Alps*, without Reſiſtance, as far as *Aquileia*, where *Maximus* gave him Battle; but was overcome, himſelf taken Priſoner, and loſt his Head (8). *Theodoſius* ſent th renowned *Frank*, *Arbogaſtes*, whom I have already mention'd, and who had ſucceeded *Bauto*, as *Magiſter Militiæ*, in the *Weſt*, to *Gaul*, where he cauſed *Victor*, the Son of *Maximus*, together with *Nannienus* and *Quintinus*, his Governors, to be put to Death. *Theodoſius* himſelf went, by the Way of *Milan*, to *Rome*, which, for many Years, had not been often honour'd with the Emperor's Preſence; where he enter'd, on the 13th. of *June*, in Triumph; the Memory of which is ſtill preſerved, in a Panegyrick, ſpoken at that Time, in Honour of him, by *Latinus Pacatus Drepanius*. *Valentinian* indeed recover'd the *Weſtern* Part of the Empire; but as he ſtill was very young, the chief Power, in theſe Parts, likewiſe remained in the Hands of *Theodoſius*, who reſided in the *Weſt*, till the Month of *July* of the Year 391.

§ XXXII. REASONS are not wanting to ground a Suppoſition, that ſome *German* Nations had likewiſe a Share in this War: Thus we find in St. *Ambroſe* (1), that the *Juthungi*, ſoon after *Gratian*'s Death, What Share the *Germans*, particularly the *Franks*, had in this War.

ille, & Hunnus, & Alanus reſpondebat ad nomen, & alternabat excubias, & notari infrequens verebatur. Nullus tumultus, nulla confuſio, nulla direptio, ut a barbaro erat, quin, ſi quando difficilior frumentaria res fuiſſet, inopiam patienter ferebat, & quam numero artarat annonam, comparcendo laxabat, pro omni præmio omnique mercede id unum repoſcens, ut tuus diceretur. Quanta eſt virtutis ambitio! accipiebas beneficium, quod imputares.

ducere, cum *tot millia barbarorum mihi militent*? in quo te fefellit Bauto, qui devotionem imperatori exhibuit ſuo? an quia principem ſuum non prodidit? Quos immiſit barbaros Bauto comes? Et quid mirum, ſi hoc Bauto feciſſet tranſrhenanus genere; cum tu miniteris, imperio Romano barbarorum auxilia? vide autem, quid interſit inter tuas minas, & Valentiniani auguſti pueri manſuetudinem. Tu id agitabas, quo barbarorum ſtipatus agminibus Italiæ te infunderes. Valentinianus Hunnos, ac Alanos appropinquantes Galliæ, per Alemanniæ terras reflexit. Quid habet invidiæ, ſi Bauto barbaros cum barbaris fecit decernere? In medio Romani imperii ſinu Juthungi populabantur Rætias: & ideo adverſus Juthungum Hunnus accitus eſt. Idem tamen, quia de finitimo proterebat Alemanniam, & jam vicinia mali urgebat Gallias; coactus eſt ſuos triumphos deſerere, ne tu timeres. Confer utriuſque factum, tu feciſti incurſari Rætias: Valentinianus ſuo tibi auro pacem redemit.

(7) *See in the following* §. not. 6.

† *At preſent* Laybach. *See the Baron of* Valvaſor's *Treatiſe, entitled* Ehre des Hertzogthums Crain, *V. Book, p.* 235.

(8) LATINUS PACATUS *in paneg. c.* 42-45.

§ XXXII. *(1) St.* Ambroſe, *Epiſt.* 27. *in which he gives* Valentinian *an Account of his ſecond Embaſſy to* Maximus, *relates what was objected to him by* Maximus, *and his Reply, in the following Manner:* Me luſiſti, & ille Bauto, qui ſibi regnum ſub ſpecie pueri vindicare voluit; qui etiam barbaros mihi immiſit: quaſi ego non habeam, quos poſſim ad-

invaded *Rætia*, and that *Bauto* (2), who was then General of the Army, and bore the greateſt Sway in the Reign of *Valentinian*, the Younger, raiſed ſome Bodies of the *Huns* and *Alani*, who thereupon invaded *Alemannia*; but who, not to give Umbrage to *Maximus*, that they were deſigned for *Gaul*, were ſent back again. *Maximus* had indeed likewiſe *Germans* in his Service (3); but when he marched againſt *Theodoſius*, the *Franks* invaded *Gaul*, under the Command of their three Princes, *Genobaudes*, *Marcomer* and *Sunno* (4); either from a meer Motive of making Booty, or perhaps by the Inſtigation

(2) Bauto *was created Conſul*, A. 395, *when* Auſtin, *who then ſtill taught Oratory, ſpoke a Panegyrick in Honour of him, as he ſays himſelf*, contra litteras Petiliani, *L.* 3. *c.* 30. operum *T.* 9. *p.* 212. Cum ego Mediolanum ante Bautonem conſulem venerim, eique conſuli kal. Januariis, laudem in tanto conventu, conſpectuque hominum, pro mea tunc rhetorica profeſſione recitaverim. *He kept up a good Underſtanding with* Symmachus, *as appears from his Epiſtles*, L. 4. Epiſt. 15, 16. *which laſt, at the ſame Time, ſhews, that he remained a* Pagan. *But nothing adds greater Honour to his Memory, than the Marriage of his Daughter to the Emperor* Arcadius.

(3) Orosius, *indeed, ſays*, L. 7. c. 33. *of* Theodoſius: Maximum trucem, & ab immaniſſimis quoque Germanorum gentibus tributa ac ſtipendia ſolo terrore nominis exigentem, ſine dolo & controverſia, clauſit, cepit, & occidit. *But St.* Ambroſe's *aforecited Words ſhew, indeed, that he may have had* Germans *in his* Service; *but that he received a Tribute from the* German *Nations, is improbable.*

(4) Gregorius Turonensis, *L.* 2. *c.* 9. *has preſerved a Fragment, giving an Account of this, from* Sulpicius Alexander, *who wrote the Hiſtory of his own Time, towards the Concluſion of the fourth Century*: Eo tempore Genobaldo, Marcomere & Sunnone ducibus, Franci in Germaniam prorupere, ac pluribus mortalium, limite irrupto, cæſis, fertiles maxime pagos depopulati, Agrippinenſi etiam Coloniæ metum incuſſere. Quod ubi Treveros perlatum eſt, Nannius & Quintinus, militiæ magiſtri, quibus infantiam filii & defenſionem Galliarum Maximus commiſerat, collecto exercitu apud Agrippinam convenere. Sed onuſti præda hoſtes, provinciarum opima depopulati, Rhenum tranſiere, pluribus ſuorum in Romano relictis ſolo, ad repetendam depopulationem paratis: cum quibus congreſſus Romanis accommodus fuit, multis Francorum apud Carbonariam ferro peremptis. Cumque conſultaretur de ſucceſſu, an in Franciam tranſire deberent, Nannius abnuit, quia non imparatos, & in locis ſuis indubie fortiores futuros ſciebat. Quod cum Quintino & reliquis viris militaribus diſplicuiſſet, Nannio Mogontiacum reverſo, Quintinus cum exercitu, circa Niviſium caſtellum, Rhenum tranſgreſſus, ſecundis a fluvio caſtris, caſas habitatoribus vacuas, atque ingentes vicos deſtitutos offendit. Franci enim ſimulato metu ſe in remotiores ſaltus receperant, concidibus per extrema ſilvarum procuratis. Itaque univerſis domibus exuſtis, in quas ſævire ſtoliditas ignava victoriæ conſummationem reponebat, noctem ſollicitam milites ſub armorum onere duxerant. Ac primo diluculo, Quintino prœlii duce, ingreſſi ſaltus, in medium fere diem implicantes ſe erroribus viarum, toto pervagati ſunt. Tandem, cum ingentibus ſeptis omnia a ſolido clauſa offendiſſent in paluſtres campos, qui ſilvis jungebantur, prorumpere molientibus hoſtium rari apparuere. Qui conjunctis arborum truncis, vel concidibus ſuperſtantes, velut e taſtigiis turrium, ſagittas, tormentorum ritu, effudere, inlitas herbarum venenis, ut ſummæ cuti, neque lethalibus inflicta locis vulnera, haud dubiæ mortes ſequerentur. Dehinc majori multitudine hoſtium circumfuſus exercitus, in aperta camporum,

Inſtigation of *Theodoſius*, who might make Uſe of this Aſſiſtance againſt *Maximus*, as *Conſtantius* had before of the *Alemanni*, againſt *Magnentius*. The News of this no ſooner reached *Triers*, than the two before-mentioned Generals, *Nannienus* and *Quintinus*, to whom *Maximus* had, together with the Education of his Son, entruſted the Command in *Gaul*, broke up for *Cologn*; which City was itſelf at that Time in Danger. The *Franks* were, in the mean Time, all returned, excepting one Body, which the *Romans* met with in the preſent *Hennegau* (5), and gave them a very bad Reception. *Quintinus* thereupon led his Army over the *Rhine* near *Neus*; hoping to revenge the Depredations of the *Franks* in *Gaul*, by a like Treatment, in their Dominions, but he was ſo unfortunate that few of his Men returned. We find beſides, in St. *Ambroſe*, that the *Saxons* were likewiſe ſucceſsful againſt *Maximus* (6): But it does not appear from that Paſſage, whether the Expedition was by Sea or by Land, in *Britain* or elſewhere.

§ XXXIIII. *THEODOSIUS* had left *Arbogaſtes* with *Valentinian*, having the greateſt Confidence in their Valour and Fidelity. *Valentinian*, when he arriv'd in *Gaul*, went firſt into *Lower-Germany*, to ſecure the Countries about the *Rhine*, which lay oppoſite to the *Franks*. The two *Franconian* Princes, *Marcomer* and *Sunno*, made ſuch Offers, that he renew'd the ancient Leagues (1), in Conſideration

Treaties of *Valentinian* II. with the *Franks*.

camporum, quæ libera Franci reliquerant, avide effuſus eſt. Ac primi equites voraginibus immerſi, permixtis hominum jumentorumque corporibus, ruina invicem ſuorum oppreſſi ſunt. Pedites etiam, quos nulla onera equorum calcaverant, implicati limo, ægre explicantes greſſum, rurſus ſe, qui paullo ante vix emerſerant, ſilvis trepidantes occulebant. Perturbatis ergo ordinibus cæſæ legiones, Heraclio, Jovianorum tribuno, ac pene omnibus, qui militibus præerant, extinctis, paucis effugium tutum nox & latibula ſilvarum præſtitere.

(5) *Prope ſilvam Carbonariam*, *conf.* Bucherius, *L.* 12. *c.* 2. § 1.

(6) AMBROSIUS, *ep.* 17. *p.* 215. Nonne propterea Maximus deſtitutus eſt? qui ante ipſos expeditionis dies, cum audiſſet Romæ ſynagogam incenſam, edictum Romam miſerat, quaſi vindex diſciplinæ publicæ? Unde populus Chriſtianus ait: Nihil boni huic imminet: rex iſte Judæus factus eſt: defenſorem iſtum diſciplinæ audivimus, quem mox Chriſtus probavit, qui pro peccatoribus mortuus eſt. Si de ſermone hoc dictum eſt, quid de ultione dicetur? Ille igitur ſtatim a Francis, A SAXONUM GENTE, in Sicilia, Siciæ, Petavione, ubique denique terrarum victus eſt.

§ XXXIII. (1) GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, *L.* 2. *c.* 9. *relates the Purport of them from what has been ſaid by* Sulpitius Alexander *on this Head:* In quarto vero libro, cum de interfectione Victoris, filii Maximi tyranni narraret, ait: *Eo tempore Carietto, & Syrus, in locum Nanneni ſubrogati, in Germaniam cum exercitu oppoſito Francis diverſabantur.* Et poſt pauca: *cum Franci de Germania prædas tuliſſent*, adjecit, *nihil Arbogaſtes differre volens, commonet cæſarem pœnas debitas a Francis exigendas, niſi univerſa, quæ ſuperiori anno cæſis legionibus diripuerant, confeſtim reſtituerent, auctoreſque belli*

of a certain Number of Hoſtages, and returned to *Triers*, to paſs the Winter-Seaſon there (2).

Arbogaſtes invades the Dominions of the *Franks*.

§ XXXIV. But this Peace was of no long Duration: for we find, by *Sulpicius Alexander* (1), that *Arbogaſtes*, who, on Account of ſome former Differences, was at Enmity with the *Franconian* Princes of thoſe Times (2), undertook in the Winter, and, as it ſeems, towards the End of the Year 391 (3), or the Beginning of the next Year, an Expedition againſt the *Franks*, from *Cologn*; in Hopes, that, the Trees in the Foreſts, are bare at that Seaſon of the Year, the Enemy could not take their uſual Advantage of them either for their Ambuſhes or a Retreat. By *Alexander*'s Relation it again appears, that the *Bructeri*, *Chamavi* and *Catti*, were comprehended under the Name of *Franks*. The *Bructeri* were the firſt Sufferers, and after them the *Chamavi*. *Marcomer* ſtood, with ſome *Amſivarii* and *Catti*, on the Top of the Mountains, without daring to make any Motion. *Arbogaſtes* proceeded likewiſe no farther, and had ſoon after Reaſon to ſeek the Friendſhip of the *Franks* as earneſtly, as he had till then oppos'd them.

Valentinian II. is aſſaſſinated, and *Eugenius* proclaimed Emperor.

§ XXXV. Some Hiſtorians compare this *Franconian* General to *Curius* or *Fabricius* of ancient *Rome*, and the Share he had, in *Theo-*

belli traderent, in quos violatæ pacis perfidia puniretur. Hæc acta, cum duces eſſent, retulit, & deinceps ait, *poſt dies pauculos, Marcomere & Sunnone Francorum regalibus, tranſacto curſim conloquio, impetratiſque ex more obſidibus, ad hiemandum Treveros conceſſit.* Cum autem eos regales vocet, neſcimus utrumreges fuerint, an vices tenuerint regum. Idem tamen ſcriptor, cum neceſſitates Valentiniani Auguſti commemorat, hæc adjungit: *Dum diverſa in oriente per Thracias geruntur, in Gallia ſtatus publicus perturbatur. Clauſo apud Viennam palatii ædibus principe Valentiniano, & pæne infra privati modum redacto, militaris rei cura Francis ſatellitibus tradita, civilia quoque officia tranſgreſſa in conjurationem Arbogaſtis: nulluſque ex omnibus, ſacramentis militiæ obſtrictis reperiebatur, qui familiari principis ſermoni, aut juſſis obſequi auderet.* Dehinc refert, *quod eodem anno Arbogaſtes Sunnonem & Marcomerem ſubregulos Francorum gentilibus odiis inſectans, Agrippinam, rigente maxime hieme, petiit: ratus, tuto omnes Franciæ receſſus penetrandos, urendoſque; cum decuſſis foliis nudæ atque arentes ſilvæ inſidiantes occulere non poſſent, Collecto ergo exercitu, tranſgreſſus Rhenum, Bructeros ripæ proximos, pagum etiam, quem Chamavi incolunt, depopulatus eſt, nullo unquam occurſante, niſi quod pauci ex Ampſivariis & Cattis, Marcomere duce, in ulterioribus collium jugis apparuere.*

(2) *There are two Statutes extant of* Valentinian II, *dated at* Triers, A. 389, *viz.* l. 5. C. Th. de proximis, data 6. Id. Nov. v. l. 3. C. Th. unde vi, data 18, kal. Jul. *But* Valeſius *obſerves*, L. 2. p. 72. *that* Valentinian *was at* Rome *in* June, *and that, therefore, inſtead of* kal. Juliis, *muſt be read* kal. Januariis.

§ XXXIV. (1) *See the preceding* § not. 1.

(2) Claudian *calls him* Germanus exſul: de 4 conſ. Honor. v. 74. Gregory *calls his Enmity againſt the* Franks, gentilia odia. *See* not. 1.

(3) Tillemont, *indeed, places this*, p. 742. *in the Winter between* 392 *and* 393, *after* Valentine's *Death; but* Arbogaſtes *was, at that Time, probably, too much employ'd in the Diſpoſition of the new Government.*

doſius's

doſius's Confidence, ſpeaks indeed very much in his Favour: But *Valentinian* II, who could not well put up with his Auſterity and blunt Way, was for taking the Command from him. *Arbogaſtes* bore, on the contrary, ſo great a Sway in the Army, that he was very eaſy under this Diſgrace (1); and the Meaſures taken, on the one Hand, by *Valentinian*, to maintain his Authority, and, on the other, by *Arbogaſtes*, to ſecure his Perſon, came to ſuch a Height, that when *Valentinian* ſuddenly loſt his Life at *Vienne* (2), *A.* 392, his Murder was almoſt every where imputed to *Arbogaſtes*. *Arbogaſtes* however, tho' he had gain'd the Hearts and Acclamations of the Army, did not aſſume the Imperial Title; but *Engenius* †, whom *Ricimer* had before extoll'd to him, as a Perſon of great Capacity, was proclaimed Emperor. As all great Revolutions are attended with ſome equivocal Circumſtances; ſo it is the more difficult to judge of this, from the few Accounts we have, whether *Arbogaſtes* was ſo entirely innocent, as he is repreſented to be by his Friends, or whether, under the ſpecious Pretence of Juſtice and Fidelity, an Ambition was not concealed, which cauſed him now to give Way to *Eugenius*, of whom he was well aſſured, that he would be wholly under his Influence, 'till he found it practicable, to aſſume himſelf a Dignity, which it was, at that Time, too difficult for him to obtain, on Account of his Deſcent (3), as well as his Religion.

† Magiſter Scrinii.

§ XXXVI. *EUGENIUS* went firſt to the *Rhine*, and made Leagues with the Princes of the *Alemanni* and *Franks* (1); by which he not only ſecured thoſe Parts, but likewiſe obtained of them a

The new Emperor confirms the Leagues with the *Franks* and *Alemanni*.

§ XXXV. (1) *V.* ZOSIMUS, *Lib.* 4. *c.* 53. (2) Id. Maii ARCADIO AUGUSTO II. & RUFINO Coss. A. 392. conf. PAGI ad h. A. n. 3. *The Circumſtances are ſo differently related, that it does not even appear, whether he died a natural or violent Death.* Tillemont, p. 715, ſequ. *has collected theſe contradictory Narratives.* St. Ambroſe, *who was well acquainted with the Court, and might have known all the Circumſtances: who, likewiſe, appeared very zealous for* Valentinian's *Memory, ſays, in the Letter which he wrote to* Theodoſius, *concerning his Interment only:* Hunc ergo non doleam, ævi integrum, antequam ſacramentorum, quæ deſideravit, adipiſceretur gratiam, repentina morte obiiſſe? *In his Funeral Oration on that Prince, he mentions, indeed,* p. 105, *and* 109, *the Miſunderſtanding between* Valentinian *and* Arbogaſtes, *and that the Emperor would have employed him, in the Accommodation of them; but does not ſay, that* Arbogaſtes *cauſed him to be put to Death.*

(3) PHILOSTORGIUS *ſays:* Arbogaſtem propter genus ſibi diffiſum.

§ XXXVI. (1) SEVERUS ALEXANDER *ap.* Gregorium Turon. *Lib.* 2. *c.* 9. Dehinc Eugenius, tyrannus, ſuſcepto expeditionali procinctu, Rheni limitem petiit, ut, cum Alamannorum & Francorum regibus, vetuſtis fœderibus ex more initis, immenſum ea tempeſtate exercitum gentibus feris oſtenderet,

conſide-

conſiderable Number of Soldiers (2). He then broke up for *Italy*, augmented his Forces every where, and treated the Heathens, in ſome Reſpects, with more Lenity, than his Predeceſſors, *Gratian* and *Valentinian*, had done; with a View, perhaps, to gain the more Adherents, as the Number of *Pagans*, eſpecially at *Rome*, was ſtill very conſiderable.

But is defeated by *Theodoſius*, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Goths*.

§ XXXVII. He had, in vain, endeavour'd, by an Ambaſſy, to gain the Friendſhip of *Theodoſius*. The latter, having this Opportunity of making himſelf, and his Succeſſors, ſole Maſters of the Empire, dignified, *A.* 393, his younger Son, *Flavius Honorius*, who was then in the ninth Year of his Age, with the Title of *Auguſtus*, and deſign'd to entruſt the Command of the Army to the brave *Ricomer*, who had remained in the *Eaſt*; and, in Regard to his eminent Services, was created *Conſul* † and *Magiſter utriuſque militiæ*; but his Death, at the very Inſtant, prevented it (1). He ſet out himſelf from *Conſtantinople*, *A.* 394, and had a large Body of *Goths*, in his Army, commanded by *Gaina* and *Saul* (2); with whom *Alaric*, who afterwards acquired ſo great Renown, had,

† A. 384.

(2) Orosius, *L.* 7. *c.* 35. Et nunc, cum adverſus eundem Theodoſium, collectis Gallorum FRANCORUMQUE viribus exundavit, nixus etiam præcipuo cultu idolorum, magna tamen facilitate ſuccubuit. *This gave Occaſion to* Stilico *afterwards, to renew the League with the* Franks.

§ XXXVII. (1) Zosimus, *L.* 4. *c.* 55. Turmas quidem equeſtres Richomeri committere cogitabat, pluribus jam bellis viri fortitudinem expertus; itidem cæteris legionibus alios duces præficere. Quum autem Richomeres, hujus ipſius conſultationis tempore morbo exſtinctus eſſet, non ab re ſemet ad alios duces deligendos convertit. *His Conſulate is extoll'd not only in* Symmachus's *Letters, but, likewiſe, in* Libanius's *Writings; and we find this great* Grecian *Orator boaſting of the Approbation his Oratory had met with from* Ricomer: Verum illo adhuc ægrotante, RYCHOMERES advenit exercitus dux, vir ſacris & diis addictus, qui amans me fuerat, vel antequam vidiſſet, prout tunc didicimus: intuitus vero, omnibus aliis dimiſſis, adhærebat, & oſculari erubeſcebat: quod ſi hoc impetraret, ſe maximum quiddam obtinuiſſe arbitrari dicebat. Cum hæc inter nos amicitia interceſſiſſet, permoleſta quidem iis, qui nos non diligebant, pergit ad regem; mox cum futurum eſſet, ut ad dignitatem conſularem eveheretur, binis me invitabat literis, ſuis quidem, quod aliorum erat, faciens: aliis autem regis negotia agens, quod nondum antea contigerat. Extitit etiam a nobis in ipſum ſermo ad laudationem inſtitutus: neſcio certe, an amplius quam alii habuerim dicendum, verumtamen iis, quæ mihi ſuccurrebant, ego quoque imperatorem honorabam. Quin etiam dicitur rogatus a clementi rege, a quonam potiſſimum eorum, qui aderant oblectatus fuiſſet, reſpondiſſe, a me, atque effeciſſe, ut, qui ante diligebat me; magis amaret: ac aſſeveraſſe etiam, percupidum viæ huc tendentis eſſe, mei gratia. Libanius *de vita ſua*, p. 67.

(2) Zosimus, *L.* 4. *c.* 57. Fœderatos autem barbaros, Gaini, & Saulo parere juſſit. *Idem, c.* 58. Cæterum præſtare ratus, ut legiones barbaras in adverſos inmitteret, iiſque primum periclitaretur: Gainem, cum nationibus ſibi ſubditis, hoſtem adgredi juſſit, ſequentibus hunc aliis etiam ducibus, quicunque barbaricis ordinibus, equitibus inquam, & ſagittariis equeſtribus, & peditatui præerant.

likewiſe

likewiſe, a Poſt of Honour (3). In his March, he was join'd by great Numbers of *Hunns* and *Alani*, who now begun to know the Way to *Italy*, to the manifeſt Prejudice of his Succeſſors. *Eugenius* waited for him on the *Julian Alps*, which had before been ſo often drench'd in *Roman* Blood, and an Engagement enſued, not far from *Aquileia*, near the River *Frigidus* (4); in which *Theodoſius*, after great Blood-ſhed, (many Thouſands of the *Goths* alone being kill'd on the (5) Spot,) obtain'd the Victory (6). *Eugenius*, being taken Priſoner, paid for his Temerity with his Head; but *Arbogaſtes*, by laying violent Hands on himſelf, anticipated the Wrath of the Conqueror (7).

§ XXXVIII. As Chriſtianity had, in Regard to the Number of thoſe who profeſs'd it, viſibly gained Ground in the *Roman* Empire, ſo the Churches, in *Germany*, *Rætia* and *Noricum*, had likewiſe a Share in this general Increaſe. *Valentinian* I, had indeed, in ſome Meaſure, allowed a Liberty of Conſcience: but *Gratian* diſcover'd

State of the Church in *Germany*.

(3) ZOSIMUS, *L.* 5. *c.* 5. His a Rufino per ſummam nequitiam deſignatis, poſteaquam ſeditioſum eſſe, legibuſque ſemet eximere vidit Alarichum (qui permoleſte ferret militum ſe copiis haud præfici, ſed eos duntaxat habere barbaros, quos ei tradiderat Theodoſius, quo tempore cum illo tyrannidem Eugenianam everterat) ſecreto ei ſignificat, ut, quos ſecum haberet barbaros, alioſve collectitios diverſarum gentium milites, ulterius duceret, omnibus abſque labore potiturus.

(4) *Baron* Valvaſor, *in his* Ehre des Hertzogthums Crayn, L. 13. p. 9, *and* L. 14. p. 208, *ſhews that this* Frigidus *is the preſent* Wybach, *which falls into the* Liſonzo.

(5) SOCRATES, *L.* 5. *c.* 34. Atque, ut in ea parte, qua Romani cum Romanis manus conſerverunt, ancipiti pugna certatum erat: ſic in illa, qua barbari, imperatori Theodoſio auxilia ferentes dimicabant, Eugenius tulit ſuperiores. *But the* Romans *were ſo ungrateful, that they eſteemed this Maſſacre of the* Goths, *a Piece of good Fortune. Thus* Oroſius *ſays, L.* 7 *c.* 35. Quos utique perdidiſſe lucrum, & vincere fuit.

(6) VALESIUS, p. 78, ſeq. *deſcribes the Battle at large, according to the ancient Writers. Some modern Authors add many other Circumſtances, of which St.* Ambroſe *makes no Mention in his Letter to* Theodoſius, *in which he congratulates him on Occaſion of this ſignal Victory.*

(7) SOCRATES, *L.* 5. *c.* 24. Arbogaſtus tantæ cladis autor, biduo poſt prœlium fugiens, ubi nullam vitæ ſpem ſibi reliquam intellexerat, proprio enſe, ſe ipſe obtruncavit. Zoſimus, *L.* 4. *c.* 58. Arbogaſtes autem, qui Theodoſii humanitatem experiri non cuperet, in montes aſperrimos confugit, &, animadvertens, omnia loca perluſtrari ab iis, qui eum quærerent, ipſe ſibi manus intulit. *Some even aſſert, that he kill'd himſelf with two Swords, as if one was not ſufficient.* Claudianus *de III. conſ. Honorii v.* 92.

Alpinæ rubuere nives, at Frigidus amnis
Mutatis fumavit aquis, turbaque cadentum
Staret, ni rapidus juviſſet flumina ſanguis.
At ferus inventor ſcelerum trajecerat altum
Non uno mucrone latus, duplexque tepebat
Enſis, & ultrices in ſe converterat iras
Tandem juſta manus.

a greater

a greater Zeal for the Orthodox *Chriſtians*: And, tho' *Valentinian* II was, at firſt, by the Perſuaſion of his Mother, inclined to *Arianiſm*; yet *Theodoſius*, particularly, during thoſe three Years which he ſpent in the Weſt, not only ſtrenouſly perſecuted *Paganiſm*; but likewiſe treated thoſe with Severity, who diſſented from the national Church; which Method of gaining Converts, its Paſtors zealouſly defended, by repreſenting, in a lively Manner, that the unhappy Fate of *Valens* was owing to his Adheſion to *Arianiſm* (1). A new Profeſſion of Faith was, indeed, broach'd in the *Eaſt*; but the Church of *Gaul* ſtill adher'd to that of the Apoſtles (2): And when ſome Biſhops in *Gaul* could not otherwiſe cool their Zeal for the Purity of their Doctrine, but by the Blood of the Diſſenters, St. *Ambroſe* was ſo diſſatisfied with their Procedure, that, when he came to *Maximus*, to *Triers*, he would have no Community with them (3). The Monaſtick Life, which had firſt crept into the Cities, in the Reign of *Conſtantine*, the *Great*, and was introduc'd into *Gaul* by *Martin Turonenſis*, had, likewiſe, gained Ground; and we ſee, by a Paſſage of St. *Auſtin* (4), that, at this Time, Men, as well as Women, about *Triers*,

§ XXXVIII. (1) *An Inſtance of this we meet with in the Words of* Ambroſe, L. 2. *de fide, circa fin.* p. 144. Nec ambiguum, ſancte imperator, quod, qui perfidiæ alienæ pugnam excepimus, fidei catholicæ, in te vigentis, habituri ſimus auxilium. Evidens enim antehac divinæ indignationis cauſa præceſſit: ut ibi primum fides Romano imperio frangeretur, ubi fracta eſt deo. Non libet confeſſorum neces; tormenta, exilia recordari piorum ſacerdotum, proditorum munera. Nonne de Thraciæ partibus per Ripenſem Daciam, & Myſiam, omnemque Valeriam Pannoniorum, totum illum limitem ſacrilegis pariter vocibus, & barbaricis motibus audivimus inhorrentem? Quid poterat nobis vicinia tam feralis invehere! aut quemadmodum res Romana tali tuta poterat eſſe cuſtodia? Sed jam ſatis ſuperque, omnipotens deus, noſtro exitio, noſtroque ſanguine confeſſorum neces, exilia ſacerdotum, & nefas tantæ impietatis eluimus. Satis claruit eos, qui violaverunt fidem, tutos eſſe non poſſe.

(2) *Conf.* Pagius *in critica annalium Baronii ad A.* 325. n. 24 *and* 25.

(3) Ambrosius *in epiſt.* 56. *T.* 5. *p.* 321. Poſtea, cum videret, me abſtinere ab epiſcopis, qui communicabant ei, vel qui aliquos, devios licet a fide, ad necem petebant, commotus eis, juſſit me ſine mora regredi. *The following Words of* Proſper *may, perhaps, give Light to this Paſſage. Arcadio & Bautone Coſſ.* Priſcillianus, in ſynodo Burdigalenſi damnandum ſe intelligens, ad imp. Maximum provocavit: audituſque Triveris ab Evodio præfecto prætorio, a Maximo gladio addictus eſt, cum Euchroſia Delphidii conjuge, & Latroniano aliiſque erroris conſortibus.

(4) Augustinus *confeſſ. L.* 8. *c.* 6. Quondam die domum venit ad me, & Alipium, Potitianus quidam civis noſter, in quantum Afer, præclare in palatio militans, Chriſtianus & fidelis, qui ſæpe tibi, deo noſtro, proſternebatur in eccleſia crebris & diuturnis orationibus. Unde incidit ut diceret: Neſcio quando, ſe & tres alios contubernales ſuos, nimirum apud Treviros, cum imperator pomeridiano circenſium ſpectaculo teneretur, exiſſe deambulatum in hortos muris contiguos. Atque illic, ut forte combinati ſpatiabentur, unum ſecum ſeorſum, &

alios

about *Triers*, begun already to devote themſelves to Solitude, imagining themſelves better able to ſerve God in that State; however, they did not dwell in Monaſteries, but in ſingle Cottages.

§ XXXIX. THE *Rhine* was, probably, the Boundary of the *Chriſtian* Churches, as well as of the *Roman* Empire: And we do not find, whether, or how far, the *Chriſtian* Religion was propagated, beyond the *Danube*, by the Churches in *Rætia* and in *Noricum*. *Paulinus* mentions, indeed, in his Life of St. *Ambroſe* (1), that *Fritigild*, a Queen of the *Marcomanni*, embraced the *Chriſtian* Faith, Converſion of the *Goths* to the *Chriſtian Faith*.

alios duos itidem ſeorſum pariterque digreſſos. Sed illos vagabundos irruiſſe in quamdam caſam, ubi habitabant quidam ſervi tui ſpiritu pauperes, qualium eſt regnum cœlorum: & inveniſſe ibi codicem, in quo ſcripta erat vita Antonii. Quam legere cæpit unus eorum, & mirari, & accendi; & inter legendum meditari, arripere talem vitam: & relicta militia ſæculari, ſervire tibi. Erat autem ex eis, quos dicunt agentes in rebus. Tunc ſubito repletus amore ſancto, & ſobrio pudore, iratus ita ſibi, conjecit oculos in amicum, & ait illi: dic, quæſo te, omnibus iſtis laboribus noſtris, quo ambimus pervenire? quid quærimus? cujus rei cauſa militamus? majorne eſſe poterit ſpes noſtra in palatio, quam ut amici imperatoris ſimus? & ibi quid non fragile plenumque periculis? & per quot pericula pervenitur ad grandius periculum? & quamdiu iſtud erit? Amicus autem dei, ſi voluero, ecce nunc fio. Dixit hoc: & turgidus parturitione novæ vitæ reddidit oculos paginis, & legebat, & mutabatur intus, ubi tu videbas: & exuebatur mundo mens ejus, ut mox apparuit. Namque dum legit, & volvit fluctus cordis ſui, infremuit aliquando & diſcrevit, decrevitque meliora. Jamque tuus, ait amico ſuo: ego jam abrupi me ab illa ſpe noſtra, & deo ſervire ſtatui: & hoc ex hac hora, in hoc loco aggredior: & te, ſi piget imitari, noli adverſari. Reſpondit ille, adhærere ſe ſocio tantæ mercedis tantæque militiæ. Et ambo jam tui, ædificabant turrim ſumptu idoneo relinquendi omnia, & ſequendi te. Tum Potitianus, & qui cum eo per alias horti partes deambulabant, quærentes eos, devenerunt in eumdem locum; & invenientes admonuerunt, ut redirent, quoniam declinaſſet dies. At illi, narrato placito & propoſito ſuo, quoque modo in eis talis voluntas orta eſſet, atque firmata; petiverunt, ne ſibi moleſti eſſent, ſi adjungi recuſarent. Iſti autem nihilo mutati a priſtinis, fleverunt ſe tamen, ut dicebat, atque illis pie congratulati ſunt, & commendaverunt ſe orationibus eorum: & trahentes cor in terra abierunt in palatium. Illi autem affigentes cor cœlo, manſerunt in caſa, & ambo habebant ſponſas: quæ poſteaquam hoc audierunt, dicaverunt etiam ipſæ virginitatem tibi.

§ XXXIX. (1) PAULINUS, *in vit. Ambroſii, p.* 65. C. Per idem tempus Fritigil quædam, regina Marcomannorum, cum a quodam Chriſtiano viro, qui ad illam forte de Italiæ partibus venerat, referente ſibi audiret famam, Chriſto credidit, cujus illum ſervulum recognoverat, miſſiſque Mediolanum muneribus ad eccleſiam, per legatos poſtulavit, ut ſcriptis ipſius, qualiter credere deberet, informaretur. Ad quam ille epiſtolam fecit præclaram, in modum catechiſmi, in qua etiam admonuit, ut ſuaderet viro, Romanis pacem ſervare. Qua accepta epiſtola, mulier ſuaſit viro, & cum populo ſuo ſe Romanis tradidit. Quæ cum veniſſet Mediolanum, plurimum doluit, quod ſanctum ſacerdotem, ad quem feſtinarat, minime reperiſſet; jam enim de hac luce migraverat. *This Account of* Paulinus, *that the* Marcomanni *ſubjected themſelves to the* Romans, *will be illuſtrated in the Sequel.*

C c and

and desired to be instructed by that great Bishop: But this Writer is so zealous, in magnifying the Acts of his Saint, that we can hardly depend upon the Circumstances of his Relation. The *Christian* Religion had already made its Way among the *Goths*. The first Foundation was, probably, laid by some *Christian* Captives, whom the *Goths*, in the Incursions I mention'd before, in the Reign of *Gallienus*, had carried with them, into *Asia*, where the Church was already established. *Philostorgius*, whose Relation, however, has not the best Credit, even says (2), that *Ulphila*, whom he calls by that Name, was, himself, descended from some of those Prisoners, Natives of *Cappadocia*. In the Time of *Constantine*, the *Great*, the *Christian* Faith had gained so many Proselytes among them (3), that a *Gothick* Bishop, named *Theophilus*, subscribed to the Council of *Nice* (4): But however willing some of their Princes, and particularly *Fritigernus*, were to propagate the Preaching of the Gospel, *Athanaric* as strenously persecuted the new Converts to *Christi-*

(2) PHILOSTORG. *Lib.* 2. *n.* 5. Ait Urphilam his temporibus, ex Trans-Istrianis Scythis (quos veteres Getas, qui vero hodie sunt, Gothos vocant) multum populum in solum Romanum traduxisse, ob pietatem propriis sedibus pulsum, gentemque illam Christianam hac ratione factam. Imperante Valeriano & Gallieno, pars quædam magna Trans-Istrianorum in solumRomanum transcendit, multamque Europæ partem incursavit: Transcenderunt vero etiam Asiam & Galatiam, sed & Cappadociam ingressi sunt, multosque captivos ceperunt, nonnullos etiam ex iis, qui clero adscripti erant, cumque magna præda domum reversi sunt. Plebs porro captiva piaque, cum barbaris conversans, haud paucos eorum ad pietatem traduxit, effecitque adeo, ut Christianorum ridem loco gentilitiæ opinionis amplecterentur. De hoc captivorum numero fuerunt & Urphilæ majores, gente quidem Cappadoces, prope civitatem Parnassum, e vico, qui vocatur Sadagolthina. Hic igitur Urphilas dux fuit exitus piorum, primus eorum episcopus constitutus: constitutus vero hac ratione. Ab eo scilicet, qui genti imperabat Constantini tempore, in legationem una cum aliis missus (nam & barbaræ gentes illæ imperatori parebant) ab Eusebio & ab iis, qui cum illo erant, episcopis, ordinatus fuit episcopus eorum, qui in Gothia Christiani erant. Et, ut in cæteris curam eorum habuit, ita propriarum quoque litterarum inventor extitit, & in linguam eorum scripturas vertit, exceptis libris regum, eo quod hi bellorum historiam contineant, gens vero illa belli amans esset, frænoque magis ad pugnas impetus eorum egeret, quam incentivo ad id: id quod faciendi vim habent ea, quæ religiosa maxime habentur, & ad Dei cultum persuasos efformant. Imperator igitur hunc populum, sponte transgressum, in regionibus Mysiæ. prout cuique videretur, locavit, & Urphilam magno honore affecit, sic, ut sæpe ab eo nostri temporis Moses vocaretur. Valde autem hunc virum deprædicat [*Philostorgius*] scribitque, hæreticæ opinionis suæ & ipsum, & eos, qui sub ipso erant, sectatores fuisse.

(3) SOCRATES, *L.* 1. *c.* 14.

(4) *Vid. Subscriptiones concilii Nicæni in coll. concilior.* Labbei.

PROVINCIÆ GOTHIÆ
Theophilus Gothiæ metropolis.

In other Copies we read:

DE GOTHIS
Theophilus Bosphoritanus.

anity;

anity; as appears from the Relations of *Socrates* (5) and *Sozomenus* (6). Hence the primitive *Gothick Chriſtians* are extoll'd, not only for

(5) SOCRATES, *L.* 4. *c.* 27. Gothi, bello inteſtino inter ipſos concitato, in duas factiones diviſi fuerunt: quarum alteri Phritigernes, alteri Athanaricus præfuit. Cum autem Athanaricus videretur ſuperiores partes obtinere, Phritigernes ad Romanos, auxilii contra adverſarium petendi gratia, profugit. De quibus rebus Valens certior factus, dat mandatum militibus, qui verſabantur in Thracia, ut barbaris contra barbaros dimicantibus, ſubſidio eſſent. Illi itaque, hoſtibus in fugam converſis, trans Iſtrum contra Athanaricum ſunt victoriam conſecuti. Quæ cauſa fuit permultis barbaris, fidem Chriſtianam recipiendi. Nam Phritigernes, quo, pro beneficio accepto, imperatori gratiam referre poſſet, ejus religionem amplexari cœpit, ſuoſque, ad idem faciendum, hortari. Atque, eam ob cauſam, complures Gothi, qui tum, quo imperatoris voluntati obſecundarent, ſe ſectæ Arianæ addixerant, ad hoc uſque tempus eidem adhæreſcunt. Eodem tempore Ulphilas, Gothorum epiſcopus, litteras Gothicas invenit: atque, ut primum ſacram ſcripturam in eorum linguam converteret, inſtituit animo, uti barbari illi ſancta dei eloquia perdiſcerent. Simulatque vero Ulphilas eos, non ſolum Phritigerni, verum etiam qui Athanaricho parebant, religionem Chriſtianam docuerat: Athanaricus permultos, qui fidem Chriſti profitebantur, perinde ac ſi patria ſua religionis inſtituta per eos fuiſſent adulterata, gravibus affecit ſuppliciis: ita ut barbari nonnulli, ex ſecta Ariana, tum martyres fierent. Verum Arius, cum Sabellii errori non poſſet reſiſtere, ex recta fide lapſus excidit, & filium dei nuper genitum eſſe, tradidit: at barbari animo ſimplici religionem Chriſtianam amplexi, pro fide Chriſti vitam, qua hic fruebantur, profundere non dubitarunt.

(6) SOZOMENUS, *L.* 6. *c.* 36. At vero non iſtud ſolum cauſſam fuiſſe puto, cur univerſa Gothorum gens ad hoc tempus uſque Arianis adjuncta ſit: ſed, quod Ulphilas, eorum epiſcopus, licet initio ab eccleſia catholica nihil diſſentiret: tamen poſt, regnante Conſtantio per inſcitiam, una cum Eudoxio & Acacio, utpote ex epiſcoporum numero, qui in Concilio Nicæno convenerant, concilio Conſtantinopoli habito interfuit. Qui ſimul ut eo venit, dicitur, cum principes ſectæ Arianæ cum eo de religione diſſeruiſſent, eſſentque polliciti, legationem ei apud imperatorem ex ſententia confectam fore, ſi modo ſe ipſorum opinioni vellet addicere, vel neceſſitate compulſus, vel, quod eam de deo opinionem meliorem judicaret, communioni Arianorum ſe adjunxiſſe, & totam ſuam gentem ab eccleſia catholica ſeparaſſe. Nam Gotthi ab eo doctore ad pietatem & verum dei cultum amplectendum inſtituti, & per eum ad manſuetiores mores traducti, in omnibus rebus facile ejus conſilio paruerunt: pro certo perſuaſi, nihil ab eo vel dici improbe, vel fieri, ſed omnia ad utilitatem eorum, qui ardenti pietatis ſtudio flagrabant, tranſigi. Quin etiam maximum dedit ſuæ virtutis ſpecimen, infinita pericula pro religione Chriſtiana tum ſubeundo, cum iidem ipſi barbari Gotthi, quos diximus, adhuc religionem gentilium coluerunt. Primus præterea fuit, qui litteras apud eos invenerit, litteraſque ſacras in patrium ſermonem converterit. Quare, quod barbari prope Iſtrum omnino ſectam Arianam ſequebantur, hæc quidem cauſſa fuit. Per idem tempus magnus numerus eorum, qui Phritigerni parebant, propter Chriſtum martyrio e medio ſublati ſunt. Nam Athalaricus, cum Ulphilas multos ejus ditioni ſubjectos ad religionem Chriſti deduxiſſet, iniquo animo ferens, perinde quaſi vita & patria religio novata fuiſſet, eorum complures multis ac variis mulctavit ſuppliciis: quorum pars in judicium adducta, cum viriliter & magno animo fidem Chriſti defendiſſet, interfecta eſt: pars, nulla pro ſe habita oratione, trucidata. Siquidem fertur, eos, quibus hujus rei conficiendæ negocium Athalaricus impoſuerat, ſtatuam quandam, in curru collocatam, per ſingula Chriſtianorum tabernacula circumduxiſſe,

the Purity of their Doctrine (7), but, likewiſe, on Account of the Conſtancy of thoſe, who ſeal'd it with their Blood, by *Cyrill*, Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* (8), St. *Ambroſe* (9) and St. *Auſtin* (10): And, unleſs *Prudentius* ſpeaks too poetically, this Converſion extended to the utmoſt Bounds of the *North* (11).

Their Apoſtacy into *Arianiſm*. Of *Ulphila*, and the *Gothick* Tranſlation of the Goſpels.

§ XL. In ſucceeding Times, we find as well the *Wiſi-Goths* as the *Oſtro-Goths* fell into the Errors of *Arius*: Hiſtorians, however, vary concerning the Circumſtances, that induced them to it. According to *Socrates*, it was occaſioned by a Civil War, between *Athanaric* and *Fritigernus*, in which *Valens*, a zealous *Arian*, aſſiſted the latter: Whence thoſe, who adhered to *Fritigernus*, embraced that Doctrine (1): *Sozomenus* relates, that *Ulphilas*, a Biſhop of the *Goths*, having before been at *Conſtantinople*, aſſiſted at the Synod held there by *Acacius*, *Eudoxius*, and other *Arian* Biſhops, † and ſubſcribed to the Confeſſion of Faith then exhibited (2). *Theodoretus* differs from both, and ſays, that when the *Goths*, at the Time of the Irruption of the *Hunns*, ſued for a Habitation in the *Roman*

† A. 359.

duxiſſe, juſſiſſeque, ut eam adorarent, eique hoſtias immolarent. Quod cum facere recuſaſſent Chriſtiani, tabernacula cum ipſis hominibus incendio abſumſiſſe. Porro aliam cladem hac multo miſerabiliorem eodem tempore quoque accidiſſe, accepi. Nam multi tum viri, tum mulieres (quarum aliæ pueros ſecum adduxerant, aliæ infantes recens natos, & adhuc ſugentes ubera) violentiæ eorum, qui ipſos ad ſacrificandum compellebant, ſuccumbentes, ad tabernaculum eccleſiæ, quæ ibi fuit, profugerunt. Qui omnes, tabernaculo illo a gentilibus incenſo, pariter extincti ſunt.

(7) Basil, *in his 338th Epiſtle, which was written about the Year* 372, *bears Teſtimony of the Purity of their Faith*: Teſtis nobis adeſt ab illis uſque barbaris, qui ultra Danubium regiones colunt, fidei ibi in profeſſione poſitæ ἀνεξεσιαν prædicans.

(8) Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus *catech.* 10. Perſæ & Gotthi, & omnes gentes teſtantur, morientes pro illo, quem corporeis oculis non viderunt.

(9) *See* not. 5. *of the following* Sect.

(10) Augustinus *de civitate dei*, *L.* 18. *c.* 52. Niſi forte non eſt perſecutio computanda, quando rex Gothorum, ipſa Gothia perſecutus eſt Chriſtianos crudelitate mirabili, cum ibi non eſſent, niſi CATHOLICI, quorum plurimi martyrio coronati ſunt, ſicut a quibuſdam fratribus, qui tunc illic pueri fuerant, & ſe iſta vidiſſe incunctanter recordabantur, audivimus.

(11) Prudentius, *in apotheoſi*, v. 494.

Laxavit Scythicas verbo penetrante pruinas
Vox evangelica; Hircanas quoque fervida brumas
Solvit, ut exutus glacie jam mollior amnis
Caucauſea de cote fluat, Rhodopeius Hebrus.
Manſuevere Getæ; feritaſque cruenta Geloni
Lacte mero, ſitiens exſanguia pocula miſcet,
Libatura ſacros Chriſti de ſanguine potus.

§ XL. (1) *See* not. 5. *of the preceding* §.

(2) *See the foregoing* §. not. 6.

Provinces,

Provinces, and the Emperor *Valens* granted their Requeſt, he made it a Condition, that they ſhould join in his Communion; with which *Ulphila* complied, and perſuaded the Nation, that there was no eſſential Difference between them, but that it was only a Contention about Words (3). *Jornandes* is of the ſame Opinion, that *Valens* ſeduc'd the *Goths* to *Arianiſm* (4): But, in all theſe Relations, there remains ſome Doubts. St. *Ambroſe*, ſpeaking of the Times, when, after the Death of *Valens*, the *Goths* made Devaſtations in the *Roman* Provinces, extolls the Purity of their Faith, and their Conſtancy (5). St. *Jerom*, in a Letter, ſuppoſed to be written in the Year 398, praiſes the *Goths* as Orthodox *Chriſtians* (6). St. *Chryſoſtom*, who ſo zealouſly oppos'd the *Gothick Arians*, at *Conſtantinople*, expreſſes much Satisfaction, in the great Services done among the *Goths*, by *Unila*, whom he had conſecrated a Biſhop (7). *Nicetas*, a Biſhop of the *Goths*, is celebrated among the Orthodox *Chriſtians*,

(3) THEODORETUS *hiſt. eccleſ. L.* 4. *c.* 37. Quo tempore Gothi, Iſtrum trajicientes, fœdus cum Valente percuſſerunt, abominandus ille Eudoxius, qui dum aderat, ſuggeſſit imperatori, perſuadendum eſſe Gothis, ut cum ipſis communicarent. Nam cum diu antea divinæ cognitionis radiis illuſtrati eſſent, in apoſtolica doctrina ſemper fuerant innutriti. Quippe aiebat Eudoxius, unius dogmatis communio pacem firmiorem efficet. Quod conſilium cum adprobaſſet Valens, optimatibus Gothorum impoſuit, ut in doctrina fidei cum ipſo conſentirent. At illi reſponderunt, nunqam ſe adduci poſſe, ut a majorum ſuorum doctrina diſcederent Hæc ætate Ulfila totius gentis erat epiſcopus, magnæ apud illos autoritatis, & cujus verba pro firmiſſimis legibus habebant. Hunc Eudoxius cum & verbis demulſiſſet, & muneribus illexiſſet, eo impulit, ut Gothos ad communionem imperatoris amplectendam adduceret. Id autem perſuaſit Ulfilas popularibus ſuis, cum diceret: contentionem ex ambitione ortam eſſe diſcrepantium. Quamobrem Gothi hactenus patrem quidem filio majorem eſſe dicunt, filium tamen creaturam dicere non ſuſtinent, licet cum iis communicent, qui ita dicunt.

(4) JORNANDES *likewiſe pre-ſuppoſes, that* Valens *led the* Goths *into* Arianiſm; *for when he relates*, c. 26. *that, after the unfortunate Battle of* Adrianople, *he was burnt by the* Goths *in a Cottage, he adds*; Dei prorſus judicio, ut ab ipſis igne combureretur, quos ipſe, veram fidem petentes, in perfidiam declinaſſet, & ignem charitatis ad gehennæ ignem detorſiſſet.

(5) AMBROSIUS *comm. in evang. Luc. L.* 1. *p.* 26. Gothis non imperabat Auguſtus, non imperabat Armenis, imperabat Chriſtus. Acceperunt utique Chriſti cenſores, qui Chriſti martyres ediderunt. Et ideo fortaſſe nos vincunt, ut præſentia docent, quoniam, quem illi oblivione ſanguinis fatebantur, huic Ariani queſtionem generis inferebant.

(6) HIERONYMUS, *epiſtola* 57. *ad Lætam: quæ circa A.* 398. *ſcripta.* Depoſuit pharetras Armenius: Hunni diſcunt pſalterium: Scythiæ frigora fervent calore fidei: Getarum rutilus & flavus exercitus, eccleſiarum circumfert tentoria; & ideo forſitan contra nos æqua pugnant acie, quia pari religione confidunt.

(7) CHRYSOSTOMUS, *epiſt.* 14. Narraverunt mihi Marſi, & Gothi monachi, apud quos Serapion, epiſcopus, perpetuo delitescebat,

Christians, towards the Concluſion of the fourth, and the Beginning of the fifth Century (8). If therefore the former Relations have any Foundation, and we would reconcile them to the latter, ſome of the *Goths* muſt be ſaid to have been ſeduced, in *Valens*'s Reign, by the Adherents of *Arius*; but that many remain'd ſtedfaſt to their firſt Profeſſion; and that ſome Orthodox Biſhops continued to convert more of the *Goths* from *Paganiſm*: And farther, that the *Arians*, on the other Hand, being every where expell'd the *Roman* Provinces, took Refuge among the *Goths*, and gained many Proſelytes (9). *Ulphilas* was one of thoſe fertile *Genius*'s, who ſometimes know, by means of one lucky Invention, how to gain the Affection of a whole Nation. The *Goths* were indebted to him for two ſingular Advantage: For he is ſaid to have attempted a Tranſlation of the Sacred Writ, into the *Gothick* Tongue; and, on that Occaſion, to have formed Letters in their Language (10), which the *Goths* were, probably, till then, deſtitute of. *Philoſtorgius* ſays (11), he tranſlated the whole Bible, excepting the *Book* of *Kings*, the Reading of which he thought not proper for his Warlike *Goths*: But the Zeal of the *Goths* ſoon went farther, when they not only compar'd their Verſion with the *Latin*, but, likewiſe, examined it with the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Originals. We have yet St. *Jerom's* Anſwer to two *Gothick* Divines, *Sunnia* and *Fretela*, who conſulted him about ſeveral Paſſages in the *Pſalms*, where the *Latin* differ'd from the *Greek* Tranſlation; and entreated him to explain to them the true Senſe of the *Hebrew* Original. He there commends the *Germans* for examining the Scriptures, whilſt the *Greeks* were in Idleneſs or Contention; and that the *Goths* begun to turn their Hands, which 'till then had only been accuſtomed to Swords and Bows, to the uſe of the Pen, and were deſirous of learning the Words of Truth in the *Hebrew* Language (12). After the *Goths* had once begun to read the Scripture, they were no leſs wanting than the *Greeks* and *Romans* in performing Divine Service in their Mother-Tongue: And *Walafridus Strabo*, a *German* Author, who wrote

ſcebat, Moduarium, diaconum, veniſſe illud afferentem, eximium illum virum, Unilam, quem non ita pridem epiſcopum creavi, atque in Gothiam miſi, multis ac magnis rebus geſtis, diem ſuum extremum clauſiſſe, ac regis Gothorum litteras attuliſſe, quibus, ut ad eos epiſcopus mittatur, petit.

(8) SOZOMENUS *likewiſe ſpeaks in Praiſe of* Theotimus, *Biſhop of* Tomos, *who was famous in the Reign of* Theodoſius, *L.* 7. *c.* 25.

(9) *V.* PROSPERI *Chr. ad A.* Honor. 10.

(10) *In the foregoing* §. *we produced the Teſtimonies of* Socrates, Sozomenus *and* Philoſtorgius.

(11) *See* not. 2. *of the preceding* §.

(12) HIERONYMUS *ad Sunniam & Fretelam, operum, L.* 2. *p.* 626. Dilectiſſimis fratribus, SUNNIÆ & FRETELÆ, & cæteris, qui vobiſcum domino ſerviunt. Vere in vobis

wrote on Eccleſiaſtical Subjects, in the Times of *Ludovicus Pius*, ſays (13), he was told, that the ſame Language was then retained, at Divine Service, in ſeveral Parts of ancient *Scythia*, eſpecially at *Tomos* (14). The ſame Writer ſays, of the *Gothick* Verſion, that the other *Germans* made uſe of it, and that from thence many Words, originally *Greek*,

vobis apoſtolicus & propheticus ſermo completus eſt: *In omnem terram exiit ſonus eorum, & in fines orbis terræ verba eorum.* Quis hoc crederet, ut barbara Getarum lingua Hebraicam quæreret veritatem; & dormitantibus, imo contendentibus Græcis, ipſa Germania ſpiritus ſancti eloquia ſcrutaretur? *In veritate cognovi, quod non eſt perſonarum acceptor deus; ſed in omni gente, qui timet deum, & operatur juſtitiam, acceptus eſt illi.* Dudum calloſa tenendo capulum manus, & digiti tractandis ſagittis aptiores, ad ſtilum calamumque molleſcunt; & bellicoſa pectora vertuntur in manſuetudinem Chriſtianam. Nunc & Iſaiæ vaticinium cernimus opere completum: *Concident gladios ſuos in aratra, & lanceas ſuas in falces; & non ſumet gens contra gentem gladium, & non diſcent ultra pugnare.* Rurſum in eodem. *Paſcetur lupus cum agno; & pardus requieſcet cum hædo; & vitulus & leo & taurus paſcentur ſimul; & puer parvulus ducet eos: & bos & urſus in commune paſcentur: parvulique eorum erunt pariter; & leo & bos comedent paleas*; non ut ſimplicitas in feritatem tranſeat, ſed ut feritas diſcat ſimplicitatem. Quæritis a me rem magni operis, & majoris invidiæ; in qua ſcribentis non ingenium, ſed eruditio comprobetur; ut, dum ipſe cupio de cæteris judicare, judicandum me omnibus præbeam; & in opere pſalterii juxta digeſtionem ſchedulæ veſtræ, ubiquumque inter Latinos Græcoſque contentio eſt, quid magis Hebræis conveniat, ſignificem. *Monſ.* Richard Simon *even aſſerts, in his* Hiſtoire critique du vieux Teſtament, *that* Sunnia *and* Fretela *were a Couple of Matrons; but this Opinion has been ſufficiently exploded by* F. Martinay.

(13) WALAFRIDUS *de reb. eccl. p.* 181. Si autem quæritur, qua occaſione ad nos veſtigia hæc Græcitatis advenerint, dicendum eſt, barbaros in Romana republica militaſſe, & multos prædicatorum Græcæ & Latinæ locutionis peritos inter has beſtias, cum erroribus pugnaturos, veniſſe: & eis pro cauſis multa noſtros, quæ prius non noverant, utilia didiciſſe, præcipueque a Gothis (qui & Guttoni) cum eo tempore, quo ad fidem Chriſti, licet non recto itinere perducti ſunt, in Græcorum provinciis commorantes, noſtrum, id eſt, Theotiſcum ſermonem habuerint, &, ut hiſtoriæ teſtantur, poſtmodum ſtudioſi illius gentis, divinos libros in ſuæ locutionis proprietatem tranſtulerint, quorum adhuc monumenta apud nonnullos habentur. Et fidelium patrum relatione didicimus, apud quaſdam Scytharum gentes, maxime Tomitanos, eadem locutione divina hactenus celebrari officia.

(14) *We find ſome Traces, that the* Vandals *likewiſe made Uſe of their Mother-Tongue in their Divine Service, in a Treatiſe generally aſcribed to* S. Auſtin; *but written, in his Name, by ſome other Perſon; and probably by* Vigilius, *Biſhop of* Tapſus, *in which* S. Auſtin *is introduced as diſputing with* Paſcentius *the* Arian, in app. ep. Auguſtini, n. 180. *The Author there expreſſes himſelf, in* Auſtin's *Name, in the following Manner:* Si minime licet patris & filii & ſpiritus ſancti unam ſubſtantiam lingua exſeri Græca, ergo nec deum laudari decet & barbara. Sicut enim Græca linguæ, quod eſt ὁμόσιον, una dicitur, vel creditur, a fidelibus, trinitatis omnino ſubſtantia, ſic una rogatur, ut miſereatur, a cunctis latinis, & barbaris unius Dei natura, ut a laudibus Dei unius nec ipſa lingua barbara ſit ullatenus aliena. Latine enim dicitur, Domine miſerere. Sola ergo miſericordia hæc ab ipſo uno Deo, patre & filio & ſpiritu ſancto, lingua debet Hebræa, vel Græca aut ipſa ad poſtremum poſtulari Latina, non autem & barbara. Sin licet dicere non ſolum barbaris lingua ſua, ſed etiam Romanis, SIHORA ARMEN, quod interpretatur, Domine miſerere, cur non liceret in conciliis patrum, in ipſa terra Græcorum, unde

Greek, were introduc'd into the *German* Tongue. But we have preſerved, or at leaſt hitherto diſcover'd, no other Remains of that Tranſlation, but the Goſpels, and thoſe in ſome Meaſure mutilated (15). And *Joſ. Scaliger*'s Information (16), which he mentions, that the Reſidue of the *Goths*, who were among the *Præcopenſian Tartars*, ſtill retain their Bible entire, is uncertain. In the ſaid *Gothick* Tranſlation of the Goſpels, we may perceive a particular Dialect of the *German* Tongue, which has borrow'd many Words of the *Greek*, and of thoſe *Sarmatian* Nations, who border'd on the *Goths*, and which differs ſomewhat from the ancient *Alemannick* and *Franconian* Tongues, but ſtill more from the *Swediſh* (17), and the Letters are widely different from thoſe of a People, known in the North by the Name of *Runs* (18).

unde ubique deſtinata eſt fides, lingua propria ὁμόσιον confiteri, quod eſt patris, & filii, & ſpiritus ſancti una ſubſtantia? *The Learned vary in their Opinions about the Words*, Sihora Armen: Stephanus Stephanius, in not. ad Saxonem grammaticum, p. 219, *imagines, that it muſt be read*, Her thig forbarme. Junius *in his* Gloſſarium Gothicum 9. 65, *reads* Sigora armai, *and pretends to have diſcover'd, that the Word* Sigora, *which is derived from* Sieg *(a Victory) is, in the moſt ancient* German *Writings, ſometimes uſed in the Senſe of* Triumphator, *or likewiſe of* Dominus. Armai *is, according to him, the Imperative Mood of the Verb* Arman, *to have Mercy, which was uſed in the* Gothick, *ancient* Franconian, *and* Anglo-Saxon *Dialects: But another learned Perſon, converſant in theſe Languages, ſuppoſes, that it muſt be read*, Fan Sigora Armai. Domine victoriarum miſerere. *As this Ejaculation ſeems to have been uſed in* Africa, *it appears, that by the* Barbari, *the* Vandals *reigning in* Africa *are rather to be underſtood than the* Goths, *according to the Opinion of* Eraſmus.

(15) *The Manuſcript which was formerly in the Library of the Monaſtery of* Werden, *is now preſerved in the Library at* Upſal, *and is known among the Learned, by the Title of the* Codex argenteus, *(becauſe it is bound in maſſy Silver), we are oblig'd to the laudable Attention of the* Swedes, *to the Preſervation of all* Northern *Antiquities, for the Publication of this Treaſure, in a* Gothick *Character, with the* Anglo-Saxon *Tranſlation, and the* Gloſſarium Gothicum, *by* Thomas Mareſchal, *printed in* 4to. A. 1665, *at* Dort, *which Edition was reprinted at* Amſterdam, A. 1684. George Stirnhielm, *Counſellor of War to his* Swediſh *Majeſty, Preſident in the College of Antiquities, afterwards publiſh'd it in a* Roman *Character, with the* Swediſh, Iſlandick, *and common* Latin *Verſion, together with a learned Preface and Gloſſary, at* Stockholm, A. 167, *in* 4to. *Conf.* Ge. Frederici Heupelii *diſſert. de Ulphila, ſeu Verſione 4, evangeliſtarum Gothica.*

(16) Josephus Scaliger, *canonum iſagogicorum, L. 3. p.* 347. Etiamnum in iisdem regionibus degunt ſub Præcopenſi Tartarorum dynaſta, & utrumque teſtamentum iisdem litteris, quas excogitavit Wulfila, conſcriptum, & eadem lingua, qua tempore Ovidii utebantur, interpretatum legunt. Sermo enim eorum hodiernus majori ex parte Teutonicus eſt, ut Joſaphat Barbarus, civis Venetus, ſcripſerit, puerum Teutonem, quem ſecum habebat, ab ipſis, & ipſos ab eo viciſſim intellectos fuiſſe, ac verba inter ſe, haud aliter ac ſi eadem lingua fuiſſet, ultro citroque habuiſſe.

(17) *This has been illuſtrated by Mr.* John George Wachter, *in a particular Diſſertation* de lingua Codicis argentei, *an Extract of which may be met with in the* Miſcellanea Berolinenſia continuat. 1. p. 40.

(18) *See the Compariſon of the Letters, uſed by* Ulphila, *with the* Runnick *Alphabet, in* Heupelius's *afore-cited Diſſertation,* § 6.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ANCIENT GERMANS.

BOOK VIII.

The Foundation of the ſeveral Kingdoms of the GOTHS, VANDALS, SUEVI, and BURGUNDIANS, in the ROMAN Provinces.

SECT. I. *THE Partition of the* Roman *Empire between the Sons of* Theodoſius. *The Power and Reputation of the* Goths *in the* Eaſt. II. Stilico *eſtabliſhes a good Underſtanding with the* Alemanni *and* Franks. III. Alaric *raiſes new Commotions.* Gaina, *General of the* Oſtro-Goths, *cauſes* Rufinus *to be put to Death.* IV. Alaric *invades* Greece. V. Stilico *equips a Fleet againſt him.* VI. *Tranſactions of the two* Franconian *Princes,* Marcomer *and* Sunno. VII. *The* Saxons *infeſt the Coaſts of* Britain. *Of the* Limes Saxonicus. VIII. Tribigildus *excites the* Oſtro-Goths *to a Rebellion in* Phrygia. IX. Gaina *forms a Deſign on* Conſtantinople: *Is defeated by* Frajuta: *And ſlain in a Battle with the* Huns. X. Alaric *marches into* Italy. XI. *The Battle of* Pollentia. XII. *A ſecond Engagement near* Verona. Alaric *leaves* Italy. Honorius's *Triumph.* XIII. *He makes a League with* Alaric *againſt* Arcadius. XIV. Radagaiſus *invades* Italy *and is defeated. Whether* Radeghaſt, *the Idol of the* Abotrites, *was ſo call'd from him?* XV. *Several* German *Nations invade* Gaul: *The* Vandals *are obliged to fight their Way thro' the* Franks. XVI. *Irruptions*

ruptions of the Suevi *and* Burgundians. *What Revolutions are caused by these Migrations in* Germany? XVII. Conſtantine *revolts in* Britain. XVIII. Alaric *goes a ſecond Time to* Italy; *but is appeas'd.* XIX. Stilico's *Fall. The Emperour breaks again with the* Goths. XX. Alaric *attacks* Rome. *Comes to an Agreement with the* Romans. XXI. Honorius *is reconciled to* Conſtantine, *to be the better able to reſiſt the* Goths. XXII. *Refuſes to ratify the Treaty the* Romans *had made with* Alaric. Ataulph *comes into* Italy. XXIII. *Fruitleſs Negotiation at* Rimini. XXIV. Alaric *beſieges* Rome *a ſecond Time: Raiſes* Attalus *to the Imperial Dignity.* XXV. *Endeavours to depoſe* Honorius. *Imprudent Behaviour of* Attalus. XXVI. Alaric *depoſes* Attalus. *Enters into freſh Negotiations with* Honorius; *but without Succeſs.* XXVII. Alaric *attacks* Rome *a third Time, and takes the City by Storm.* XXVIII. *Whether the* Goths *were guilty of ſo many Barbarities at* Rome, *as are generally laid to their Charge?* XXIX. Alaric *leaves* Rome. *His Death.* Atualph *ſucceeds him, as King of the* Wiſi-Goths. XXX. *The* Vandals, Suevi *and* Alani *break into* Spain. XXXI. Honorius *endeavours to recover* Gaul, *and ſends* Conſtantius *thither.* XXXII. Conſtantine *draws the* Alemanni *and* Franks *over to his Party; but is overcome.* XXXIII. *The* Vandals, Suevi, *and* Alani *ſeparate in* Spain. XXXIV. Jovinus *aſſumes the Imperial Dignity at* Mentz, *with the Aſſiſtance of the* Germans. XXXV. Atualph *marches into* Gaul, *and defeats* Jovinus: *Notwithſtanding which the Treaty with* Honorius *is not ratified.* XXXVI. Atualph *marries the* Roman *Princeſs*, Placidia. XXXVII. *The* Goths *march into* Spain. XXXVIII. *Beginning of the* Burgundian *Monarchy in* Gaul. *Converſion of the* Burgundians. XXXIX. Atualph's *Death.* XL. Wallia *makes Peace with the* Romans. Honorius's *Triumph.* XLI. *Wars of the* Wiſi-Goths *with the* Alani *in* Spain. XLII. Wallia *makes* Touloufe *the Royal Reſidence of the Kingdom of the* Wiſi-Goths. XLIII. *The State of* Gaul. *Conſtitution of the ſeven* Gallick *Provinces. The City of* Triers *deſtroy'd.* XLIV. *Tranſactions of the* Franks. *Of King* Pharamond. *Whether he may be accounted the Founder of the Monarchy of the* Franks? XLV. *When the* Salique *Laws were made?* XLVI. Honorius *makes* Conſtantius *his Partner in the Empire.* XLVII. *The Wars of the* Vandals *and* Suevi *in* Spain. XLVIII. *The* Vandals *defeat the* Roman *General* Caſtinus. XLIX. *The Death of* Honorius. *A Compariſon between the* German *and* Roman *Power.* L. *Converſion of the* German *Nations.*

THEO-

§. I. THEODOSIUS did not long enjoy the Fruits of his laſt Victory. He died in the Year 395, on the 17th of *January*, at *Milan*, in the 48th Year of his Age. *Arcadius*, one of his Sons, kept the *Eaſt*, and the *Weſt* fell to the Share of *Honorius*, his other Son, whom he had ſent for to *Italy*: But the *Roman* Provinces remained, as in former Partitions, one Empire and one State, notwithſtanding the Adminiſtration of it was divided: For all Advices were directed to both Emperors, and all Laws were decreed in the Names of both (1). *Arcadius* was about 18, and *Honorius* 11 Years of Age: But neither of them had inherited any of their Father's Qualities, excepting his Veneration for the Church: And as it is, at all Times, difficult to give a proper Education to a Prince, after he has the ſupream Power in his Hands; ſo thoſe who were now in the Adminiſtration had perhaps their particular Reaſons, for not training up theſe Princes in the Art of Government. Their Inexperience proved ſo fatal to the *Roman* Empire; that the Declenſion thereof may properly be computed from this Time. The *Weſt* in particular underwent, in *Honorius*'s Reign, thoſe Devaſtations, the doleful Memory of which is known in Hiſtory by the Name of the *Grand Tranſmigration of a Swarm of Nations*. It was likewiſe a bad Omen, that, at Court, an Effeminacy rul'd more becoming the *Perſians*, than the *Romans* (2). The Courtiers were more ſollicitous about their Luxury, their Table, ſumptuous Furniture, and other Trifles, in which they placed their Welfare, than about the State. Many of the moſt excellent Genius's aſpired to Dignities in the Church, which was then herſelf perplexed with civil Diſorders. The Military State, and the Reputation thoſe who were experienc'd in War might have gain'd even in other Offices, fell therefore chiefly into the Hands of Strangers; and as, ſince the Times of *Conſtantine*, the *Great*, and eſpecially in the laſt Reign, many *Franks*, *Alemanni* and other *Germans* were in high Eſteem, ſo now the *Goths* in particular, bore ſuch Authority, that *Syneſius*, in an Oration addreſs'd to the Emperor *Arcadius*, complains, that the *Goths* might now be look'd upon as the Men, and the *Romans* the Women (3). The

Partition of the *Roman* Empire between the Sons of *Theodoſius*. Power and Reputation of the *Goths* in the *Eaſt*.

§. I. (1) *Some modern Writers repreſent this Partition very differently, and among the Reſt, the Abbé* Toſini, *whoſe Words, in the* French *Tranſlation of his Treatiſe of the* Liberty *of* Italy, p. 162. *are theſe:* Outre cela jamais, aucun Empereur d' Orient ne ſongea a conteſter la preéminence a celui d' Occident, duquel il dependoit au contraire abſolument: De telle ſorte que celui-ci fut toujours reconnu pour le veritable Empereur, celui là n' en aiant en quelque maniere que l' apparence, & povant plûtôt ſ' appeller le Collegue, le Coadjuteur de l' autre, &c.

(2) V. SYNESIUS *in orat. de regno, ad Arcadium habita, p.* 14. *C. & ſequ.*

(3) SYNESIUS *l. c. p. 22. A. ſq.* Ac mihi, vel nimis audacis viri, vel certe vatis eſſe videtur, numeroſam juventutem, alienis inſtitutis educatam, ſuis moribus utentem, quæ ad bellum ſpectant

very Faſhions of the *Goths* likewiſe now began to be imitated (4), as if the Vanity of the *Romans* was to prepare them for the *Gothick* Yoke. The

tant in regione exercentem, cum videat nequaquam metuere. Aut enim illos neceſſe eſt ſapientes eſſe credamus; aut, ſi id omnino deſperandum eſt, Tantali lapidem putemus tenuiſſimus funibus ſupra rempubl. eſſe ſuſpenſum. Tunc enim primum invadent, cum ſuos ipſos conatus ex animi ſententia ſucceſſuros putabunt. Hujus ſane rei aliquot jam præludia ac velitationes exiſtunt; nonnullæque cum tumore inflammantur imperii, ceu corporis, partes, cum quo, quæ ſunt aliena, in ejuſdem ſani temperamenti concordiam coaleſcere nequeunt. Alienum autem omne, ut a corporibus, ita a civitatibus excerni oportere, tam medici, quam imperatores, dixerint. At neque contrarias illis viris opponere, & perinde ac ſi illæ noſtræ eſſent, vocationem a militia poſtulantibus indulgere, cæteroſque, qui in regione ſunt, aliis rebus occupari permittere, quid aliud quam hominum ad interitum feſtinantium eſt? Cum potius quam arma gerere hic Scythas permittamus, petendi ſint amica ab agricultura, qui ipſam tueantur homines, ac tantiſper ii centuriandi ſint, dum & philoſopho e ſchola, & operario e quæſtuario artificio, & e venalium foro, eo, qui ibidem verſatur, excitato, nec non ignavæ, fucorum inſtar, plebi, quæ præ otii abundantia in theatris perpetuo degit, tandem ſerio agendum eſſe perſuaſerimus, priuſquam a riſu ad gemitum tranſeant; adeo ut neque melior, neque deterior ullus pudor impediat, quo minus propriæ a Romanis vires, comparentur. *Etenim in familia juxta ac in rebus publicis protectio, defenſioque penes mares eſt; penes fœminas autem eorum, quæ intra ædes ſunt, cura atque ſolicitudo. Quomodo ergo apud nos alienos eſſe mares tolerabile eſt?* aut quomodo non turpius eſt, florentiſſimum imperium aliis bellica gloria, ac contentione cedere? *conf.* Idem *p.* 23. *B.*

(4) *Hence* Honorius *prohibited foreign Habits* l. 2. cod. *Theodoſiani de habitu, quo uti oportet intra urbem.* Uſum Tzangarum atque braccarum intra urbem venerabilem nemini liceat uſurpare. Si quis autem contra hanc ſanctionem venire tentaverit, ſententia viri inluſtris, P. F. ſpoliatum eum omnibus facultatibus tradi in perpetuum exilium præcipimus. *Datum Romæ in foro D. Trajani,* CÆSARIO, & ATTICO Coss. *and* l. 4. e. Majores crines, indumenta pellium, etiam in ſervis intra urbem ſacratiſſimam præcipimus inhiberi. CLAUDIANUS *in Rufinum* L. II. *v.* 77. *ſays that* Rufinus *himſelf wore a* Gothick *Habit.*

Ipſe inter medios, ne qua de parte relinquat
Barbariem, revocat fulvas in pectore pelles,
Frenaque, & immanes pharetras, arcuſque ſonoros.
Aſſimilat, mentemque palam teſtatur amictus.
Nec pudet Auſonios currus, & jura regentem
Sumere deformes ritus, veſtemque Getarum
Inſignemque habitum Latii mutare, togæque:
Mœrent captivæ, pellito judice, leges.

The Goths, *on the contrary, retained their Dreſs, and tho' their Chiefs, who enjoyed Poſts of Honour, attended at Court, on Council Days, in a* Roman *Habit, when they return'd, they immediately put on their Furs again.* SYNESIUS *l. c. p.* 23. *B.* Ut enim ſe modo res habent, & conſiliariam ipſam Themidem, & belli præſidem deum arbitror præ pudore occultare ſeſe, quoties barbarico renone indutus homo chlamydatos ad bellum ducit, vel cum aliquis ſcortea, qua amiciebatur, penula depoſita, togam induit, & cum Romanis magiſtratibus primum a conſule ſubſellium habens, legitimiſque viris poſt eum ſedentibus, de rerum ſtatu deliberat. Ille autem paululum curia egreſſi, rurſum pelliceas veſtes ſumunt, togamque, ubi inter comites fuerint, derident, quacum ſtringendi enſis expeditam eſſe facultatem negant. Ego vero, cum in multis aliis, tum in eo maxime ſtoliditatem noſtram demiror. Etenim quælibet familia, quæ paulo commodius degit, Scythicæ originis poſſidet ſervum: & eſt unicuique ſtructor, furnarius, & amphorarius, genere Scytha. Tum inter pediſſequos, qui depreſſiores grabatulos, plicatiles ſuccollant, ut his etiam in via domini inſidere poſſint, Scythæ omnes ſunt, quaſi jam olim a majoribus generi huic ſit a natura tributum, ut Romanorum ſervitio

The *Goths* themſelves ſometimes ridicul'd them; and St. *Chryſoſtom* (5) relates, that one of their Princes did not ſcruple to ſay, he wonder'd at the impotent Pride of the *Romans*, to venture to defend their Provinces againſt the *Goths*.

§. II. THE firſt Care in the *Weſt* was to extinguiſh all Remains, and, if poſſible, the very Memory of *Eugenius*'s Rebellion; and, in particular, the Name of *Arbogaſtes*, whom he had nominated Conſul, was every where effac'd: Which, however, was preſerv'd in his Poſterity, among whom we meet with one *Arbogaſtes*, Count of *Triers*, whom *Sidonius Apollinaris* (1), and *Auſpicius*, Biſhop of *Tull* (2), very much extol. *Stilico*, after this, made it his Buſineſs to ſettle a good Underſtanding with the *Alemanni* and *Franks*, who, on their Part, were not averſe to it; becauſe they had ſuſtained great Loſſes in the late Engagements, and found now, that the Beginning of the new Reign had a peaceable Aſpect. It appears from *Claudian*, that *Stilico* went to *Rætia*, and afterwards down the *Rhine*, to the Place, where that River divides itſelf. In this Progreſs, he made Alliances with the Kings of the *Alemanni* and *Franks*; for the better Security of which, the Kings of the *Franks* gave their Princes for Hoſtages (3). The other Circumſtances mentioned by *Claudian* ſavour too

Stilico eſtabliſhes a good Underſtanding with the *Alemanni* and *Franks*.

ſervitio accommodatiſſimum ac digniſſimum eſſet. Jam vero flavos illos, & Eboico more comatos, apud eoſdem homines, privatim quidem ſervos eſſe, publice vero magiſtratus, cum inſolens eſt, tum in hoc ſpectaculo præ cæteris admirandum cenſeo.

(5) CHRYSOSTOMUS *ad Viduam Juniorem operum tom.* IV. *p.* 463. Barbari noſtros omnes irident, & quendam ex illorum regibus dixiſſe ferunt: mirari ſe impudentiam noſtrorum militum, qui, cum facilius quam oves ſoleant jugulari, adhuc victoriam ſperent, neque ex ipſorum regione velint excedere. Namque (ipſe quidem dixit) ſe illis cædendis ſatietate ſæpe captum eſſe.

§. II. (1) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS *L.* IV. *ep.* 17.

(2) V. AUSPICII *ad Arbogaſtem, comitem Treverorum, epiſtola, apud Du Cheſne, tom.* I. *p.* 864. *It begins thus:*

Congratulandum tibi eſt, o Treverorum civitas,
Quæ tali viro regeris, antiquis comparabili.
De magno origo ſemine deſcendit tui nominis:
Certe virtutis ejus eſt, ut Arbogaſtis legitur.
Scribantur in annalibus hujus triumphi pariter
Sicut & ejus ſcripti ſunt, quem ſupra memoravimus.
Sed hoc addamus meritum huic, qui vere major eſt,
Quod Chriſti nomen invocat religioni deditus.
Fuit in armis alacer ille antiquus, verum eſt:
Sed infidelis moritur, & morte cuncta perdidit.
Hic autem noſter ſtrenuus, belligeroſus, inclytus,
Et quod his cunctis majus eſt, cultor divini nominis,

(3) CLAUDIANUS *de* IV. *conſul. Honorii v.* 440. *ſqq.*

Hunc tamen imprimis populos lenire feroces,
Et Rhenum pacare jubes: volat ille citatis
Vectus equis, nullaque latus ſtipante caterva,
Aſpera nubiferas qua Retia porrigit Alpes:
Pergit, & hoſtiles, tanta eſt fiducia, ripas
Incomitatus adit. totum properare per amnem
Attonitos reges humili cervice videres.
Ante ducem noſtrum flavam ſparſere Sicambri
Cæſariem, pavidoque orantes murmure Franci
Procubuere ſolo: juratur Honorius abſens,
Imploratque tuum ſupplex Alemannia nomen.
Baſternæ venere truces, venit accola ſylvæ
Bructerus Hercyniæ; latiſque paludibus exit
Cimbrus, & ingentes Albim liquere Cheruſci.
Accipit ille preces varias, tardeque rogatus
Annuit

too much of a Poetical Licence, to deſerve a Place in Hiſtory. We may beſides look upon it as a Conſequence of this good Underſtanding, that the Poet introduces the Emperor *Honorius*, when he was entring upon his War with *Gildo*, in *Africa*, *A.* 397, as valuing himſelf upon thoſe *Franks* and *Suevi*, whom he had ſent againſt him (4); and that, in another Place, he relates, that whilſt the Exportation from *Africa* was ſtopp'd, the Emperor cauſed Corn to be brought from *Germany* (5).

Annuit, & magno pacem pro munere donat.
Nobilitant veteres Germanica fœdera Druſos,
Marte ſed ancipiti, ſed multis cladibus emta.
Quis victum meminit ſola formidine Rhenum?
Quod longis alii bellis potuere mereri
Hoc tibi dat Stiliconis iter.

He ſpeaks in Praiſe of the ſame Thing, de laudibus Stiliconis L. I. v. 189-236.

—— Non claſſica Francis
Intulimus: jacuere tamen non Marte Süevos
Contudimus, queis jura damus: quis credere poſſit?
Ante tubam nobis audax Germania ſervit.
Cedant, Druſe, tui, cedant, Trajane, labores.
Veſtra manus dubio quidquid diſcrimine geſſit,
Tranſcurrens egit Stilico, totidemque diebus
Edomuit Rhenum, quot vos potuiſtis in annis.
Quem ferro, alloquiis; quem vos cum milite, ſolus
Impiger a primo deſcendens fluminis ortu
Ad biſidos tractus, & juncta paludibus ora
Fulmineum perſtrinxit iter, ducis impetus undas
Vincebat celeres, & pax a fonte profecta
Cum Rheni creſcebat aquis, ingentia quondam
Nomina, crinigero flaventes vertice reges,
Qui nec principibus, donis, precibuſque vocati
Parverant, juſſi properant, ſegnique verentur
Offendiſſe mora, tranſvecti lintribus amnem
Occurſant ubique velis, nec fama fefellit
Juſtitiæ. videre pium, videre fidelem.
Quem veniens timuit, rediens Germanus amavit.
Illi terribiles, quibus otia vendere ſemper
Mos erat; & fœda requiem mercede paciſci
Natis obſidibus pacem tam ſupplice vultu,
Captivoque rogant, quam ſi poſt terga revincti
Tarpeias preſſis ſubeant cervicibus arces.
Omne quod oceanum, fonteſque interjacet Iſtri,
Unius incurſu tremuit, ſine cæde ſubactus
Servitio boreas, exarmatique triones.
Tempore tam parvo tot prælia, ſanguine nullo,
Perficis, & luna nuper naſcentæ profectus,
Ante redis quam plena fuit, Rhenumque minacem
Cornibus infractis adeo miteſcere cogis,
Ut Salius jam rura colat, flexoſque Sicambri
In falcem curvent gladios, geminaſque viator
Cum videat ripas, quæ ſit Romana requirat.
Ut jam trans fluvium non indignante Cayco
Paſcat Belga pecus, mediumque ingreſſa per Albim
Gallica Francorum montes armenta pererrent:
Ut procul Hercyniæ per vaſta ſilentia ſilvæ,
Venari tuto liceat, lucoſque vetuſta
Religione truces, & robora, numinis inſtar
Barbarici, noſtræ feriant impune bipennes.
Ultro quin etiam devota mente tuentur,
Victorique favent. quoties ſociare catervas
Oravit, jungique tuis Alemannia ſignis!
Nec doluit contempta tamen, ſpretoque receſſit
Auxilio laudata fides.

(4) HONORIUS *ap.* CLAUDIANUM *de bello Gildonico v.* 391.

—— Quæcunque meo gens barbara nutu
Stringitur, adveniat. Germania tota feratur
Navibus, & ſocia comitentur claſſe Sicambri.
Pallida tranſlatum jam ſentiat Africa Rhenum.

This Paſſage occaſioned NICOLAUS VIGNERIUS, in lib. de ſtatu & origin Francorum, p. 53. *to believe, that ſome* German *People were actually tranſported to* Africa: *but this is exploded by* VALESIUS L. II. p. 95

(5) IDEM *in Eutropium L.* I. *v.* 401.

Quæ ſuſcepta fames, quantum diſcriminis urbi,
Ni tua, vel ſoceri, nunquam non provida virtus
Auſtralem Arctois penſaſſet frugibus annum!
Invectæ Rhodani Tiberina per oſtia claſſes,
Cinyphiiqſue ferax Araris ſucceſſit ariſtis,
Teutonicus vomer, Pyrenæique juvenci,
Sudavere mihi.

§. III. THE

§. III. THE *East* had not ſo peaceable an Aſpect, and the Envy and Diffidence of the Miniſters, who had the Management, at both Courts, increas'd the ſeemingly impending Danger: For *Stilico* aimed at a univerſal Rule, which, on the other Hand, *Ruſinus* a *Gaul*, by Birth, who bore the Sway in *Arcadius*'s Court, would not allow him. The *Goths* and other *Northern* Nations cauſed great Diſorders in *Aſia*, as well as in *Moëſia* and *Thrace*, in *Europe* (1). The *Gothis* even proceeded ſo far, that *Conſtantinople* was in Danger, and *Ruſinus* came out of the City to treat with them: But we meet with no certain Account of the Conditions, on which the Peace was concluded. *Stilico* had reſolved to go to the Aſſiſtance of the laſt †, and was already advanc'd to *Dalmatia*, with his Army, when he received Orders from *Arcadius*, to return himſelf, and to ſend him the Troops which belonged to the *Eaſt*. *Stilico* obeyed, and gave the Command of thoſe Troops to the *Gothick* General, *Gaina*, who had headed that People in the Battle with *Eugenius*. The Event confirms the Relation of *Zoſimus*, that *Stilico* had ſecur'd *Gaina*, on his Side, againſt *Ruſinus*: For, when the Army arrived, the 17th of *November*, at *Conſtantinople*, and the Emperor, with *Ruſinus*, went out to meet it, the Conſpiracy broke out ſo unexpectedly, that *Ruſinus* was kill'd on the Spot (2). *Eutropius*, an Eunuch, got the Adminiſtration, and obtain'd a greater Power at Court, than *Ruſinus* had; becauſe the Empreſs *Eudoxia*, who had an abſolute Influence over her Conſort, was oblig'd to him, in a great Meaſure, for her Marriage.

Alaric raiſes new Commotions. *Gaina* cauſes *Ruſinus* to be put to Death.

† 395.

§. III. (1) Claudian *deſcribes this Irruption*, L. II. in Rufinum v. 23-48. *and accuſes* Rufinus *of having excited them himſelf.*

—— —— Abrupto gentes ſic obice fudit,
Laxavitque viam bellis, & ne qua maneret
Immunis regio, cladem diviſit in orbem
Diſpoſuitque nefas. alii per terga ferocis
Danubii ſolidata ruunt, expertaque remos
Frangunt ſtagna rotis. alii per Caſpia clauſtra,
Armeniaſque nives inopino tramite ducti
Invadunt orientis opes. jam paſcua fumant
Cappadocum, volucrumque parens Argeus equorum:
Jam rubet altus Halys: nec ſe defendit iniquo
Monte Cilix. Syriæ tractus vaſtantur amœni,
Aſſuetumque choris, & læta plebe canorum
Proterit imbellem ſonipes hoſtilis Orontem.
Hinc planctus Aſiæ: Geticis Europa catervis
Ludibrio, prædæque datur, frondentis aduſque
Dalmatiæ fines: omnis quæ mobile Ponti
Æquor, & Hadriacas tellus interjacet undas,
Squalet inops pecudum, nullis habitata colonis,
Inſtar anhelantis Libyæ, quæ torrida ſemper
Solibus, humano neſcit manſueſcere cultu.
Theſſalus ardet ager. reticet paſtore fugato
Pelion. Emathias ignis populatur ariſtas.
Jam plaga Pannoniæ, miſerandaque mœnia Thracum,
Arvaque Myſorum: jam nulli flebile damnum,
Sed curſus ſolennis erat, campuſque furori
Expoſitus, ſenſumque malis detraxerat uſus

(2) ZOSIMUS Lib. V. c. 4. 5. & 7. *But he has not obſerved the beſt Order in his Chronology*, Claudian *relates the ſame Occurrences at large* L. II. in Rufinum, v. 101-405.

§. IV. THE

Alaric invades *Greece.*

§. IV. THE *Goths*, who had created theſe Troubles in the *Eaſt*, choſe *Alaric* for their Commander. This Hero, who was deſtin'd to ſpread Terror within the Walls of *Rome*, was born in the Iſland *Peuce*, which is formed by two Arms of the *Danube* (1), of the Family of the *Balthæ* (2), one of the firſt Diſtinction among the *Goths*. He had given eminent Proofs of his Valour againſt *Theodoſius* himſelf (3), and in his Service afterwards, in the Engagement with *Eugenius* (4); but was diſguſted becauſe he had not been advanced according to his Merit (5): And *Zoſimus*, as well as *Claudian*, accuſe *Rufinus* of having fomented his Diſtaſte (6). He over-run *Macedonia* and *Theſſalia*; forced the the Paſs of *Thermopyle* and ravag'd all the Country, as far as the two Cities of *Thebes* and *Athens*. We find, by this Relation, in *Zoſimus*, what thoſe *Pagans*, who thought themſelves the moſt prudent, out of a Zeal for their own Superſtition, could prevail upon others, and perhaps themſelves, to believe: For, as the Chriſtians valued themſelves upon ſo many Miracles, whereby GOD had declared himſelf on their Side, and particularly at the laſt Battle of *Aquileia*; and the *Heathens* would likewiſe put in their Claim, to the Protection of Heaven; *Zoſimus* writes, that *Alaric* would not venture to attack *Athens*; becauſe he had ſeen before the Walls of it, the Goddeſs *Minerva*, in Armour, and *Achilles*, in the ſame Poſture as he is deſcribed by *Homer*, when he arm'd himſelf to revenge the Death of *Patroclus* (7). The *Goths* afterwards

§. IV. (1) CLAUDIANUS *de* VI. *conſul. Honorii v.* 103-110

—— —— Duo namque fuere
Europæ, Lybyæque hoſtes. Mauruſius atlas
Gildonis furias, Alaricum barbara PEUCE
Nutrierat: qui ſæpe tuum ſprevere profana
Mente patrem. Thracum veniens e finibus alter
Hebri clauſit aquis; alter præcepta vocantis
Reſpuit, auxiliiſque ad proxima bella negatis,
Abjurata palam Libyæ poſſederat arva.

(2) JORNANDES, *See below* §. X. not. 2.

(3) CLAUDIAN *introduces* ALARIC *as praiſing himſelf* de bello Getico v. 539.

Anne tot auguſtos Hebro qui teſte fugavi
Te patiar ſuadere fugam?

From not. 1. *it appears, that he fought againſt* Theodoſius *himſelf.*

(4) *See* not. 6.

(5) IBID.

(6) ZOSIMUS *Lib. V. c.* 5. His a Rufino per ſummam nequitiam deſignatis, poſteaquam ſeditioſum eſſe, legibuſque ſemet eximere vidit Alaricum (qui permoleſte ferret militum ſe copiis haud præfici, ſed eos duntaxat habere barbaros, quos ei tradiderat Theodoſius, quo tempore cum illo tyrannidem Eugenianam everterat) ſecreto ei ſignificat, ut, quos ſecum haberet barbaros, alioſve collectitios diverſarum gentium milites, ulterius duceret, omnibus abſque labore potiturus. His fretus Alaricus, e Thracia diſcedit, & in Macedoniam Theſſaliamque progreditur, interjectis omnibus excidio datis.

(7) ZOSIMUS *l. c. cap.* 6. Quum ad urbem Alaricus univerſis cum copiis accederet, murum quidem circum luſtrantem vidit propugnatricem Minervam, ea ſpecie, qua inter ſimulacra conſpicitur; armatam ſcilicet, quaſique jam adeuntes invaſuram; ante mœnia vero ſtantem Achillem heroa, talem omnino, qualem Trojanis Homerus exhibuit, quum, ira ſtimulante, Patrocli necem ulturus in eos pugnaret. Hoc ſpectrum non ferens Alaricus, omni adverſus urbem conatu intermiſſo, pacem

wards paſs'd the *Iſthmus* near *Corinth*, and this City, together with *Argos*, *Sparta*, and all the adjacent Country, became a Prey to their Arms.

§. V. In the Year 396, *Stilico* went with a Fleet, to *Peloponneſus*, to ſtop the Progreſs of the *Goths* (1): But to little Purpoſe; and the Accounts we have are ſo contradictory, that it is difficult where to lay the Blame. *Zoſimus* imputes it to *Stilico*'s evil Conduct (2): *Claudian*, on the contrary, ſpeaks even here in Praiſe of his Hero (and we cannot expect otherwiſe from him) and attributes the Cauſe of ſo little being done, to the Court of *Conſtantinople*, which, on Account of certain Suſpicions concerning this Expedition, made an untimely Accommodation with *Alaric* (3). A Peace was however concluded, and, as the Poet mentions, in one Paſſage, that *Alaric* was created *Præſes* of *Illyricum* (4) *(ſcil. orientale)* that was perhaps the principal Condition of it. *Stilico* equips a Fleet againſt him.

§. VI. ABOUT the Year 399 (1), two Princes of the *Franks*, *Marcomer* and *Sunno*, had attempted ſeveral Innovations, which, however, the *Romans* ſoon revenged: But we find no other Account of this Matter, but what is in *Claudian*. He boaſts, not without many Poetical Embelliſhments, that *Marcomer* was ſent into Exile to *Toſcana*, that *Sunno* attempting to ſuccour him, was put to Death, and that their Succeſſors adhered firmly to the *Roman* Court (2). *Pagius* ſuppoſes, that the City Tranſactions of the two *Franconian* Princes, *Marcomer* and *Sunno*.

pacem per præcones civibus offert, quorum illi quum orationem probaſſent, ſacramentis ultro citroque præſtitis, cum paucis Athenas Alaricus ingreſſus eſt. Exceptus omni genere comitatis, poſteaquam & laviſſet, & cum ſelectiſſimis in urbe viris fuiſſet epulatus, & præterea muneribus cultus; urbe paritur & Attica tota, fine ullo maleficio ceſſit.

§. V. (1) *See* Tillemont not. 6. ad vit. Theodoſii, p. 1034. *where he confirms this Chronology.*

(2) ZOSIMUS *L.* V. *c.* 7.

(3) CLAUDIAN de Bello Getico, v. 527. *introduces an ancient* Gothick *General thus addreſſing* Alaric:

A magno Stilicone cave, qui ſemper iniquos
Fortuna famulante premit. ſcis ipſe perofis
Arcadiæ quam denſa rogis cumulaverit oſſa:
Sanguine quam largo Grajos calefecerit amnes.
Extinctuſque fores, ni te ſub nomine legum
Proditio, regnique favor tegiſſet ëoi.

(4) IDEM *in* Eutropium *L.* II. *v.* 213.

—— At nunc, qui fœdera rumpit,
Ditatur; qui ſervat, egit, vaſtator Achivæ
Gentis, & Epirum nuper populatus inultam,
Præſidet Illyrico. Jam quos obſedit, amicus
Ingreditur muros, illis reſponſa daturus,
Quorum conjugibus potitur, natoſque peremit.
Sic hoſtes punire ſolent, hæc præmia ſolvunt
Excidiis —— —— ——

Alaric, *in the ſame Poet, boaſts himſelf of this* Præfectura de bello Getico, v. 550. *See* ad §. X. not. 1.

§. VI. (1) *See the following Note.*

(2) CLAUDIANUS *L.* I. *de laud. Stiliconis v.* 236.

—— Provincia miſſos
Expellet citius, fallax quam Francia reges,
Quos dederis: acie non jam pulſare rebelles,
Sed vinclis punire licet. Sub judice noſtro
Regia Romanus diſquirit crimina carcer.
Marcomeres, Sunnoque docet. quorum alter Etruſcum
Pertulit exſilium, cum ſe promitteret alter
Exſulis ultorem, jacuit mucrone ſuorum.
Res avidi conſcire novas: odioque furentes
Pacis, & ingenio, ſcelerumque cupidine fratres.

of *Triers* was, the firſt Time, deſtroyed by the *Franks*, on Occaſion of theſe Irruptions: And that Deſtruction gave Occaſion to the Removal of the *Præfectura Prætorii Galliarum*, from that Place to *Arles* (3).

The *Saxons* infeſt the Coaſts of *Britain*. Of the *Limes Saxonicus*.

§. VII. ABOUT theſe Times, we muſt likewiſe place *Claudian*'s Account of the Security to which *Stilico* reſtored *Britain*, againſt the *Scots*, who had invaded it, at the Inſtigation of the *Picts*, from *Ireland*, and againſt the *Saxons* (1). The latter had been, for ſome Time, ſo powerful in theſe Seas, that the Emperor thought it expedient to ſend Troops to the *Britiſh* (2), and the oppoſite *Gallick* Coaſts (3), to obſtruct their landing. Theſe Coaſts received from thence the

He then, Lib. II. v. 248. de laudibus Stiliconis, *introduces* Gaul, *as ſaying:*

Qui mihi Germanos ſolus Francoſque ſubegit
Cur nondum legitur faſtis?

IDEM *L.* I. *in Eutropium v.* 377.

——— Tum forte decorus
Cum Stilicone gener pacem implorantibus ultro
Germanis reſponſa dabat, legeſque Caycis
Arduus, & flavis ſignabat jura Süevis.
His tribuit reges, his obſide fœdera ſancit
Indicto: bellorum alios tranſcribit in uſus.
Militet ut noſtris detonſa Sicambria ſignis.

Immediately after he repreſents the City of Rome *as addreſſing* Honorius: v. 391.

——— Quantum te principe poſſim,
Non longinqua docent, domito quod Saxone Tethys
Mitior, aut fracto ſecura Britannia Picto.
Ante pedes humili Franco, triſtique Süevo
Perfruor, & noſtrum video, Germanice, Rhenum.

PAGIUS *indeed refers this Paſſage to the Year* 402. *But we find in* Claudian, *that* Honorius *was buſied with theſe Preparatious againſt the* Franks, *when Advice came to the* Weſt, *that* Eutropius *had been nominated, at* Conſtantinople, *Conſul for the enſuing Year, which Dignity he actually enter'd upon* A. 400.

(3) PAGIUS in critica annal. Baronii ad A. cit. n. 30. *But the Sequel of the Hiſtory gives us Room to conjecture, that this Deſtruction was ſomewhat later.*

§. VII. (1) *Among the Provinces, which petition'd the Emperor to admit of* Stilico *to the Conſulſhip,* Claudian de laudibus Stiliconis L. II. v. 252-260. *introduces* Britain *ſpeaking thus.*

Inde Caledonio velata Britannia monſtro,
Ferro picta genas, cujus veſtigia verrit
Cærulus, oceanique æſtum mentitur amictus,
Me quoque vicinis pereuntem gentibus, inquit,
Munivit Stilico, totam cum Scotus Iërnam
Movit, & infeſto ſpumavit remige Tethys,
Illius effectum curis ne bella timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne litore toto
Aſpicerem dubiis venturum Saxona ventis.

In another Paſſage, quoted in the foregoing Note, he ſays:

——— Domito quod Saxone Thetys
Mitior.

(2) V. NOTITIA IMP. *p.* 1939. *Sub diſpoſitione viri ſpectabilis, comitis* LIMITIS SAXONICI PER BRITANNIAM.

Præpoſitus numeri Fortenſium OTHONÆ
Præpoſitus militum Tungricanorum DUBRIS.
Præpoſitus numeri Turnacenſium, LEMANIS,
Præpoſitus equitum Dalmatarum Branodunenſis, BRANODUNO.
Præpoſitus equitum Stableſianorum Gariannonenſis, GARIANNONO.
Tribunus cohortis primæ Vetaſiorum, RUTUPIS.
Præpoſitus legionis II. Aug. RUTUPIS.
Præpoſitus numeri Abulcorum, ANDERIDÆ.
Præpoſitus numeri exploratorum, portu ADURNI.

(3) IBIDEM *p.* 1985.

Sub duce tractus Armoricani & Nervicani:
Tribunus cohortis primæ novæ Armoricæ, Grannona in LITTORE SAXONICO.

and p. 1989. In Belgica ſecunda equites Dalmatæ, Marcis in LITTORE SAXONICO.

Appellation

Appellation of *Limes Saxonicus*, or *Littus Saxonicum* (4); and the Commander of theſe Troops, in *Britain*, was called *Comes Limitis Saxonici.*

§. VIII. *EUTROPIUS*, who during their former Confidence, was ſufficiently acquainted with *Stilico*'s enterprizing Genius, as well as his Capacity, made Uſe of all Manner of Stratagems to circumvent him. But *Stilico* knew how to obviate them; and *Gaina* brought about the Fall of this haughty Eunuch, in the Year 400, in which he enter'd upon the Conſulſhip, and thereby render'd himſelf ſtill more odious to all Perſons of Diſtinction, who ſaw the higheſt Dignity of the Empire, in this, 'till then unheard of, Manner, as it were, effeminated (1). *Tribigild* a General of the *Goths*, who, according to *Socrates* (2), was related to *Gaina*, lay, with an Army of *Oſtro-Goths*, in *Phrygia*, which was aſſign'd them for their Habitation (3), and thereby renewed the

Tribigild excites the *Oſtro-Goths.* to a Rebellion in *Phrygia.*

(4) *The famous* Huetius, *in his* Origines de la Ville de Caen, *acknowleges this Appellation of the Coaſts of the preſent Province of* Normandy. *He ſuppoſes*, p. 8, 9. *that particularly the Tract of Land, between the Rivers* Orne *and* Dive, *was ſurnamed* Saxonia, *and that it is the ſame* Otlingua Saxonica, *which is mentioned in two* capitulares Caroli calvi. *His Words are theſe:* Comme la côte ſeptentrionale des Gaules ſ' appelloit *littus Saxonicum*, & qu' en particulier les habitans du Beſſin ſeptentrional ſont appellez par Gregoire de Tours *Saxones Bojocaſſini*, & par nos vieux hiſtoriens les *Seſnes de Bayeux*, il eſt probable, que la partie ſeptentrionale de l' Otlingua, c' eſt a dire la partie d' entre Orne & Dive, qui eſt proche de la mer, aura été ſurnommée *Saxonia*, *&c. But he ſeems to place the Occaſion, on which thoſe Coaſts obtain'd the Name of* Littus Saxonicum, *too late, when he ſays*, p. 15: Vers le ſixieme ſiécle les Saxons occuperent preſque toute la côte ſeptentrionale des Gaules, d' ou elle prit le nom de LITTUS SAXONICUM: & ils ont laiſſé pluſieurs marques de leur invaſion, & de leur demeure dans divers lieux de cette côte, qui portent des noms Saxons.

§. VIII. (1) ZOSIMUS, *L.* V. *c.* 13-17.

(2) SOCRATES *L.* VI. *c.* 6. Gainas quidam, genere barbarus, Romanorumque ditioni ſubjectus, & militiæ inter illos aſſuefactus, ita crevit pedetentim, uti tandem apud Romanos & equitum & peditum dux declararetur. Qui, cum tantum principatus eſſet conſecutus, nec ſe ipſum noſcere, nec inſolentiam animi ſui moderari potuit: ſed omnem ut dicitur lapidem movit, ut Romanos ſuæ poteſtati ſubjiceret. Idcirco omnem Gothorum gentem ex ipſorum regione accerſit, eoſque, qui ad numerum militum augendum erant idonei, retinere apud ſe conſtituit. Et quoniam Tribigildus, communione ſanguinis cum eo conjunctus, militum, qui verſabantur in Phrygia, tribunus erat, & de ſententia Gainæ novis rebus ſtudebat, univerſam præterea Phrygum gentem ſubjugaverat; Gainas operam dedit, ut rerum Phrygiarum adminiſtrandarum poteſtas ab imperatore ei permitteretur, quam rem Arcadius imperator nihil animo proſpiciens, prompto & alacri animo illi conceſſit. Ille igiter extemplo ad bellum, ut ferebatur, contra Tribigildum gerendum, ſed, ut res erat, ad occupandum tyrannidem iter capeſſens, duxit ſecum Gothorum barbarorum millia non pauca. Qui in Phrygiam ingreſſus, eam univerſam ſubegit. Itaque Romani magna tempeſtate jactati fuerunt, non modo, quod tanta barbarorum multitudo ſe Gainæ adjunxerat: ſed etiam, quod partes imperii ad orientem ſpectantes, erant tanto periculo expoſitæ. Tum imperator prudens conſilium pro temporis ratione ſecutus, aſtutia barbarum aggreſſus eſt. Nam miſſis ad illum legatis, modis omnibus eum placare ſtuduit.

(3) CLAUDIAN *calls him* Tarbigilus, *and his Subjects* Gothunni. Lib. II. v. 150. in Eutropium

Memory of the moſt ancient Times, when a Swarm of *Celtæ* penetrated, on the other Side, into *Aſia*, and eſtabliſh'd themſelves in the Country, from thence call'd *Galatia* (4). This *Tribigild* went, about the ſame Time, diſguſted from Court, and on his Return raiſed a Rebellion; in the Courſe of which, not only *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and the adjacent Countries, were infeſted by the *Goths*; but even *Conſtantinople* was thought no Place of Safety, if he ſhould paſs into *Europe*. Now, when the Court offer'd the Management of the War with *Tribigild* to *Gaina*, he took the Advantage of the Emperor's Conſternation, to repreſent to him, that the ſafeſt Method would be to gain him by fair Means; and ſacrifice *Eutropius*, who had been the Cauſe of his Rebellion, and of the general Diſcontent, to the Peace of the State: Whereupon he was inſtantly ſent into Exile to *Cyprus*, and ſoon after put to Death.

Gaina forms a Deſign on *Conſtantinople*; is defeated by *Frajuta*, and ſlain in a Battle with the *Huns*.

§. IX. *GAINA*, who, upon Occaſion of this Rebellion, became ſenſible of his own Power, ſhewed thereupon his perſonal Diſguſt (1). *Arcadius* was not in a Condition to ſubdue him by Force. An Interview was, therefore, appointed at *Chalcedon*, whither the Em-

pium *he introduces* Rome, *exciting the Goddeſs* Bellona *to take Revenge of* Eutropius:

Non tibi Rhipæis hoſtis quærendus ab oris.
Non per Caucaſias accito turbine valles
Eſt opus. Oſtrogothis colitur, miſtiſque Gothunnis
Phryx ager: hos parvæ poterunt impellere cauſæ
In ſcelus, ad mores facilis natura reverti.
Sic erat, in noſtro quando jam milite robur
Torpuit, & molli didicit parere magiſtro,
Vindicet Arctous violatas advena leges,
Barbara Romano ſuccurrant arma pudori.

He then makes Bellona *ſay to* Tribigild v. 175-180.

Tandem Tarbigilum (Geticæ dux improbus aulæ
Hic erat) aggreditur, viſo tum forte redibat
Eutropio vacuus donis, feritaſque dolore
Creverat, &, teneris etiam quæ crimina ſuadet
Ingeniis, Scythicum pectus flammabat egeſtas.
Huic ſeſe vultu ſimulatæ conjugis offert, &c.

After this, he relates Tribigild's *Exploits in* Aſia *at large; and when he, at laſt, repreſents the* Oriental *Empire, as imploring the Aid of* Italy, *he again makes Uſe of the Name of* Gothunni, v. 576-579.

—— Legio pridem Romana, Gothunni,
Jura quibus victis dedimus, quibus arva, domoſque
Præbuimus, Lydos, Aſiæque uberrima vaſtant
Ignibus, & ſi quid tempeſtas prima reliquit.

(4) CLAUDIANUS *in Eutropium*, *L.* II. *v.* 236.

—— Conjurat barbara pubes
Nacta ducem, Latiique palam deſcivit ab armis.
Pars Phrygiam, Scythicis quæcunque trionibus algit:
Proxima Bithynos ſolem quæ condit Ionas:
Quæ læva attingit Galatas: utrimque propinqui
Finibus obliquis Lydi, Piſidæque feroces
Continuant auſtrale latus: gens una fuere
Tot quondam populi, priſcum cognomen, & unum,
Appellata Phryges. Sed quid non longa valebit
Permutare dies, dicti poſt Mæona regem
Mæones. Ægeos inſedit Græcia portus.
Thyni Thraces erant, quæ nunc Bithynia fertur,
Nuper ab oceano Gallorum exercitus ingens
Illis ante vagus tandem regionibus hæſit,
Geſaque depoſuit jam Grajo mitis amictu,
Pro Rheno poturus Halym. dat cuncta vetuſtas
Principium Phrygibus.

§. IX. (1) *A.* 400. *exeunte*, *v.* PAGI *ad A.* 400. *n.* 7, 8.

peror

peror himſelf repaired, and came to an amicable Agreement with *Gaina*, in the Church of St. *Euphemia*; by Virtue of which, among other Articles, he was conſtituted Commander of the *Roman* Army, as well as of the *Gothick* Troops (2). *Gaina* came thereupon to *Conſtantinople*, where he fell at Variance with the then Biſhop, *John Chryſoſtom*, He was a zealous Adherer to *Arianiſm*, and frequently laid before *Nilus*, a Diſciple of *Chryſoſtom*, the Doubts and Arguments of the *Arians*, as appears from *Nilus*'s Anſwers (3); which were conceiv'd in ſuch Terms, that it ſeems more ſurprizing, how *Gaina* could bear with the Wretchedneſs of them, than, that he was not convinced by them (4). He likewiſe inſiſted upon having a Church for the *Arians* at *Conſtantinople*; which *Chryſoſtom* vigorouſly oppos'd (5). *Gaina*, in the mean Time, became a-new diſaffected to the Emperor, either, becauſe his unbounded Deſires hurried him too far, or becauſe the Court, which, according to *Socrates* (6), did not, from the Beginning, intend to perform all the Promiſes made at *Chalcedon*, gave the Occaſion. *Gaina* even formed the Project of ſeizing *Conſtantinople*; but it was diſcover'd, and a great Number of *Goths* (7), who were in the City, were ſeiz'd and put to Death. Several Thouſands fled into the Church they had in that City (8); but found no Sanctuary there: For the Emperor cauſed it to be ſet on Fire, and burnt to the Ground. *Gaina* proceeded thereupon to open Hoſtilities; and we may judge in what a Condition the

(2) THEODORETUS *L.* V. *c.* 32. *p.* 744. *A. conf.* TILLEMONT. *in Arcad. art.* XVIII.

(3) NILUS *L.* I. *epiſt.* 70, 79, 114, 116, 205, 206, 286.

(4) Nilus *writes him in the firſt Letter*, ep. 70. Erat itaque mihi in animo, propoſito ex proverbiis dubio reſpondere; verumtamen cum tu inepta, ac ſine ratione præceptione, Arianorum jctibus, veluti veterno confixus ſis, motum calami repreſſi, ad illud ſolum cohortans, ſi id patienter ſuſtinueris, ut ſaltem nunc evangeliſtarum, & apoſtolorum prædicationem admittas, quam venenatorum ſerpentium peſtilentiorum Arianorum. Attamen certo ſcio, nulli futurum utilitati, qui in aures demortuas verba profundit. *Another Letter* (ep. 114) *he begins thus:* Rurſus magnus copiarum ductor per litteras ad nos venit, arma cerea objiciens, non quæ ex ſe ipſo poſſideat, ſed aliunde opprobrioſe ſuſcipiens.

(5) V. THEODORETI *hiſt. eccleſiaſt. Lib.* V. *c.* 32. & SOZOMENI, *Lib.* VIII. *c.* 4.

(6) V. Not. 2. *of the foregoing* §.

(7) SOCRATES, *Lib.* VI. *cap.* 6. *p.* 711. *E.* Itaque Conſtantinopolis, propter infinitas barbarorum copias, quæ illam occupabant, barbara fere facta eſt; ejuſque cives & incolæ captivorum loco habiti.

(8) ZOSIMUS, Lib. V. c. 19. *mentions only in general one Chriſtian Church.* In hunc modum urbe periculo liberata, intercepti ab urbanis barbari, Chriſtianorum eccleſiam, palatio proximam, occuparunt: aſylum hoc ſaluti ſuæ tuendæ quærentes. Eos imperator hoc ipſo in loco jubet interfici; quem eis ad evitandum facinorum admiſſorum juſtiſſimam pœnam non ſatis idoneum eſſe vellet. Hæc præcipiente principe, nemo tamen eis inferre manum audebat, & ex aſylis ipſos extrahere, quod vererentur, ne barbari defenſionem pararent. Quapropter viſum eſt demoliri tectum, quod menſæ ſacrarii impoſitum eſt: ut, quibus hoc datum eſſet negotii, ligna in eos accenſa dejicerent, idque continuo factitantes, ad intĕrne-

the military State was in the *East*, when we find the Emperor conferring on *Frajuta* (9), who was likewiſe a *Goth*, and withal a *Pagan*, the Command of the Army. *Frajuta* defeated *Gaina*, and the latter attempted, after this Overthrow, to retreat, with the Reſidue of his Men, into his own Country, beyond the *Danube*: But *Uldes*, Prince of the *Hunns*, who, with his People, dwelt in that Neighbourhood, thought it not adviſeable, to let ſo warlike a Hero get a firm Footing ſo near him, and, therefore, way-laid him. *Gaina* reſolving to fight his Way thro', a Battle enſued, in which he loſt his Life. *Uldes* ſent his Head to *Conſtantinople*, and thereby ſo ingratiated himſelf with the Emperor, that he ſent him rich Preſents, and made a League with the *Hunns* (10). *Gaina*'s Head was carried thro' the Streets of *Conſtantinople* (11), and caus'd no leſs Joy, than had formerly appear'd, at ſeing that of *Rufinus*. *Frajuta*, in Regard of his eminent Services, was ſo highly eſteemed, that he was created *Conſul*, *A.* 401, and acquired the Renown of having reſtored Military Diſcipline among the Soldiery.

Alaric marches into *Italy*.

§. X. *ALARIC*, who, in the mean Time, had an Opportunity of furniſhing his Men plentifully with Arms and all other Accoutrements, in *Illyricum* (1), ventured, in the Year 400 (2), in the Winter-Seaſon

internecionem omnes exurerent. *But* Socrates *mentions a Church of the* Goths, Lib. VI. c. 6. p. 712. Milites cum barbaris intra portas, prope eccleſiam Gothorum (ibi enim barbari, qui in urbe remanſerant, erant in unum collecti) manu confligunt, eccleſiam incendunt, permultos eroum trucidant.

(9) ZOSIMUS, *Lib.* V. *c.* 20. Frajutum ducem eligunt, natione quidem illum barbarum, ſed cætera Græcum, non indole duntaxat & moribus, verum etiam inſtituto animi & numinum cultu.

(10) ZOSIMUS, *L.* V. *c.* 18-22. SOCRATES, SOZOMENUS, *and* THEODORETUS *mention all theſe Actions, but intermix ſo many fabulous Circumſtances, that* Tillemont, *after a narrow Enquiry, finds moſt Probability in* Zoſimus's *Relation*, p. 903. *and* 1058. SOCRATES, Lib. VI. c. 6. fin. *refers his Reader to two Poets*, Euſebius *and* Ammonius, *who commemorated* Gaina's *War, in ſundry Heroick Poems, the firſt of which was intitled the* Gainiad.

(11) CHRONIC. ALEXANDRINUM, *p.* 307. VINCENTIO & FLAVIO Coss.

His conſulibus traductum eſt caput Gainæ, Gothi, menſe Andynæo.

§. X. (1) CLAUDIANUS *de bello Getico v.* 548.

—— —— Gens robore noſtra
Tunc quoque pollebat, nullis cum fideret armis
At nunc Illyrici poſtquam mihi tradita jura,
Meque ſuum fecere ducem; tot tela, tot enſes
Tot galeas multo Thracum ſudore paravi,
Inque meos uſus vectigal vertere ferri
Oppida legitimo juſſu Romana coëgi.

(2) PAGIUS ad A. 403. n. 6-9. *aſſerts, that the Irruption into* Italy *happen'd* A. 400, *and that the Battle of* Pollentia *was fought* A. 402. PROSPER in Chr. [conſular. *places* Alaric's *Irruption in the Year* 400. STILICONE & AURELIANO Coss. Gothi Italiam Alarico & Radagaiſo ducibus ingreſſi. *With which* CASSIODORUS's *Chronicle exactly agrees:* STILICO & AURELIANUS Coss. His Coss. *Gothi, Alarico & Radagaiſo regibus, ingrediuntur Italiam.* JORNANDES *likewiſe places the Beginning of the* Gothick *War in that Year.* Poſtquam vero Theodoſius, amator pacis generiſque Gothorum, rebus exceſſit humanis, cœperunt ejus filii utramque rempubl. luxurioſe viventes adnihilare,

Seaſon (3), to go to *Italy*. Hiſtorians neither ſhew us his Motives, nor his Pretences, for this March; nor indeed many other Circumſtances: We muſt, therefore, chiefly have Recourſe to thoſe we find in *Claudian*'s Panegyricks on *Honorius* and *Stilico*, on Occaſion of the Advantages, at that Time, gained over the *Goths*. From thoſe it appears, that *Alaric* took his Way over the *Julian Alps* (4), and at firſt form'd the Reſolution of attacking *Rome*: But *Aquileia* probably, for ſome Time, reſtrain'd the Power of the *Goths* (5), who otherwiſe ſo terrified *Italy*, that the Walls of *Rome* were repaired with all poſſible Speed, as they had been in *Aurelian*'s Reign, when they were in Fear of the *Marcomanni* (6); and the Court itſelf had almoſt reſolved to leave *Italy* (7). The *Romans* had beſides their Hands full on the Borders of *Rætia* (8), where, it ſeems, the bordering *German* Nations were in Motion, at the

adnihilare, auxiliariiſque ſuis, id eſt, Gothis, conſueta dona ſubtrahere; mox Gothis faſtidium eorum increvit, verenteſque, ne longa pace eorum reſolveretur fortitudo, ordinant ſuper ſe regem Alaricum, cui erat poſt Amalos ſecunda nobilitas, BALTHARUMQUE ex genere origo mirifica, qui dudum ob audaciam virtutis, BALTHA, id eſt audax, nomen inter ſuos acceperat. Mox ut ergo antefatus Alaricus creatus eſt rex, cum ſuis deliberans ſuaſit ſuo labore quærere regna, quam alienis per ocium ſubjacere: & ſumpto exercitu, per Pannonias, STILICONE & AURELIANO COSS. & per Firmium, dextro latere, quaſi viris vacuam intravit Italiam. Nullo penitus obſiſtente, ad pontem applicuit Condiniani, qui tertio milliario ab urbe erat regia, Ravennate. TILLEMONT, in not. XIV. ad vit. Honorii, *produces farther Proofs; but is of Opinion that* Alaric *returned*, A. 401, *and made a freſh Irruption*, A. 402. *and that then the Battles of* Pollentia *and* Verona *happen'd: But it agrees better with* Claudian's *Relation to admit, that* Alaric, *after having the firſt Time forc'd his Way over the* Alps, *remained ſo long in* Italy, *'till he return'd after the Battle of* Verona.

(3) *See* not. 3. *of the following* §.

(4) CLAUDIANUS *de bello Getico, v.* 302.

—— Geminis clades repetita tyrannis
Famoſum vulgavit iter, nec nota feſellit
Semita præſtructum bellis civilibus hoſtem.
Per ſolitas venere vias, adituſque ſequendos
Barbarico Romana dedit diſcordia bello.

(5) *Conf. loca ap.* TILLEMONT. *p.* 1141.

(6) CLAUDIANUS *de* VI. *conſul. Honorii v.* 531.

-- Addebant pulchrum nova mœnia vultum
Audito perfecta recens rumore Getarum
Profecitque opifex decori timor.

In GRUTERUS, p. 165, *we find the following Inſcription applicable to this Purpoſe:*

S. P. Q. R.
IMPP. CAESS. NN. INVICTISSIMIS. PRINCIPIBVS. ARCADIO. ET. HONORIO. VICTORIBVS. AC. TRIVMFATORIBVS. SEMPER. AVGG. OB. INSTAVRATOS. VRBI. AETERNAE. MVROS. PORTAS. AC. TVRRES. EGESTIS. IMMENSIS. RVDERIBVS. EX. SVGGESTIONE. V. C. ET. INLVSTRIS. MILITIS. ET. MAGISTRI. VTRIVSQVE. MILITIAE. STILICONIS. AD. PERPETVITATEM. NOMINIS. EORVM. SIMVLACRA. CONSTITVIT. CVRANTE. FL. MACROBIO. LONGINIANO. A. C. PRAEF. VRBIS.

This Inſcription muſt have been erected about A. 401. *becauſe* Theodoſius, *who obtained the Title of* Auguſtus A. 402, *is not mentioned in it.*

(7) CLAUDIANUS *de bello Getico, v.* 314-336.

(8) IDEM *de bello Getico, v.* 296.

Non ſi perfidia nacti penetrabile tempus
Inrupere Getæ, noſtras dum Rætia vires
Occupat, atque alio deſudant Marte cohortes,
Idcirca ſpes omnis abit.

famc

ſame Time, with the *Goths* (9). *Stilico* therefore firſt haſten'd thither, and ſucceeded ſo well, that he inſtantly damp'd the riſing Flame (10), and was in a Condition to ſend thoſe Troops, which lay in *Rætia*, into *Italy*. He likewiſe recall'd thoſe from *Gaul* thither, whereby the *Rhine* was left wholly deſtitute of Troops (11), and took beſides ſome of thoſe Nations, with whom he now made Peace, in *Rætia*, into the *Roman* Service.

The Battle of *Pollentia*. A. 403.

§. XI. *ALARIC*, after ſeveral Skirmiſhes (1), had already paſs'd the *Po* (2), and threatened to beſiege *Honorius*, at *Ravenna*, when *Stilico* arrived from *Rætia*. The Poet ſays in Praiſe of him, that when he found the Bridge over the *Adda* in the Power of the *Goths*, he croſs'd the River within Sight of the Enemy (3): And whilſt the *Roman* Troops

(9) IDEM *de bello Getico v.* 381.

——— Jam fœdera gentes
Exuerant, Latiique audita clade feroces.
Vindelicos Saltus, & Norica rura tenebant.

(10) IDEM *de bello Getico, v.* 337. *ſeq.*

(11) IDEM *de bello Getico, v.* 432.

Accurrit vicina manus, quam Rætia nuper
Vindelicis auctam ſpoliis defenſa probavit.
Venit & extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat frena truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exangues, Picto moriente, figuras.
Agmina quin etiam flavis objecta Sicambris,
Quæque domant Cattos, immanſuetoſque Cheruſcos.
Huc omnes vertere minas, tutumque remotis
Excubiis Rhenum ſolo terrore relinquunt.
Ullane poſteritas credet? Germania quondam
Illa ferox populis, quæ vix inſtantibus olim
Principibus tota poterat cum mole teneri,
Jam ſeſe placidam præbet Stiliconis habenis,
Ut nec præſidiis nudato limite tentet
Expoſitum calcare ſolum, nec tranſeat amnem,
Incuſtoditam metuens attingere ripam.

(12) IDEM *de bello Getico, v.* 418.

——— Legitque precantes
Auxilio, menſus numerum, qui congruus eſſet,
Nec gravis Italiæ, formidanduſve regenti.

§. XI. (1) CLAUDIAN de bello Getico, v. 575. *introduces* Stilico *animating his Soldiers at the Battle of* Pollentia, *in theſe Words:*

Nunc, nunc, o Socii, temeratæ ſumite tandem
Italiæ pœnas, obſeſſi principis armis
Excuſate nefas. deploratumque Timavo
Vulnus, & Alpinum gladiis abolete pudorem.

(2) CLAUDIANUS de bello Getico, v. 557-558. *repreſents him as ſaying:*

Fregi Alpes, galeiſque Padum victricibus hauſi,
Quid reſtat niſi Roma mihi?

(3) *Theſe Circumſtances are related by* CLAUDIAN de VI. cons. Honorii, v. 436, *where he introduces the Emperor ſaying:*

Cuncta quidem centum nequeam perſtringere linguis,
Quæ pro me, mundoque gerit: ſed ab omnibus unum.
Si fama nondum patuit, te, Roma, docebo,
Subjectum noſtris oculis, & cujus agendi
Spectator, vel cauſſa fuit, populator Achivæ,
Biſtoniæque plagæ, crebris ſucceſſibus amens.
Et ruptas animis ſpirans immanibus Alpes.
Jam Ligurum trepidis admoverat agmina muris,
Tutior auxilio brumæ, quod gentibus illis
Frigore conſuetis favet inclementia cœli.
Meque minabatur calcato obſidere vallo,
Spem vano terrore fovens, ſi forte remotis
Præſidiis urgente metu, qua vellet obirem
Conditione fidem: nec me timor impulit ullus,
Hoc duce venturo fretum, memoremque tuorum:
Roma ducum, quibus haud unquam vel morte parata,
Fœdus, lucis amor, pepigit diſpendia famæ.
Mox & per Latium ſtellarum more videbam
Barbaricos ardere focos, jam claſſica primos
Excierant vigiles, gelida cum pulcer ab Arcto
Adventat Stilico, medius ſed clauſerat hoſtis
Inter me ſocerumque viam, pontemque tenebat,
Addua quo ſciſſas ſpumoſior incitat undas.
Quid faceret? differret iter? diſcrimina nullas

Noſtra

Troops haſten'd from all Parts to join him, an Action happen'd near *Pollentia* (4). As noted as this Place became, by that Battle, the Learned are nevertheleſs uncertain as to the Situation of it (5). A Body of *Alani*, which was in the *Roman* Service, made, according to *Claudian*, the firſt Attack. Their Leader fought bravely; but was ſlain in the Heat of the Engagement (6), and the Cavalry began to be in Diſorder, when *Stilico* haſtening to their Aſſiſtance, with the Infantry, obliged *Alaric*, at Length, to quit the Field, and to leave moſt of his Baggage, and many Priſoners, a Prey to the *Romans* (7). However pompouſly *Claudian*, who compoſed his whole Poem *de bello Getico* in Honour of this Battle, and *Prudentius* (8) ſpeak of this Victory, yet we

Noſtra dabant adeunda moras, perrumperet agmen?
Sed paucis comitatus erat, nam plurima retro,
Dum nobis properat ſuccurrere, liquerat arma
Extera, vel noſtras acies, hoc ille locutus
Ancipiti, longum ſocios, tardumque putavit
Expectaſſe manus, & noſtra pericula tendit.
Poſthabitis pulſare ſuis, mediumque per hoſtem
Flamatus virtute pia, propriæque ſalutis
Immemor, & ſtricto præſternens obvia ferro
Barbara fulmineo ſecuit tentoria curſu.

In the Sequel, he compares him to Horatius Cocles, *who croſs'd the* Tyber, *and then concludes*:

——— Celer Addua noſtro
Sulcatur ſocero. Sed cum tranſnaret Etruſcis
Ille dabat tergum, Geticis hic pectora telis.

(4) IDEM, *de bello Getico, v.* 570. *ſeq.*

(5) PAGIUS, *ad A.* 403 .*n.* 6. Quod oppidum erat Liguriæ, apud Tanarum fluvium, nunc exciſum. TILLEMONT *imagines the Name to be ſtill retained for a Village on the* Tanarus, *not far from* Chieraſcus. *From* CLAUDIAN, de bello Getico, *v.* 569. *it appears to have been ſituated on a River called* Urbs, in regione ſuprema Ligurum. *In another Paſſage he ſays, that the Overthrow happen'd in the Country, where* Marius *beat the* Cimbri, v. 651.

O celebranda mihi cunctis Pollentia ſæclis!
O meritum nomen felicibus apta triumphis!
Virtutis fatale ſolum: memorabile buſtum
Barbariæ! nam ſæpe locis, ac finibus illis
Plena laceſſito rediit vindicta Quirino.
Illic oceani ſtagnis excita ſupremis
Cimbrica tempeſtas, aliaſque immiſſa, per Alpes
Hiſdem procubuit campis. jam protinus ætas
Adveniens geminæ gentis permiſceat oſſa,
Et amplius ſignet titulos commune tropæum:
Hic Cimbros, forteſque Getas Stilicone peremtæ
Et Mario, claris ducibus, legit Itala tellus.

(6) IDEM *de bello Getico, v.*596.

——— Ibat patiens ditionis Alanus,
Qua noſtræ juſſere tubæ: mortemque petendam
Pro Latio docuit genti prælatus Alanæ;
Cui natura breves animis ingentibus artus
Finxerat, immanique oculos infecerat ira.
Vulneribus pars nulla vacat, reſciſſaque cunctis
Gloria fœdati ſplendet jactantior oris,
Ille tamen mandante procul Stilicone citatis,
Acceleravit equis, Italamque momordit arenam
Felix, Elyſiiſque plagis, & carmine dignus,
Qui male ſuſpectam nobis impenſius arſit
Vel leto purgare fidem: qui judice ferro
Diluit immeritum laudato ſanguine crimen.

(7) IDEM *de bello Getico, v.* 609-650.

(8) PRUDENTIUS, in Symmachum Lib. II. v. 692. ſeqq. *gives the following pompous Deſcription of this Battle.*

Tentavit Geticus nuper delere tyrannus
Italiam, patrio veniens juratus ab Iſtro
Has arces æquare ſolo, tecta aurea flammis
Solvere, maſtrugis proceres veſtire togatos.
Jamque ruens Venetos turmis proſtraverat agros,
Et Ligurum vaſtarat opes, & amœna profundi
Rura Padi, Tuſcumque ſolum, victo amne,
premebat.
Depulit hos nimbos equitum, non pervigil Anſer,
Proditor occulti tenebroſa nocte pericli;

Sed

might almoſt conclude, from the Chronicles of *Oſorius* (9), *Caſſiodorus* (10), and *Proſperus* (11), that it was not ſo complete as they repreſent it.

A ſecond Engagemennt near *Verona*.

§. XII. *ALARIC* retired, after the Battle of *Pollentia*, towards the *Apennine Alps* (1). Tho' *Stiliso* had obtained all the Advantages, which Poets attribute to him, he had nevertheleſs Reaſon to fear, that, if the *Goths* paſs'd the *Apennines*, *Toſcana* would be laid waſte, and *Rome* itſelf perhaps endanger'd. And this the Poet mentions as an Inducement for his entering into Negociations with them. By Virtue of the Accommodation or Truce then made, *Alaric* returned unmoleſted over the *Po* (2): But the War broke out in a full Flame again, ſoon after

Sed vis cruda virum, perfractaque congredien-
tum
Pectore, nec trepidans animus ſuccumbere leto
Pro patria, & pulchram per vulnera quærere
laudem.
Numquid & illa dies Jove contulit auſpice tan-
tum
Virtutis pretium? dux agminis imperiique
Chriſtipotens nobis juvenis fuit, & comes ejus,
Atque parens Stilico. Deus unus Chriſtus utri-
que
Hujus adoratis altaribus, & cruce fronti
Inſcripta, cecinere tubæ; prima haſta Draconis
Præcurrit, quæ Chriſti apicem ſublimior effert.
Illic, terdenis gens exitiabilis annis
Pannoniæ, pœnas tandem delata pependit.
Corpora, famoſis olim ditata rapinis,
In cumulos congeſta jacent. Mirabere ſeris
Poſteritas ſæclis inhumata cadavera late,
Quæ Pollentinos texerunt oſſibus agros.
Si potui, manibus Gallorum exciſa, levare
De cinerum ſqualore caput; redeunte Camillo,
Signa renidenti ſumans ſi fronte recepi:
Si potui miſeras ſertis redimire ruinas,
Et male pendentes lauro præcingere turres,
Quo te ſuſcipiam gremio, fortiſſime princeps?
Quos ſpargam flores? quibus inſertabo coronis
Atria? quæ feſtis ſuſpendam pallia portis?
Immunis tanti belli, ac te ſtante ſub armis
Libera, & auretenus Geticos experta tumultus?
Scande triumphalem currum, ſpoliiſque reper-
tis,
Huc, Chriſto comitante, veni.

This Paſſage is in ſome Commentaries, without Foundation, interpreted of Radagaiſus's *Overthrow. What the Poet ſays beſides of* Toſcana *ſeems fabulous.* Alaric *had not then penetrated ſo far.*

(9) OROSIUS Lib. VII. c. 37. *relates ſome other Circumſtances:* Taceo de infelicibus illis apud Pollentiam geſtis, cum barbaro & pagano duci, hoc eſt, Sauli, ſumma belli commiſſa eſt: cujus improbitate reverentiſſimi dies, & ſanctum paſcha violatum eſt: cedentique hoſti propter religionem, ut pugnaret, extortum eſt: cum quidem, oſtendente in brevi judicio dei, & quid favor ejus poſſet, & quid ultio exigeret, pugnantes vicimus, victores victi ſumus. Taceo de ipſorum inter ſe barbarorum crebris dilacerationibus, cum ſe invicem Gothorum cunei duo, deinde Alani atque Hunni variis cædibus populabantur. Saulis *has been mentioned in the preceding Book*, §. XXXVII.

(10) CASSIODORUS *even ſays that* Stilico *was beat by the* Goths: ARCADIUS V. & HONORIUS V. A. 402.

His COSS. Pollentiæ Stiliconem, cum exercitu Romano, Gothi victum acie fugaverunt.

(11) PROSPER *in chron. conſular.* ARCADIO V. & HONORIO V.

Adverſum Gothos vehementer utriuſque partis clade Pollentiæ pugnatum.

§ XII. (1) CLAUDIAN, de VI. Conſ. Honorii, v. 281. *introduces* Alaric, *ſaying:*

——— Nec me Pollentia tantum,
Nec raptæ cruciatis opes. hæc aſpera fati
Sors tulerit, Martiſque vices, non funditus armis
Concideram. ſtipatus adhuc, equitumque catervis
Integer, ad montes reliquo cum robore ceſſi,
Quos Apenninum perhibent.

(2) *This Circumſtance is likewiſe in* CLAUDIAN, *when he continues* Alaric's *Speech*, l. c. v. 300. *thus:*

Heu,

after. If we may believe the Poet, the *Goths* ſuſtained a great Loſs, near *Aſti*, and a freſh Engagement enſued immediately thereupon near *Verona* (3), which Place *Alaric*, perhaps, intended to make himſelf Maſter of, in Order to gain a ſure Footing. In this Action, the *Alani*, and a Body of the *Goths*, who acted againſt *Alaric*, performed eminent Services: and according to the ſame Poet, *Alaric* narrowly eſcaped being taken Priſoner (4). *Stilico* thereupon made another Treaty with him, by which he was permitted to depart unmoleſted out of *Italy*. For this, *Stilico* ſeems, even at that Time, to have been blamed; ſince *Claudian* takes ſo much Pains to turn it to the Honour of his Hero. *Alaric* indeed, as the ſame Author ſays, to his Diſpraiſe, continued his Deſign of penetrating into *Rætia*, or finding a Way into *Gaul* (5): But the Paſſes were every where too well guarded. *Honorius* went hereupon to *Rome*, *A.* 404, to enter upon his ſixth Conſulſhip, and made, on Account of theſe Victories, a triumphal Entry. *Stilico*, as it were, ſhared the Honour of it with him, and rode with him in the ſame Char (6), preceeded by his Son, *Eucherius*, on Horſeback (7). The following Inſcription, which yet remains, is a Monument of this Triumph, and, at the ſame Time, of the *Gothick* War:

Heu, quibus inſidiis, qua me circumdedit arte
Fatalis ſemper Stilico! dum parcere fingit,
Rettulit hoſtiles animos, bellumque remenſo
Evaluit transferre Pado, proh fœdera ſævo
Deteriora jugo! tunc vis extincta Getarum,
Tunc mihi, tunc letum pepigi.

(3) IDEM in VI. conſulat. Honorii, v. 202. *After having related* Alaric's *Retreat, he proceeds thus:*

Tu quoque non parvum Getico, Verona, triumpho
Adjungis cumulum, nec plus Pollentia rebus
Contulit Auſoniis, aut mœnia vindicis Aſtæ
Hic rurſus dum pacta movet, damniſque coactus
Extremo mutare parat præſentia caſu:
Nil ſibi perjurum ſenſit prodeſſe furorem,
Converti nec fata loco, multiſque ſuorum
Diras pavit aves, inimicaque corpora volvens
Ionios Atheſis mutavit ſanguine fluctus.
Oblatum Stilico violato fœdere Martem
Omnibus arripuit votis, ubi Roma periclo
Jam procul, & belli medius Padus arbiter ibat:
Jamque oportunam motu ſtrepuiſſe rebelli
Gaudet perfidiam: præbenſque exempla laboris
Suſtinet accenſos æſtivo pulvere ſoles.

(4) IDEM *de* VI. *conſul. Honorii, v.* 218.

——— Feſſo ſi deficit agmine miles,
Utitur auxiliis, damni ſecurus, & aſtu,
Debilitat ſævum cognatis viribus Iſtrum,
Et duplici lucro committens prælia, vertit
In ſe barbariem nobis utrimque cadentem.
Ipſum ſe caperet, letoque, Alarice, dediſſet,
Ni calor incauti male feſtinatus Alani
Diſpoſitum turbaſſet opus. prope captus anhelum
Verbere cogis equum, nec te vitaſſe dolemus.
I potius gentis reliquum, tantiſque ſuperſtes
Danubii populis, & noſtrum vive tropæum.

(5) IDEM *de* VI. *conſul. Honorii, v.* 229.

Non tamen ingenium tantis ſe cladibus atrox
Dejicit. occulto tentabat tramite montis,
Si quas per ſcopulos ſubitas exquirere poſſet
In Rætos, Galloſque vias. Sed fortitur obſtat
Cura ducis.

(6) IDEM *l. c. v.* 577.

Tunc tibi magnorum mercem fortuna laborum
Perſolvit, Stilico, curru cum vectus eodem
Urbe triumphantem generum florente juventa
Conſpiceres, &c.

(7) IBIDEM *v.* 552.

IMPP. CLEMENTISSIMIS. FELICISSIMIS. TOTO. ORBE. VICTORIBUS. D.D.D. N.N.N. ARCADIO. HONORIO. THEODOSIO. AUGGG. AD. PERENNE. INDICIUM. TRIUMPHO. QUO. GETARUM. NATIONEM. IN. OMNE. AEVUM. DOM. EXTR. ARCUM. SIMULACRIS. EORUM. TROPAEISQUE. DECORA. S. P. Q. R. TOTIUS. OPERIS. SPLENDORE (8).

Honorius allow'd the *Romans*, on this Occaſion, the *Ludi Circenſes*, and ſtaid with them 'till the Month of *July*, when he return'd to *Ravenna*, which, in this Reign, was the uſual Reſidence (9).

Honorius makes a League with *Alaric* againſt *Arcadius*.

§. XIII. *STILICO* could think of no better Method to ſecure himſelf againſt the Snares laid for him at the *Grecian* Court, than that of exciting *Honorius* to a War with his Brother, under the Pretence of reſtoring, to the *Weſtern* Empire, that Part of *Illyricum*, which *Gratian* had added to the Share of *Theodoſius*, and thought *Alaric* might greatly contribute to the Execution of this Deſign. He therefore made a League with him, in the Emperor's Name, and promiſed him certain Subſidies, on Condition, that he ſhould keep in a Readineſs, 'till he himſelf fell into *Illyricum*, and could then actually make Uſe of his Aſſiſtance *.

Radagaiſus invades *Italy*, and is defeated.

§. XIV. BUT this Deſign was fruſtrated: For in the Year 405 (1), *Radagaiſus* (2) came to *Italy*, with a large Army, which, according to *Zoſimus*'s Account (3), conſiſted of ſeveral *German* Nations that had been

(8) *This Inſcription may be ſeen, tho' very incorrect, in* GRUTERUS p. 181. n. 10. F. MABILLON *cauſed it to be printed, from a* MSS. *in the Monaſtery of* Einſiedel, *in his* Analecta, T. IV. p. 359. *as it is here in the Text.* TILLEMONT *indeed imagines*, p. 1173. *that it was written in Honour of a Victory gain'd over* Radagaiſus, *but it may be better apply'd to the Triumph held this Year.*

(9) *Conf.* TILLEMONT, *p.* 1163.

§. XIII. * ZOSIMUS *Lib.* V. *c.* 26. Cæterum Alaricus, ubi (ceu dictum eſt a nobis) exceſſiſſet e Peloponneſo, & reliqua regione, quam Achelaus amnis interfluit; in Epiris hærens, quam regionem incolunt Moloſſi, Theſproti, & alii, quotquot ſita uſque ad Epidamnum & Taulantios inhabitant loca: rem cum Stilichone compoſitam exſpectabat: quæ hujuſmodi erat. Quum Stilicho videret eos, qui Arcadianum imperium adminiſtrabant, animis erga ſe infeſtis eſſe; adjuncto ſibi Alaricho ſocio, cunctas in Illyriis nationes Honorii regno cogitabat adjicere. Qua de re cum Alaricho pactus, occaſionem expectabat, uti reapſe quam primum hunc conatum exſequeretur.

§. XIV. (1) *This Computation is confirmed by* TILLEMONT, not. 20. ad vit. Honorii. *In* not. 5. *of the foregoing* §. X, *Paſſages are quoted from* PROSPER *and* CASSIODORUS, *where* Alaric *and* Radagaiſus *are ſaid to have broken up together*, A. 400. *To reconcile theſe intricate Accounts, with Conjectures, we might ſuppoſe both Kings to have had the ſame Intention* A. 400, *and that* Alaric *indeed actually paſs'd the* Alps, *but that* Radagaiſus, *who was to penetrate, on the Side of the* Danube, *thro'* Rætia *and* Noricum, *could not then fully execute his Deſign, but delay'd it 'till now.*

(2) Rhadagaiſus *is likewiſe call'd* Rhadagayſus, *and among the* Grecians, Rhodogaiſes.

(3) ZOSIMUS, *L.* V. *c.* 26. Dum Alaricus in hoc intentus eſſet, ut imperatis obtemperaret, Rhadagaiſus rex, Tranſiſtrianis & Tranſrhenanis' Celtici

been brought together, in the Regions between the *Rhine* and the *Danube*. The Accounts we have of him are ſo obſcure and imperfect, that we are even ignorant of his Country, and of the *Route* he took: The Relations themſelves, are, in ſome Circumſtances, quite contradictory. *Oroſius* (4) and *Auſtin* (5), who treat the moſt circumſtantially of this

Celticis, Germaniciſque nationibus collectis, hominum quadringentis millibus, ad tranſeundum in Italiam ſe parat. Qua re nuntiata, cunctos mirifice prima fama percuſſit. Cumque deſperaſſent urbes, & ipſa Roma jam in extremo periculo turbata eſſet; Stelicho, ſumtis ſecum univerſis copiis, Tucino Liguriæ impoſitis (erant autem numeri militum triginta) cum aliis ſociorum auxiliis, quæ ab Alanis, & Hunnis impetrare potuerat, hoſtium adventu non expectato, cum omni exercitu Iſtrum ipſe transjecit; & barbaros nec opinantes adgreſſus, univerſas hoſtium copias ad internecionem cecidit: adeo quidem, ut horum prope nullus incolumis evaderet; exceptis pauciſſimis, quos ipſe Romanis auxiliis adſcripſit. Ob hanc victoriam Stelicho non abs re magnos animos gerens, cum exercitu ab omnibus propemodum coronatus redibat: cum præter omnem ſpem formidatis periculis Italiam liberaſſet. *The Circumſtances of* Stilico's *beating* Radagaiſus *out of* Italy, *is not well grounded. Some have attempted to help him out, and imagin'd, that, inſtead of* Iſtrum, *muſt he read* Arnum; *but that Amendment would not agree with the Reſt of the Relation.*

(4) OROSIUS, L. VII. c. 37. n. 3. *is the moſt circumſtantial in his Account.* Radagayſus omnium antiquorum præſentiumque hoſtium longe immaniſſimus, repentino impetu totam inundavit Italiam: nam, fuiſſe populo ejus plus quam ducenta millia Gothorum, ferunt. Hic ſupra hanc incredibilem multitudinem, indomitamque virtutem, paganus & Scytha erat. Qui, (ut mos eſt barbaris hujuſmodi generis) omnem Romani generis ſanguinem diis ſuis propinare devoverat. Hoc igitur Romanis arcibus imminente, fit omnium paganorum in urbe concurſus: hoſtem eſſe, cum utique virium copia, tum maxime præſidio deorum potentem; urbem autem ideo deſtitutam, & mature perituram, quia deos & ſacra perdiderit. Magnis querelis ubique agitur; & continuo de repetendis ſacris, celebrandiſque tractatur. Fervent tota urbe blaſphemiæ: vulgo nomen Chriſti, tanquam lues aliqua præſentium temporum, probris ingravatur. Itaque ineffabili judicio dei factum eſt, uti, quoniam in permixto populo piis gratia, impiis pœna debebatur, oportebatque permitti hoſtes; (qui inſuadibilem in plurimis, & contradicentem civitatem ſeverioribus ſolito flagris coarguerent, non tamen eos, qui indiſcrete, evectos intemperata cæde delerent) duo tunc populi Gothorum, cum duobus potentiſſimis regibus ſuis per Romanas provincias baccharentur: quorum unus Chriſtianus, propiorque Romano, & (ut res docuit) timore dei mitis in cæde, alius paganus, barbarus, & vere Scytha, qui non tantum gloriam aut prædam, in quantum inexſaturabili crudelitate ipſam cædem amaret in cæde: & hic jam receptus ſinu Italiæ, Romam e proximo frementem terrore quaſſabat. Itaque, ſi huic ultionis poteſtas permitteretur, quem Romani ob hoc præcipue timendum arbitrabantur, quia favorem deorum ſacrificiorum obſequiis invitaret, & immoderatior cædes ſine fructu emendationis arſiſtet, & error noviſſimus pejor priore creviſſet: quandoquidem in pagani & idololatriæ manus incidiſſe, non ſolum paganis reſiduis de inſtaurando cultu idolorum eſſet indubitata perſuaſio, ſed etiam Chriſtianis periculoſa confuſio, cum & hi terrerentur præjudicio, & illi confirmarentur exemplo. Quamobrem juſtus diſpenſator humani generis, deus, perire paganum hoſtem voluit, & Chriſtianum prævalere permiſit, ut pagani blaſphemanteſque Romani, & illo confunderentur perdito, & hoc punirentur immiſſo: maxime, cum imperatoris Honorii admiranda in rege continentia, & ſanctiſſima fides, non parum divinæ miſericordiæ mereretur. Conceduntur quidem adverſus immaniſſimum illum hoſtem Rhadagayſum, aliorum hoſtium, cum copiis ſuis inclinati ad auxilium animi. Adſunt Huldin & Sarus, Hunnorum & Gothorum duces, præſidio Romanorum. Sed non ſinit deus rem potentiæ ſuæ, virtutem hominum, & maxime hoſtium videri. Conterritum divinitus Rhadagayſum in Feſulanos montes cogit

of this War, and lived, both, about the ſame Time, tho' not in *Italy*, call him *Rex Gothorum*. We find beſides, in the Life of *St. Ambroſe*, written by

cogit: ejuſque (ſecundum eos qui parciſſime referunt) ducenta millia hominum, inopum conſilii & cibi, in arido & aſpero montis jugo, urgente undiqne timore, concludit: agminaque, quibus dudum auguſta videbatur Italia, latendi ſpe in unum ac parvum verticem trudit. Quid multis morer? Non diſpoſita in bellum acies fuit, non furor timorque incerta pugnæ prætulit: non cædes acta, non ſanguis effuſus eſt; non poſtremo (quod felicitatis loco deputari ſolet) damna pugnæ eventu compenſata victoriæ: edentibus, bibentibus, ludentibuſque noſtris, tanti illi, tamque immanes hoſtes, eſurientes, & ſitientes, languenteſque confecti ſunt. Parum hoc eſt, niſi captum, ac catenatum, & ſubjugatum ſciant, quem timuere Romani: illumque idololatram ſuum, cujus ſacrificia ſe magis pertimeſcere, quam arma fingebant, ſine prœlio victum ac vinctum ſub jugo cateniſque deſpiciant. Igitur rex Rhadagayſus, ſolus ſpem fugæ ſumens, clam ſuos deſervit, atque in noſtros incidit; a quibus captus, ac pauliſper retentus, deinde interfectus eſt. Tanta vero multitudo captivorum Gothorum fuiſſe fertur, ut viliſſimarum pecudum modo, ſingulis aureis paſſim greges hominum venderentur. Sed nihil ſupereſſe deus de eodem populo ſivit. Nam illico cunctis, qui emebantur, morientibus, quod improbi emptores eorum non impenderunt turpiter pretiis, expenderunt miſericorditer ſepulturis. Igitur ingrata Roma, quæ, ſicut nunc ſentit, non ad remittendam, ſed ad reprimendam idololatriæ præſumptionem, judicis dei aliquam miſericordiam; ita continuo, propter vivorum & mortuorum ſanctorum piam recordationem, dei iram paſſura non plenam, ſi forte confuſa pœniteat, ut per experientiam fidem diſcat, ab incurſu Alarici regis & hoſtis, ſed Chriſtiani, aliquantulo ad tempus ſpatio differtur. OROSIUS *ſpeaks only from Hear-ſay; hence ſome Circumſtances of this Relation are ſo improbable, that they alone render the whole ſuſpected. For who will believe that* Radagayſus, *who is repreſented in Hiſtory as a great General, ſhould retire with* 200,000 *Men, to a barren Mountain, or that ſo large an Army could encamp on one little Hill?*

(5) AUSTIN *mentions this Irruption in two Places. Firſt,* ſermone 105. c. 10. p. 381. Mementote, fratres, mementote, non eſt longum, pauci anni ſunt; recordamini. Everſis in urbe Roma omnibus ſimulacris, Rhadagayſus, rex Gothorum, cum ingenti exercitu, multo numeroſiore, quam Alarici fuit, venit. Paganus Romæ erat Rhadagayſus, Jovi ſacrificabat quotidie, nuntiabatur ubique, quod a ſacrificiis non deſiſteret Rhadagayſus. Tunc omnes iſti, [*pagani ſcilicet*] ecce nos non ſacrificamus, ille ſacrificat: vinci debemus a ſacrificante, quibus non licet ſacrificare. Deus oſtendens, quia non in iſtis ſacrificiis eſt ipſa temporalis ſalus, ipſa regna terrena: victus eſt Rhadagayſus, adjuvante domino, miro modo. *And again,* L. V. c. 23. de civit. dei. Quod tamen noſtra memoria, recentiſſimo tempore, deus mirabiliter & miſericorditer fecit, non cum gratiarum actione commemorant; ſed quantum in ipſis eſt, omnium (ſi fieri poteſt) hominum oblivione ſepelire conantur: quod a nobis, ſi tacebitur, ſimiliter erimus ingrati. Cum Rhadagayſus, rex Gothorum, agmine ingenti & immani, jam in urbis vicinia conſtitutus, Romanis cervicibus immineret, una die tanta celeritate ſic victus eſt, ut ne uno quidem, non dicam extincto, ſed nec vulnerato Romanorum, multo amplius quam centum millium proſterneretur ejus exercitus, atque ipſe *cum filiis* mox captus, pœna debita necaretur. Nam, ſi ille tam impius, cum tantis & tam impiis copiis Romam fuiſſet ingreſſus, cui peperciſſet? quibus honorem martyrum detuliſſet? in qua perſona deum timeret? cujus non ſanguinem effuſum, cujus pudicitiam vellet intactam? Quas autem iſti pro diis ſuis voces haberent? quod ideo ille viciſſet, ideo tanta potuiſſet, quia quotidianis ſacrificiis placabat atque invitabat deos? quod Romanos facere, Chriſtiana religio non ſinebat. Nam appropinquante jam illo his locis, ubi nutu ſummæ majeſtatis oppreſſus eſt, cum ejus fama ubique crebreſceret, nobis apud Carthaginem dicebatur, hoc credere, ſpargere, jactare paganos, quod ille diis amicis protegentibus, & opitulantibus, quibus immolare quotidie ferebatur, vinci omnino non poſſet ab eis, quia talia diis Romani ſacra non facerent, nec fieri a quoquam permitterent. Et non agunt miſeri gratias

by *Paulinus*, that he beſieged *Florence*; but that *Stilico* relieved it (6). *Rome* began already to tremble at ſo near an Approach of the Enemy, and the *Chriſtians* in particular; becauſe *Radagaiſus* was a Heathen, and there was a Rumour, that he had made a Vow to his Deities, of ſacrificing to them the Blood of the *Romans*, which made the Party of the *Pagans* at *Rome* more inſolent. But *Stilico* aſſembled the *Roman* Troops at *Pavia* (7); and had, likewiſe, an Army of *Goths*, commanded by *Sarus*, and a Body of *Hunns*, under the Command of their Prince *Uldin* (8), in his Service. He purſued the Enemy into *Toſcana*, which Country, according to the Relations of *Oroſius*, *Iſidorus* (9), *Paulinus*, and a Chronicle, ſuppoſed to be written by *Proſperus*, became, at that Time, famous for the Overthrow of the *Goths* there. *Oroſius* writes, in particular, that *Stilico* reduced him to ſuch Streights, in the Mountains near *Feſole*, by ſurrounding him, that the whole Army was forc'd, by Hunger and Thirſt, to ſurrender: And that *Radagaiſus* himſelf, when he attempted to make his Eſcape, fell into the Hands of the *Romans*, and was put to Death. *Proſper* (10) and *Marcellinus* (11) place this Overthrow

tias tantæ miſericordiæ dei, qui, cum ſtatuiſſet, irruptione barbarica graviore dignos mores hominum caſtigare, indignationem ſuam tamen manſuetudine temperavit, ut illum primo faceret mirabiliter vinci; ne ad infirmorum animos evertendos gloria daretur dæmonibus, quibus eum ſupplicare conſtabat; deinde ab his barbaris Roma caperetur, qui contra omnem conſuetudinem bellorum ante geſtorum, ad loca ſancta confugientes, Chriſtianæ religionis reverentia tuerentur, ipſiſque dæmonibus, atque impiorum ſacrificiorum ritibus, de quibus ille præſumſerat, ſic adverſarentur pro nomine Chriſtiano, ut longe atrocius bellum cum eis, quam cum hominibus genere viderentur. *In the Edition of the* Benedictines, T. VIII. p. 140. *it is obſerved; that, in ſome of the moſt correct* Mſs, *the Words* cum filiis *are not to be found.*

(6) PAULINUS *in vit. S. Ambroſii, c.* 50. Tempore, quo Rhadagayſus ſupradictam Florentinam civitatem obſidebat; cum jam de ſe penitus deſperaſſent viri civitatis, per viſum S. Ambroſius cuidam apparuit, & promiſit, alio die ſalutem illis affuturam. Quo referente, civium animi ſunt erecti. Nam altero die, adveniente Stilichone, tunc comite, cum exercitu; facta eſt de hoſte victoria. Hæc Panſophia, religioſa fœmina, matre pueri Panſophii, referente, cognovimus.

(7) ZOSIMUS *l. c.*

(8) IDEM *ibidem.* OROSIUS, *l. c. in nota* 4. & MARCELLINUS, *l. c. in not.* 11.

(9) ISIDORUS *in chron. Gothorum: æra* 443. Anno imperii Honorii & Arcadii X. rex Gothorum, Rhadagaiſus, genere Scytha, cultui idololatriæ deditus, barbaricæ immanitatis feritate ſæviſſimus, cum CC armatis Sarmatarum millibus, Italiæ partes vehementi vaſtatione aggreditur, ſpondens, in contemptum Chriſti Romanorum ſanguinem diis ſuis libare, ſi vinceret. Cujus exercitus ab Stilichone, duce Romano, in montuoſis Thuſciæ locis circumcluſus, fame potius, quam ferro conſumptus: ipſe poſtremum rex captus & interfectus eſt. ZOSIMUS *is therefore miſtaken when he ſays that* Stilico *beat* Radagaiſus *out of* Italy.

(10) PROSPER *in chronico conſulari. Stilicone* II. & *Anthemio coſſ.* (*A.* 405.) Rhadagaiſus in Tuſcia, multis Gothorum millibus cæſis, ducente exercitum Stilicone, ſuperatus eſt. *In his other Chronicle he ſays:* Ad annum Honorii X. ſæva Italiæ barbarici motus tempeſtas incubuit. Siquidem Rhadagaiſus, rex Gothorum, Italiæ limitem vaſtaturus tranſgreditur. Ex hoc Ariani, qui Romano procul fuerant orbe fugati, babararum nationum, ad quas ſe contulere, præſidio erigi cœperunt. *And,* ad ann. HONORII XI. Multis vaſtatis urbibus, Rhadagaiſus occubuit, cujus

Overthrow in the Year 406. But *Olympiodorus*, the *Grecian*, relates, in the Life of *Honorius*, that *Radagaiſus* was not kill'd; but that *Stilico* enter'd into a League with him (12). *Auſtin*, *Oroſius*, *Proſper*, and others do, indeed, call him a King of the *Goths*; but as by this Name, not only the *Goths*, properly ſo call'd; but likewiſe the *Vandals* and other *Northern* Nations are denoted, it is yet uncertain from whence he came. In ſeveral *German* Hiſtorians there runs the Tradition, which is indeed probable, but not grounded on ſufficient Proofs, that he was a Prince of the *Vandals* (13), and ſome proceed even ſo far in their Conjectures, as to ſay, that his Memory was for a long Time celebrated by the *Vandals*, and that he was the ſome *Rhadagaſt*, who was revered as a God, in the Country

cujus in tres partes per diverſos principes diviſus exercitus, aliquam repugnandi Romanis aperuit facultatem. Inſigni triumpho exercitum tertiæ partis hoſtium, circumactis Hunnorum auxiliaribus, Stilico uſque ad internecionem delevit.

(11) MARCELLINUS *in chronico*, *Arcadio* VI. & *Probo* Coss. *A.* 406. Theodoſius junior quinquennalia dedit: Radagaiſus Paganus & Scytha, cum ducentis millibus ſuorum totam Italiam inundavit. Huldin, & Sarus, Hunnorum Gothorumque reges, Radagaiſum continuo devicerunt, ipſius capite amputato, captivos ejus ſingulis aureis diſtrahentes.

(12) *In excerptis* OLYMPIODORI, *p.* 3. *A.* Gothorum, qui cum Rodogaiſo erant, primarios viros, optimates appellatos ait duodecim fere millium numero; quibus omnibus debellatis, Stelichonem cum Rhodogaiſo ſocietatem iniiſſe.

(13) NICOLAUS MARESCHALCUS THURIUS, *for Inſtance*, in annal. Herulorum ac Vandalorum, *not only affirms, that he was a* Vandalick *Prince, but likewiſe relates the following Circumſtances of him, which, as far as they do not agree with the Ancients, ſeem to have no Foundation at all, and are in Part manifeſt Falſities.* Rhadagaſus, Miſilao patre prognatus, re militari omnium celeberrimus evaſit. Nam, cum Arcadius res imperii Romani tueretur, & Alarichus Gothorum rex, Atanarici filius, ex Balthorum familia nobiliſſima, a Viſegotis, qui ſtipendiis tunc privati in Pannoniam ſeceſſere, rex conſtitueretur, Rhadagaſum Herulorum ac Vandalorum regem clariſſimum evocavit, qui millibus mortalium trecentis, ut Flavius Blondus ſcribit, ſubito adfuit, quorum duorumauſpicio Gothi in Thraciam, Pannoniam, Noricum & Illyricum intravere, fœda cum ſtrage populatione graſſantes, ac vaſtantes. In Italiam etiam irrumpentes, Romam rerum quondam dominam cepere, anno natalis ſui milleſimo ſexageſimo quarto, a natali Chriſtiano quadringenteſimo duodecimo. Et Rhadagaſus quidem ultra progrediens, in Veſulanis montibus circumventus, haud ita procul Fluentinis a Stilichone obſeſſus, rerum omnium inopiam pertulit, qui, quum fugæ ſe paraviſſet, a Romanis captus, ſtrangulatus eſt. Illo vero mortuo, major nunquam Gothorum cædes. Etenim tanta tunc multitudo captivorum fuit, ut ſinguli pro aureis ſingulis, pecudum more venderentur poſt quam victoriam Stilicho Vandalorum ſe regem prætitulavit, cum Euchario filio ab Honorio cæſare haud ita multo interjecto tempore ſuperatus. Et talis erat poſt egregia multa belli facinora Rhadagaſi exitus, quem adeo charum ſui habuere viventem, ut extinctum indigetarent, & numinis loco colerent, a quo & amnes, & vici inter Herulos nomen etiamnum obtinent. Meminit vero illius Aurelius Sextus, P. Oroſius, Cl. Claudianus, Eutropius, Ablavius. Exceſſit autem vita anno regni ſeptimo ac trigeſimo, ab orbe condito ſexingenteſimo ſupra quinquies milleſimum, ab urbe Roma milleſimo centeſimo fere, a natali Chriſti anno quadringenteſimo paulo amplius. Nam Viſimarus rex floruit trecenteſimo, quadrageſimo. Reliquit vero Corſiconem, filium heredem. Ablavius *did not probably come to the Author's Hands, but* AURELIUS VICTOR, *and* EUTROPIUS *do not go ſo far as theſe Times, and* CLAUDIAN *makes no Mention of* Rhadagaiſus.

Country where the ancient *Vandals* dwelt, by the *Pagan* Slaves, who afterwards took Poſſeſſion of thoſe Countries (14).

§. XV. PEACE was indeed reſtored to *Italy*, by *Rhadagaiſus*'s Overthrow; but the *Vandals*, *Alani*, *Burgundians*, *Suevi*, and other *German* Nations, immediately afterwards, at the Concluſion of the Year 406, and Beginning of the enſuing Year (1), invaded *Gaul* (2). There is ſome Probability, that all theſe Nations belonged to *Rhadagaiſus*'s Army, and that, ſeing the Fate of their Chiefs, in *Italy*, they now reſolved to try their Fortune themſelves (3). The *Alani* were headed by *Goar* and *Reſpendial*, the former of whom went over to the *Romans*; but the latter, acquired Glory at the very Beginning, by the Aſſiſtance he gave the *Vandals*: For when they marched towards the *Rhine*, they were attack'd by the *Franks*, who at that Time ſtill inhabited this Side of the River, and had, as well on Account of their Treaty with *Honorius*, as of their own Safety, Reaſon to repel theſe Savage Gueſts, and they were routed, after a bloody Battle, in which *Godigiſclus*, their King, loſt his Life. *Reſpendial* came in Time to the Succour of the *Vandals*; and defeated the *Franks* in their Turn (4). *Gaul* lay now open to

The *Vandals* and *Alani* march to *Gaul*: Are obliged to fight their Way thro' the *Franks*.

 the

(14) HECTOR GOTFRID MASIUS, *in his Diſſertation* de Diis Obotritis, *has diligently examined this Opinion, but does not venture to defend it. See* Tentzel's Monathliche Unterredungen de A. 1695 p. 694.

§. XV. (1) *In one of* Proſper's *Chronicles, theſe Irruptions are placed in the* XIIIth *Year of* Honorius's *Reign* (A. 408) BASSO & PHILLIPPO Coss. *With which agrees likewiſe* Marcellinus Illyricianus. ZOSIMUS, *on the contrary, in the Paſſage, quoted* Note 2, *computes it to have been in the Year* 406, *which is likewiſe confirmed in the* Chronicon Conſulare, *alſo imputed to* Proſper. ARCADIO VI. & PROBO Coss. Vandali & Alani, trajecto Rheno, prid. kalendas Januarii ingreſſi. CASSIODORUS *ſpeaking of the ſame Conſulate, ſays:* Vandali & Alani trajecto Rheno Gallias intraverunt. VALESIUS rer. Francicarum T. I. p. 102. *and* TILLEMONT not. 22. ad vit. Honorii, *endeavour to confirm this Computation. But, if, according to the before-cited Paſſage from* Proſper's *Chronicles, they roſs'd the* Rhine *on the laſt Day of the Year, we muſt ſubſcribe to the Opinion of thoſe, who reckon the Devaſtation of* Gaul *in the Year* 407.

(2) OROSIUS *L.* VII. *c.* 40. Interea ante biennium Romanæ irruptionis, excitatæ per Stiliconem gentes Alanorum, ut dixi, Suevorum, Vandalorum, multæque cum his aliæ, Francos proterunt, Rhenum tranſeunt, Gallias invadunt, directoque impetu Pyrenæum uſque perveniunt: cujus obice ad tempus repulſæ, per circumjacentes provincias refunduntur. ZOSIMUS *L.* VI. *c.* 3. ARCADIO VI. & PROBO Coss. Vandali, Suevi, & Alani permixti, ſuperatis his locis nationes Tranſalpinas vaſtarunt, editaque ingenti cæde, Britanniarum etiam exercitibus formidabiles extiterunt. Quos quidem eo perpulerunt, ut veriti, ne progrederentur ulterius, ad tyrannos eligendos ſeſe converterent.

(3) ZOSIMUS, *in the Paſſage, quoted in the foregoing* §. nota 3. *ſays: that his Army conſiſted of many Nations, who dwelt between the* Rhine *and the* Danube; *among whom, we may juſtly reckon the* Vandals, Suevi *and* Alani. *From* Proſper's *Words* C. 2. not. 10. *it appears, that this Army was divided into three Bodies, and only one of them was overthrown in* Italy: *Theſe People may, therefore, have been a Part of the Remainder.*

(4) GREGORIUS TURONENSIS *has related theſe Circumſtances, from* RENATUS PROFUTURUS FRIGERIDUS, *who wrote the Hiſtory of* Honorius's *Reign*: Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, cujus ſupra meminimus

the Enemy; for *Stilico* had but a little before drawn away the *Roman* Troops, to oppoſe *Alaric* (5).

Irruptions of the *Suevi* and *Burgundians*.

§. XVI. ST. *JEROM* in a Letter which he wrote *A.* 409, beſides the *Burgundians* and *Suevi* (by which Name the *Quadi*, and perhaps the *Hermunduri*, are likewiſe meant) who made an Irruption about his Time, mentions the *Heruli*, *Gepidæ* and *Saxons*; which latter probably ravaged the Sea-Coaſts. Theſe Nations, of whom it is uncertain whether they acted in one Community, or each for its ſeparate Intereſt, ſpread like an Inundation, which overflow'd ſometimes one, and then other Parts of the Country. In *Upper Germany*, they deſtroyed *Mentz*, *Worms*, *Spires* and *Strasburg*; and in *Belgica*, *Rheims*, *Amiens*, *Tournay*, *Arras* and *Terouanne*, the Inhabitants whereof they carried captive into *Germany*. Some of theſe Nations made Incurſions as far as the Confines of *Spain*, and ravag'd *Gallia Lugdunenſis*, *Narbonenſis* and *Aquitain*, in a terrible Manner (1). Some of them acted perhaps, at firſt, only with a View

meminimus, cum Romam refert a Gothis captam atque ſubverſam, ait: Interea Reſpendial, rex Alanorum, Goare ad Romanos tranſgreſſo, de Rheno agmen ſuorum convertit, Vandalis Francorum bello laborantibus. Godigiſclo rege abſumpto, acie viginti ferme millibus ferro peremtis, cunctis Vandalorum ad internecionem delendis, ni Alanorum vis in tempore ſubveniſſet. PROCOPIUS *ſays of this Irruption* lib. de bello Vandalico l. c. 3. Vandali Mœotidis paludis accolæ, fame preſſi, ad Germanos, quos hodie Francos nominant, & fluvium Rhenum ſe receperunt, tractis in ſocietatem Alanis, natione Gothica. Inde, Godigiſcli ductu, in ea parte Hiſpaniæ, quæ oram habet imperii Romani primam ab oceano, ſedes fixerunt, ea conditione, de qua tunc inter Honorium & Godigiſclum convenit, ut illis partibus nihil nocerent *But* PAGIUS *has obſerved three Miſtakes in this Account:* viz. *when he deduces the* Vandals *from the* Mœotick *Lake; and imagines, that the* Franks *joined them; whereas it is plain from* Oroſius, *and* Renatus Frigeridus, *that the* Franks *oppoſed them, and laſtly, when he ſays, that* Godigiſclus *led them to* Spain, *whereas he was kill'd in the Battle with the* Franks. *How much Credit ſoever we may give* PROCOPIUS, *when he relates the Tranſactions of his own Times; we muſt be as cautious in believing his Acounts of Matters more ancient.*

(5) CLAUDIANUS *lib.* II. *de laud. Stilic. v.* 191.

Grates Gallus agit: quod limite tutus inermi,
Et metuens hoſtile nihil, nova culmina totis
Ædificet ripis: & ſævum gentibus amnem
Tibridis in morem domibus prævelet amœnis,

§. XVI. (1) HYERONIMUS *ad Ageruchiam de monogamia epiſt.* 91. *p.* 748. *ſays, A.* 409. Innumerabiles & ferociſſimæ nationes univerſas Gallias occuparunt. Quidquid inter Alpes & Pyrenæum eſt, quod oceano & Rheno includitur, Quadus, Vandalus, Sarmata, Alani, Gepides, Eruli, Saxones, Burgundiones, Alemani, & o lugenda reſpublica! hoſtes Pannonii vaſtarunt. Etenim Aſſur venit cum illis, Mogontiacum nobilis quondam civitas capta, atque ſubverſa eſt, & in eccleſia multa hominum millia trucidata. Vangiones longa obſidione deleti. Remorum urbs prapotens, Ambiani, Atrebatæ, extremique hominum Morini, Tornacum, Nemetæ, Argentoratus, tranſlatæ in Germaniam. Aquitania, Novemque populorum, Lugdunenſis, & Narbonenſis provinciæ, præter paucas urbes, populata ſunt cuncta: quas & ipſas foris gladius, intus vaſtat fames. Non poſſum abſque lacrymis Toloſæ facere mentionem, quæ, ut hucuſque non rueret, ſancti epiſcopi, Exuperii, merita præſtiterunt. Ipſæ Hiſpaniæ, jamjam perituræ, quotidie contremiſcunt, recordantes irruptionis Cimbricæ: & quidquid alii ſemel paſſi ſunt, illæ ſemper timore patiuntur: *And farther*: Olim a mari Pontico uſque

a View to Booty: But they were afterwards ſo ſucceſsful, as to eſtabliſh themſelves, partly in *Gaul*, and partly in *Spain*: Whither, by Degrees, more of their Country-men follow'd them; which occaſioned ſo great a Revolution, that, including the *Gothick* Expedition, this Period is commonly called in Hiſtory, *The Univerſal Tranſmigration of a Swarm of Nations*. The Migration of the *Burgundians*, and that of the other *Suevian* and *Vandalic* Nations, is, in particular, very remarkable, as well on Account of the great Alterations thereby cauſed in *Germany*; as of the Subverſion of the *Weſtern* Empire. For, after they quitted their ancient Habitations, ſeveral Names, which 'till then had been ſo famous in *Germany*, were no more mentioned: On the other Hand, the *Sarmatian* Nations ſupplied their Place, and extended their Dominions about the *Danube* and *Viſtula*, and ſo on to the *Elb*.

§. XVII. THE Diſtractions of the *Roman* Empire, which took Riſe in *Britain*, contributed greatly to the wiſh'd for Succeſs, theſe People met with in their Attempts: For when *Gaul* was in ſo deſolate and defenceleſs a State, the Troops in *Britain*, who were always eſteemed the moſt turbulent in the *Roman* Army, rebelled. *Conſtantine*, whom they had ſet up for Emperor, went directly over to *Gaul* †, where he gained many Adherents (1). *Limenius*, *Præfectus Prætorii Galliarum*, and *Cariobaudes*, *Magiſter Militiæ*, retired the next Year into *Italy*, when they found all farther Attemps, in Favour of *Honorius*, fruitleſs. (2). *Conſtantine revolts in Britain.*

† A. 407.

que ad alpes Julias quæ erant noſtra, non noſtra ſunt: & per annos XXX, fracto Danubii limite, in mediis imperii Romani regionibus pugnabatur. Præter paucos ſenes omnes in captivitate & obſidione generati, non deſiderabant, quam non noverant, libertatem. Quis hoc credet, quæ digno ſermone hiſtoriæ comprehendent? Romam in gremio ſuo, non pro gloria, ſed pro ſalute pugnare? Imo ne pugnare quidem, ſed auro & cuncta ſuppellectile vitam redimere, quod non culpa principum, qui religioſiſſimi ſunt: ſed ſcelere ſemibarbari accidit proditoris, qui noſtris contra nos opibus armavit inimicos.

§. XVII. (1) ZOSIM. *L.* VI. *c.* 2. Quo tempore Arcadius adhuc imperabat, Honorio VII, & Theodoſio iterum conſulibus, milites Britannici, ſeditione concitata, Marcum in regio ſolo collocant, eique, tanquam rerum in iis locis potienti, ſe ſubjiciunt. Eo deinde necato, veluti moribus illorum non reſpondente; Gratianum in medium producunt, & purpura coronaque ornatum, ceu principem, ſolito ſatellitio comitantur. Verum & huic improbato, poſt menſes quatuor, imperium abrogant, & vitam eripiunt; Conſtantino rerum ſumma tradita. PROSPER *ad h. A. Honorio* VII. *& Theodoſio* II. Coss. Conſtantinus ex infima militia, ob ſolam ſpeciem nominis, in Britannia tyrannus exoritur, & ad Gallias tranſit. BEDA *Lib.* I. *c.* 9. Anno ab incarnatione domini CCCCVII. tenente imperium Honorio, auguſti filio Theodoſii minore, loco ab Auguſto XLIX, ante biennium Romanæ irruptionis, quæ per Alaricum, regem Gothorum, facta eſt, cum gentes Alanorum, Suevorum, Vandalorum, multæque cum his aliæ, protritis Francis, tranſito Rheno, totas per Gallias ſævirent, apud Britannias Gratianus, municeps tyrannus creatur, & occiditur. Hujus loco Conſtantinus ex infima militia, propter ſolam ſpem nominis, & ſine merito virtutis eligitur: qui continuo, ut invaſit imperium, in Gallias tranſiit.

(2) *Conf.* TILLEMONT *p.* 1189.

Conſtantine made War with ſome, and enter'd into a League with others, of thoſe foreign Nations, whom he found in *Gaul*, according as the Circumſtances required (3). *Stilico*, indeed, ſent *Sarus*, the *Gothick* General, who had performed eminent Services in other Wars, againſt him; but in vain, and it was with ſome Difficulty he ſaved his own Perſon (4). *Conſtantine* was likewiſe acknowledg'd by many in *Spain*, according to *Oroſius*, to whom we may the ſooner give Credit, in this Matter, as he ſpeaks of his native Country. But *Didymus* and *Va-*
†*al. Verininus.* *rianus* †, two Brethren, related to the Family of *Theodoſius*, raiſed an Army, in order to preſerve that Country, in Obedience to their lawful Emperor. *Conſtantine*, who plainly perceiv'd the inevitable Danger which would enſue, if that Army paſs'd the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, and *Honorius*'s Troops ſhould break in upon him, on the other Side, from *Italy*, nominated *Conſtans*, his eldeſt Son, *Cæſar*, and ſent him, with ſome foreign Troops, which were before in *Honorius*'s Service, into *Spain*, where he ſuceeeded ſo well, that he overthrew the two Brothers, and made them Priſoners of War (5).

Alaric goes a ſecond Time to *Italy* but is appeaſed.

§. XVIII. THE Advice of this Rebellion oblig'd *Stilico* again to delay his Expedition into *Illyricum*: But *Alaric* would not loſe his Expectations. He march'd into *Noricum*, and had already paſs'd *Emone* and the River *Aquila*, when he ſent Ambaſſadors † to the Emperor,

† A. 408.

(3) OROSIUS *Lib.* VII. *c.* 40. *p.* 598. Hujus loco Conſtantinus, ex infima militia, propter ſolam ſpem nominis, ſine merito virtutis eligitur, qui continuo, ut invaſit imperium, in Gallias tranſiit. Ibi ſæpe a barbaris incertis fœderibus illuſus, detrimento magis reipublicæ fuit.

(4) ZOSIMUS *Lib.* VI. *c.* 2.

(5) OROSIUS *Lib.* VII. *c.* 40. *p.* 599. Adverſus hos Conſtantinus Conſtantem filium ſuum, proh dolor, ex monacho cæſarem factum, cum barbaris quibuſdam, qui quondam in fœdus recepti, atque in militiam allecti, Honoriaci vocabantur, in Hiſpanias miſit. Hinc apud Hiſpanias prima mali labes. Nam interfectis illis fratribus, qui tutari privato præſidio Pyrenæi Alpes moliebantur, his barbaris, quaſi in pretium victoriæ, primum prædandi in Palatinis campis licentia data: dehinc ſupradicti montis clauſtrorumque ejus cura permiſſa eſt, remota ruſticanorum fideli & utili cuſtodia. Igitur Honoriaci, imbuti præda, & illecti abundantia, quo magis ſcelus impunitum foret, atque ipſis ſceleris plus liceret, prodita Pyrenæi cuſtodia, clauſtriſque patefactis, cunctas gentes, quæ per Gallias vagabantur, Hiſpaniarum provinciis immittunt iiſdemque ipſi adjunguntur, ubi, actis aliquamdiu magnis cruentiſque diſcurſibus, poſt graves rerum atque hominum vaſtationes, quarum ipſos quoque modo pœnitet, habita ſorte, & diſtributa uſque ad nunc poſſeſſione, conſiſtunt. *Inſtead of* Honoriacus *we ought rather to read* Honorianus. *In the* Notitia Imperii *we find, among the* Auxilia Palatina, ſub Magiſtro peditum præſentali in occidente, *Mention of ſeveral foreign Troops, which bear this Surname,* viz, Honoriani Atecotti: HONORIANI MARCOMANNI SENIORES. HONORIANI MARCOMANNI JUNIORES: Honoriani Mauri: Honoriani Aſcarii: Honoriani Gallicani. *Theſe* Marcomanni *were perhaps thoſe, of whom* Paulinus *ſays, in the Paſſage quoted in the preceeding Book,* §. XXXIX. not. 1. *that they became ſubject to* Honorius *almoſt at the Beginning of his Reign. It is likewiſe highly probable, that the* Marcomanni Honoriani *were, in particular thoſe, whom* Conſtans *led to* Spain. *See below* §. XXXIII.

to

to demand a conſiderable Sum of Mony, due to him by Virtue of the Treaty concluded. *Stilico* left the Ambaſſadors at *Ravenna*, and went to *Rome*, where the Emperor then was, and firſt reported the Matter to *Honorius*, and afterwards to the Senat. Moſt of thoſe who were not let into the Secret of the Treaty, adviſed repelling the *Goths* by Force: But, when *Stilico* laid before them the Emperor's Commiſſion, by which he had been impower'd to treat with *Alaric*, his Demand was eſteemed juſt, and it was decreed to pay him 4000 Pounds of Gold (1).

§. XIX. *ARCADIUS* died, *A.* 408, on the firſt of *May*, and *Theodoſius*, his Son, who had bore the Imperial Title, from the Year 402, was but eight Years of Age; wherefore *Honorius*, who had a Right to the Guardianſhip, propoſed a Journy to the Eaſt, to regulate the Adminiſtration: But *Stilico* repreſented the Difficulties and great Expence, that muſt inevitably attend the Journy of the Court thither, and how dangerous it was to leave *Italy*; *Conſtantine* being on the one Side, at *Arles*, and *Alaric* on the other Confines. It was, therefore, reſolved, that the Emperor ſhould ſend him into the *Eaſt*, to eſtabliſh the Court

Stilico's Fall. The Emperor breaks again with the *Goths*.

§. XVIII. (1) ZOSIMUS *Lib.* V. *c.* 29. Ad Stelichonem vero nuntium quidam pertulit, Alarichum, relictis Epiris, & ſuperatis auguſtiis, quæ de Pannonio tranſitum ad Venetos impediunt; apud Emonem opidum caſtra locaſſe, quod inter Pannoniam ſupremam & Noricum ſitum eſt. ZOSIMUS *here inſerts an Account of the Foundation of the City of* Emone *by the* Argonauts, *and at laſt proceeds thus:* Emone vero progreſſus Alaricus, ad Aquili flumine transjecto, jam ſuperatis Apenninis montibus, ad Noricum acceſſit. Hi montes extremos Pannoniæ limites finiunt, & iis, qui ad Noricam gentem tranſire volunt, arctiſſimam viam præbent: cui cuſtodiendæ præſidiarii pauci ſufficiunt, etiamſi magna multitudo vi tranſire conetur. Alaricus tamen his tranſitis, e Norico legatos ad Stelichonem mittit, pecuniam poſcens, tum ejus moræ nomine, qua ſe, ſuaſu Steliconis, aiebat in Epiris hæſiſſe; tum hujus in Italiam & Noricum profectionis cauſa. Stelico hac legatione accepta, relictis Ravennæ legatis, Romam abit, cum imperatore ac ſenatu de eo, quid agendum eſſet, conſilia collaturus. Poſteaquam ſenatus in palatio conveniſſet: propoſita conſultatione, bellumne gerendum eſſet, nec ne; complurium quidem eo ſententia tendebat, ut bello res decerneretur. Solus Stelicho cum paucis, qui ei metu adducti adſentiebantur, contrariam in ſententiam ibant, & faciundæ cum Alaricho pacis autores erant. Heic, quum ii, qui paci bellum præferebant, a Stelichone ſibi dici peterent, quamobrem non bellum potius gerere, quam pacem colere mallet, eamque, cum dedecore Romanæ majeſtatis, pecunia redimere ſuſtineret; Quoniam, inquit, ob commodum principis Alaricus in Epiris tamdiu hæſit, ut, conjuncta mecum opera, bello principi orientis illato, Illyrios ab ejus averteret imperio, regnoque Honorii adjiceret. Et quidem hoc reapſe jam ſucceſſurum fuiſſe aiebat, ſi non Honorii principis litteræ prius adlatæ, ſuam profectionem verſus orientem impediviſſent: in cujus expectatione Alaricus, tantum ibi temporis contriviſſet. Atque hæc dicens Stelicho, ſimul & epiſtolam principis oſtendit, & culpam in Serenam confert; quæ amborum principum concordiam ſartam tectam ſervari voluiſſet. Quapropter omnibus æqua dicere viſo Stelichone, ſenatui placuit, Alarico quatuor librarum millia pacis nomine ſolvi; quum plures id ſenatuſconſultum non ſponte, ſed metu Stelichonis feciſſent. Adeoque Lampadius, genere dignitateque præſtans, quum verbum hoc lingua patria protuliſſet, non eſt iſta pax, ſed pactio ſervitutis, dimiſſo ſenatu, ne quid ſibi propter hanc libertatem accideret veritus, ad proximam quandam Chriſtianorum, eccleſiam aufugit.

of

of the young Emperor; and *Alaric* ſhould be employed againſt *Conſtantine*. *Honorius* ſet out from *Rome*, in *May*, and went thro' *Ravenna* and *Bologna*, to the Army, which lay encamp'd near *Pavia*, and *Stilico* remained at *Bologna*, to prepare for his intended Journy. He had now attained to the higheſt Pitch of Fortune, the Crown and Scepter only excepted; he had married *Serana*, the Niece of *Theodoſius* the *Great*; had been twice *Conſul*, and commanded the whole Army. *Honorius*, who was educated under his Care, a little before, married *Thermantia*, his ſecond Daughter, the eldeſt, *Maria*, being dead; and, if we may believe *Claudian* (1), *Eucherius*, his Son, was upon the Point of marrying *Placidia*, the Emperor's Siſter: The great Confidence *Theodoſius* repoſed in him, and Reputation with which he had 'till then ſway'd the *Roman* Empire, give Poſterity the greater Idea of his eminent Services, the more difficult it was to him, as a Foreigner (for he was of *Vandal* Extraction (2) to attain to ſo great Honours: But theſe very Advantages, which he thought a Bulwark to his proſperous State, redounded to his Ruin. One *Olympius* (3), whom he had himſelf brought to Court, had, under the Pretence of a more than ordinary Piety, which was nevertheleſs very ſuſpicious, found Means of gaining the Confidence of the young Emperor, who perhaps was diſguſted at *Stilico*'s Power and Authority, even when they were moſt ſerviceable to him, and inſinuated to him, that *Stilico* aimed at this Journy to the *Eaſt*, only that he might make his Son *Eucherius* Emperor, in *Theodoſius*'s Room, and that then he would likewiſe find Means to make himſelf Maſter of the *Weſtern* Empire. The firſt Sparks of this Revolution broke out in the Army. The Soldiers at *Pavia* rebelled, and ſlew ſeveral of the principal General Officers, who were repreſented to them, as *Stilico*'s Creatures. Orders thereupon came to the Troops, which lay at *Ravenna*, to ſeize *Stilico*, and he was taken out of a Church, into which he had fled for Refuge. A new Order immediately followed, to behead him, which was likewiſe

§. XIX. (1) CLAUDIANUS *Lib.* II. *de laud. Stiliconis v.* 360-366.

* ——————— quid facta revolvam
Militiamque patris? cujus protendere famam
Si nihil egiſſet clarum, nec fida Valenti
Dextra duxiſſet rutilantes crinibus alas,
Sufficeret natus Stilico.

(2) *Hence* Jerom *calls him, in the Paſſage cited* §. XVI. not. 1, Semibarbarus. *But* OROSIUS *expreſly places him among the* Vandals. Lib. VII. c. 38. Interea comes Stilico, Vandalorum, imbellis, avaræ, perfidæ & doloſæ gentis genere editus, &c. CLAUDIAN *ſays, in Praiſe of his Father, that he commanded a Body of Foreigners (who were probably* Vandals) *under the Emperor* Valens: de laudibus Stiliconis Lib. I. v. 38. ſeq.

It ſeems, that afterwards, when Stilico *arriv'd at ſo high a Pitch of Fortune, ſome pretended his Deſcent was from Royal Blood.* CLAUDIAN *ſays of his Son* de VI. conſ. Honorii v. 552.

Eucherius, cui regius UNDIQUE ſanguis.

(3) *See, concerning him,* TILLEMONT. p. 1211.

executed

executed on the 23d of *Auguſt* (4). *Honorius* ſent his Conſort back to her Mother *Serena*: *Eucherius* fled indeed to *Rome*, but was ſoon after murder'd, and *Serena*, as we ſhall ſee below, came likewiſe to a violent End. It is no wonder, that the Hiſtorians, who wrote after *Stilico*'s Fall, do not ſpeak the moſt favorably of him. *Sozomenus* ſays (5), that he was ſuſpected of deſigning to make his Son Emperor of the *Eaſt*: But *Philoſtorgius* (6) adds other Circumſtances leſs probable, and, among the Reſt, that he had given Poiſon to *Honorius*. *Jerom* (7), *Proſper* (8), and *Marcellinus* (9), even accuſe him of having excited the *Barbarians* to invade *Gaul*. In ſeveral Imperial Mandats, iſſued after his Death, he is even called an Enemy to the Empire, and there likewiſe accuſed of having

(4) ZOSIMUS *Lib.* V. *c.* 34. Olympius vero, principis animo ſuam in poteſtatem redacto, litteras ad milites Ravennates imperatorias mittit: quæ Stiliconem adprehenſum in libera cuſtodia detineri juberent. Ea re cognita, Stilico vicinam quandam Chriſtianorum eccleſiam intempeſta nocte ingreſſus eſt. Quod conſpicati barbari, qui cum eo erant, aliique familiares, armati cum ſervis ſuis, quid futurum eſſet, diſpiciunt. Poſteaquam illuxiſſet, ingreſſi ſunt eccleſiam milites, &, epiſcopo præſente, jurejurando Stiliconi confirmarunt, non imperatum eſſe ſibi a principe, ut eum necarent, ſed tantum, ut cuſtodirent: quum vero egreſſus extra eccleſiam, ſub cuſtodia militum eſſe cœpiſſet, alteræ reddebantur ab eo, qui priores attulerat, litteræ: quibus in litteris, Stelichonis in rempl. delictis, pœna capitis irrogabatur. Eucherio, Stelichonis filio, fuga, dum hæc fierent, verſus urbem Romam elapſo, ad mortem Stelicho ducitur. Quumque barbari, quotquot ipſi aderant, & famuli, & alias neceſſarii (quorum erat multitudo non modica) neci eum eripere citato impetu ſtatuiſſent; variis Stelicho minis & terrore propoſito, ab hoc eos conatu revocavit, & quodam modo cervicem ipſemet gladio præbuit; vir omnium, quotquot id temporis magna cum poteſtate fuerunt, modeſtiſſimus. Licet enim filiæ fratris Theodoſii majores matrimonio junctus eſſet, amborum Theodoſii filiorum regna ei credita fuiſſent & annos tres ac viginti militum ducis munus geſſiſſet, nunquam tamen animadverſum eſt, eum militibus, interveniente pecunia, magiſtratus præfeciſſe, vel annonam militarem in lucrum ſuum vertiſſe. Quumque pater filii duntaxat unius eſſet, hanc ei dignitatis metam ſtatuit; ut ad officium tribuni notariorum provecto, nullam aliam poteſtatem adquireret.

(5) SOZOMENUS *Lib.* IX. *c.* 4.

(6) PHILOSTORGIUS *Lib.* XII. *c.* 2. Omnes enim cogitationes Stelichonem contra imperatorem direxiſſe: neque, quod generum eum haberet ob filiam, diductum; ſed & venenum mortis ei miſcuiſſe: ſe ipſum vero injuria affeciſſe in eo, quod Eucherium, filium, contra jus imperatorem facere ſtuderet, nepotem vero imperio (quod ei debebatur per ſucceſſionem & ſecundum jus) præcideret, multaretque. Ita vero aperte & confidenter tyrannidem affectaſſe Stelichonem ait, ut etiam numiſma, ſola forma excepta cuderet.

(7) HIERONYMUS. *See the Paſſage abovementioned* §. XVI. not. 1.

(8) PROSPER *in chronico, ad A. Arcadii & Honorii* XIII. Diverſarum gentium rabies Gallias dilacerare exorſa, immiſſu quam maxime Stiliconis, indigne ferentis, filio ſuo regnum negatum, *The Invaſion of the Nations happen'd in* Arcadius's *Life-Time, and* Stilico *did not, 'till after his Death, aim at raiſing his Son to the Imperial Dignity.*

(9) MARCELLINUS COMES: BASSO & PHILIPPO Coss. Stilico, comes, cujus duæ filliæ, Maria & Thermantia, ſingulæ uxores Honorii principis fuere, utraque tamen virgo defuncta, ſpreto Honorio, regnumque ejus inhians, Alanorum, Suevorum, Vandalorumque gentes, donis, pecuniiſque illectas, contra regnum Honorii, excitavit, Eucherium filium ſuum, paganum, & adverſum Chriſtianos inſidias molientem, cupiens cæſarem ordinare, qui, cum eodem Eucherio, dolo ſuo detecto, occiſus eſt. *But, that* Eucherius *was educated to Paganiſm, is very improbable.*

inſtigated

inſtigated thoſe Nations (10): But as it is always difficult to come at the Truth; where the Perſons accuſed are not heard in their own Defence, it is much more ſo, when a Prime-Miniſter falls. The real Cauſes are ſeldom known; the Court will have him ſuppoſed guilty; and the Vulgar is prone to give Credit to the leaſt Suſpicion, as it were to revenge, on his Memory, what Oppreſſions they may have ſuffer'd during his Adminiſtration. *Olympius* was made chief Ruler of the Palace, and changed the whole Court. Among other Things, Care was taken that none ſhould be employ'd who were not Members of the true Church; and all thoſe, who had raiſed themſelves by *Stilico*'s Favour, were ſeverely perſecuted. In the Imperial Council, Meaſures were taken directly oppoſite to what *Stilico* had adviſed: But the Conſequence prov'd fatal. The Wives and Children of all the foreign Troops in *Italy*, were put to Death (11). Which Method of ridding the Country of Strangers, as it differ'd entirely from that, propoſed by *Syneſius* (12) to the Emperor *Arcadius*, did more Damage, than could have accrued by the Toleration of them. The Emperor would not perform the Terms promiſed *Alaric*; and yet gave the Command of the Army to Perſons, from whom the *Goths* believ'd they had no great Matter to fear; And when *Alaric* armed himſelf to obtain the Accompliſhment of the Treaty by Force, ſeveral Thouſands, who were irritated on Acconnt of the late Perſecution, went over into his Service

Alaric attacks *Rome*: Comes to an Agreement with the *Romans*.

§. XX. *ALARIC* gave Orders to *Ataulph* his Wife's Brother, who was, with an Army of *Goths* and *Hunns* in *Upper Pannonia*, to follow him to *Italy*, and advanced thro' *Aquileia*, *Concordia* and *Altinum*, to *Cremona*, where he croſs'd the *Po* (1). He ravag'd *Æmilia*, paſs'd by *Ravenna*,

(10) Stilico *is, in ſome Statutes, accuſed of having ſtirr'd up the* Barbarians: e. g. l. 22. C. Theod. *de bonis proſcriptorum.* Qui ſuas opes prædoni publico, vel ejus filio, cæteriſque ſatellitibus dederunt vel jure, vel corpore, quibus ille uſus eſt ad omnem ditandam, inquietandamque barbariem, his omnem repetendi viam jubemus excluſam. *in l.* 1. *C. Theod. de litorum & itinerum cuſtodia, he is called* hoſtis publicus.

(11) ZOSIMUS *l. c. c.* 35. Qui erant in opidis collocati millites, quum de morte Stelichonis ad eos nuntius adlatus fuiſſet: in barbarorum uxores atque liberos per ſingulas urbes graſſantur, eiſque, velûti ſigno dato, ad internecionem deletis, quaſcunque facultates habebant, diripiunt. Quod quum inaudiſſent occiſorum propinqui, & ex locis omnibus confluxiſſent, commoti graviter ob violatam a Romanis tam impie fidem deo teſte datam; cum Alaricho belli ſtatuunt ſocietatem adverſus Romam coire. Quo nomine collecta hominum triginta, vel paullo amplius millia, promte quocunque videretur, concurrunt. Alarichus autem, ne per hos quidem incitatus, bellum ſuſcipit; ſed pacem adhuc bello præfert, induciarum memor, quæ Stelichone vivo, factæ fuerant.

(12) SYNESIUS. *See* ad §. I. not. 3.

§. XX. (1) ZOSIMUS *Lib.* V. *c.* 37. *p.* 609. His in hunc modum ordinatis, Alaricus expeditionem occepit. Et quoniam res adeo maximas non tantum adparatu pari, ſed etiam majore cogitabat

Ravenna, into *Picenum*, and march'd directly to *Rome*. We may eaſily imagine the Conſternation which, hereupon, fell on this haughty City. The Senat ſuſpected *Stilico*'s Widow, of a ſecret Intelligence with *Alaric*, and caus'd her, with the previous Knowledge of the Princeſs *Placidia*, *Honorius*'s Siſter, who was at *Rome*, and had, at that Time, a Hand in the Affairs of State, to be ſeiz'd, and ſtrangled (2); ſuppoſing, that *Alaric* would raiſe the Siege, when he ſhould find the Hopes he had conceived from this private Correſpondence to be fruſtrated. But *Alaric* ſecured the *Tiber*, and cut off all Communication with the City, which occaſioned a great Famine. Some obſtinate Heathens had procur'd certain Impoſtors from *Toſcana*, to perſuade the People, to reſtore their ancient Sacrifices, promiſing to intercede with their Deities, to deſtroy the Enemy by Thunder and Lightning (3): But

gitabat adgredi; Ataulfum, conjugis ſuæ fratrem, ex Pannonia ſuperiore arceſſit, ut eum rei gerendæ ſibi ſocium adjungeret, qui Hunnorum Gothorumque copias haud aſpernandas haberet. Verum illius adventu non expectato, ulterius progreſſus, Aquileiam, & urbes ordine trans Eridanum flumen ſitas, curſu præterit: Concordiam inquam, & Altinum, & ſecundum hanc, Cremonam. Quumque flumen transjeciſſet, velut in celebritate quadam feſta, hoſte nullo prorſus occurrente, quoddam in caſtellum Bononia venit, quod Oecubariam vocant. Hinc Æmilia tota peragrata, relictaque Ravenna, Ariminum acceſſit, urbem Flaminiæ magnam. Deinde, hac quoque curſu præterita, cum cæteris, quæ ſunt ejuſdem provinciæ, in Picenum venit.

(2) ZOSIMUS *ſays, that ſhe was innocent:* c. 38. p. 613. Erat autem hæc quidem ſuſpicio re-apſe falſa. Nam nihil hujuſmodi Serenæ ad animum acciderat. Verum meritas violatarum rerum divinarum pœnas luebat, velut hoc ipſo jam loco narrare lubet. Quo tempore Theodoſius major, oppreſſa Eugenii tyrannide, Romam venit, & contemtum ſacri cultus in animis omnium excitavit, publicum ſumptum ad ſacrificia ſe ſuppeditaturum inficiatus: expellebantur utriuſque ſexus ſacerdotes, & fana ſacrificiis omnibus deſtituta jacebant. Tunc igitur, his illudens Serena, matris deum ædem videre voluit. Conſpicata vero, mundum collo ſimulacri Rheæ circumjectum, illo divino cultu dignum, ſimulacro ademtum, collo ſuo adhibuit. Quumque vetula quædam, ex virginibus relicta veſtalibus, hanc impietatem in os ei exprobraſſet, tam contumeliis illi gravibus illuſit, quam abigi per comites eam pediſſequos juſſit. Tum ea diſcedens, quidquid illa dignum impietate foret, ut & ipſi Serenæ, & marito ejus, & liberis eveniret, imprecatur. Illa vero, nullius horum ratione habita, quum mundo iſto ſibi placens e fano exiſſet; ſæpenumero quiddam ei ſe tum quieſcenti, tum vigilanti offerebat, quod mortem imminentem denuntiaret. Alii quoque complures conſimilia conſpexerunt. Et quidem perſecutrix impiorum vindicta, tantopere ſuo ſatisfecit officio, ut etiam eo Serena cognito, quid de ſe futurum eſſet, non tamen ſibi caveret; ſed laqueo cervices illas præferret elidendas, quibus divæ mundum injecerat.

(3) SOZOMENUS, Lib. 9. c. 6. p. 481. Neceſſarium videbatur iis, qui in ſenatu adhuc pagani erant, ut & in Capitolio, & in reliquis templis ſacrificaretur. Nam Thuſci quidam, ad hoc acciti ab urbis hyparcho, promiſerant, ſe fulminibus ac tonitruis abacturos eſſe barbaros. Gloriabantur enim, ab ſe hujuſmodi quippiam eſſe factum in conſervationem Larinæ, civitatis Thuſciæ, quam Alarichus, dum Romam contenderet, prætergrediens, non cepiſſet. Cæterum iſtorum nullum fuiſſe futurum viſum, eventus ipſe declaravit. Cordatis vero, hæc ob indignationem dei

Romanis

the Senat refuſed to conſent thereto, tho' many of that Body were ſtill addicted to *Paganiſm.* Now as they found no Proſpect of Aſſiſtance from *Ravenna*, the only Means left was, to capitulate with *Alaric*, which, in Conſideration of a large Sum of Mony, he comply'd with (4). But, as the Publick Treaſury was already exhauſted, and the private Contributions of the Senators would not ſuffice, Recourſe was had to all the Remains in the *Pagan* Temples; and many Idols of Gold and Silver were melted down. *Zoſimus* laments, in particular, the Fate of the Image of *Valour*, and will have it, that all the Valour and Virtue of the *Romans* periſh'd with it; whereas he ſhould rather have been ſenſible of the Folly of his Superſtition, from the Impotence of his Deities, who could not ſave their own Images (5). *Alaric*, after the Concluſion of the Treaty, kept ſtrict Diſcipline, and ſet out from *Rome* for *Toſcana:* But

Romanis evenire videbantur, ad eorum pœnam, quæ ipſi quondam, præ nimia protervia ac petuantia in ipſos & pauperes inique deliquiſſent. Nicephorus *repeats this relation*, Lib. 13. c. 35. p. 422. A. Cum igitur annonæ penuria, fames ſimul & peſtis exorta eſſet, & jam ſervi ad Alarichum transfugerent, Romanis ſenatoribus Græcæ ſuperſtitionis, ut in Capitolio, & templis omnibus, ſacrificia fierent, placuit. Acciti autem Thuſci quidam, tonitru & fulminibus ſe barbaros inde propulſuros eſſe, polliciti ſunt. Nam id illi ad urbem aliam, cui nomen Larinæ, fecerant: quam urbem Alarichus obſeſſam non cepit. Sed conſilium cœptumque id fruſtra fuit. Siquidem, qui rectam obtinebant mentem, vindicta divina Romanos hæc pati exiſtimarunt, propter ingentes delicias, & quas exhibebant libidines. Zoſimus *interſperſes*, Lib. 5. c. 41, *ſome other Circumſtances which are certainly fictitious.* Dum hæc ipſi ſecum expendunt, Pompeianus, præfectus urbi, forte in quoſdam incidit, qui Romam e Tuſcia venerant, & opidum quoddam aiebant, cui nomen NEVEIA, præſentibus ſe liberaſſe periculis, perque nuncupata numini vota, cultumque patrium tonitruis atque fulgetris immanibus elicitis, barbaros imminentes abegiſſe. Cum his collocutus, quæcunque de pontificum libris fieri expediret, fecit. Quia vero ad animum accidebat ei, quæ tunc invaluerat, opinio; quo tutius id perageret, quod in votis habebat, omnia cum urbis epiſcopo communicat. Is erat Innocentius, qui quidem opinioni ſuæ ſalutem urbis anteponens, clam permiſit eis, ut facerent, quæcunque ſcirent. Quum illi non aliter hæc urbi conductura dicerent, niſi publice conſueta ſacrificia fierent, ſenatu in Capitolium adſcendente, atque tum ibi, tum quolibet in urbis foro rite debita ſacra peragente: nemo intereſſe cerimoniis, ritu patrio celebrandis, auſus fuit, ſed hominibus illis e Tuſcia valere juſſis, ad permulcendum omni ſtudio barbarum ſe convertunt.

(4) ZOSIMUS, c. 1. Placuit ab urbe ſolvi quinque millia pondo auri, argenti triginta millia, tunicarum ſericarum quatuor millia, vellerum coccineorum tria millia, piperis tria librarum millia.

(5) IDEM, *ibid.* Nam, quod deerat, mundo ſupplere ſtatuunt, quo erant exornata deum ſimulacra. Quod ſane nihil aliud erat, quam ſimulacra, ſacris ritibus atque cerimoniis dedicata, mundoque decenti exornata, propterea, quod urbi felicitatem perpetuam conſervaſſent; his ipſis cerimoniis nonnihil deminutis, eſſe inanima prorſus & inefficacia. Quod denique cuncta, quæ tenderent ad interitum urbis, undique concurrere oporteret, non ornamenta dumtaxat ſua ſimulacris ademerunt: verum etiam nonnulla ex auro & argento facta conflarunt: quorum erat in numero fortitudinis quoque ſimulacrum, quam Romani virtutem vocant: quo ſane abolito, quidquid fortitudinis, atque virtutis, apud Romanos ſuperabat, extinctum fuit, id quod ex eo tempore futurum, homines rebus divinis & ritibus patriis exerciti prædixerunt.

this

this Vicinity gave Opportunity to many Servants to elope from *Rome*, and to lift themſelves among the *Goths*.

§. XXI. *CONSTANTINE* took Advantage of theſe *Gothick* Troubles, to make his Peace with *Honorius*, and to oblige him to acknowledge him Emperor. His Ambaſſadors arrived about this Time, at *Ravenna*, and remonſtrated, that the Soldiers had compell'd him to aſſume the Imperial Title. *Honorius* had the *Goths* upon his Back, in *Italy*, and durſt not, therefore, draw any new Enemy upon himſelf there: He was likewiſe under Apprehenſions for his two Kinſmen, *Verenianus* and *Didymius*, who were in *Conſtantine*'s Hands: He therefore acknowledg'd him Emperor, and ſent him the Purple (1). A remarkable Monument of this Reconciliation is extant in a *Greek* Inſcription, found at *Triers* (2), and placed in the Year, in which *Conſtantine* and *Honorius* are mentioned as Conſuls.

Honorius is reconciled to *Conſtantine*, to be the better able to oppoſe the *Goths*.

ΤΠΑΤΕΙΑ ΟΝΟΡΙΟΥ ΤΟ Η̄, ΚΑΙ ΚΩΝCΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΤΟ Α̅.

i. e.

CONSULAT. HONORII VIII, & CONSTANTINI I.

§. XXII. THIS Peace ſeems to have been the Occaſion, that *Honorius* would not comply with all the Conditions, which had been ſtipulated at *Rome*; notwithſtanding that the *Romans* ſent Deputies to him, to deſire it. *Alaric*, therefore, returned to *Rome*. *Honorius* ſent, indeed, 6000 *Dalmatians*, under the Command of the General *Valens*, to encounter him; but they met with ſo warm a Reception, that ſcarce 100 of them eſcaped (1). The *Romans* ſent thereupon other Deputies to the Emperor, among whom was Pope *Innocent* himſelf; and *Alaric* gave them a Convoy to ſecure them againſt Parties. *Atualph*

Refuſes to ratify the Treaty the *Romans* had made with *Alaric*.

§ XXI. (1) ZOSIMUS *Lib.* V. *c.* 43. Secundum hæc mittit Conſtantinus, tyrannus, eunuchos ad Honorium, veniam poſcens, quod imperium delatum accepiſſet. Non enim id ſe ſponte ſua rapuiſſe, ſed a militibus, adhibita vi, fuiſſe coactum. Hoc poſtulatum ubi princeps audiviſſet, animadvertens, haud facile ſe, quam diu militantes Alaricho barbari longius remoti non eſſent, de bellis aliis cogitare poſſe; prætereaque rationem propinquorum habens, qui a tyranno in vinculis detinebantur: (erant autem ii Verenianus & Didymius) non poſtulato duntaxat adſenſus eſt, ſed & imperatoriam veſtem ei miſit. Ac propinquorum quidem cauſa ſtruſtra ſollicitus erat, qui ante legationem hanc jugulati fuerant.

(2) GRUTERUS p. MLII. 6. SIRMONDUS in notis ad Sidonium p. 58. JOSEPHUS SCALIGER *did not therefore recollect this Circumſtance, when,* de emend. tempor. Lib. V. p. 516, *where he cites this Inſcription, he confeſſes his Ignorance, which* Conſtantine *this was.*

§. XXII. (1) ZOSIMUS *Lib.* V. *c.* 44-45.

paſs'd the *Alps*, about the ſame Time that theſe arriv'd at Court. The Imperial Troops obtain'd ſome Advantage over him, which at firſt rais'd the Hopes of the Court; but the Face of Affairs was ſoon changed, when *Olympius* was oblig'd to decamp, and *Jovius*, *Præfectus Pretorii*, was placed at the Head of the Adminiſtration (2).

Fruitleſs Negotiations at *Rimini*.

§. XXIII. *JOVIUS* had been formerly very intimate with *Alaric*, when the latter was in *Epirus*, and undertook now to mediate a Peace with him. *Alaric* conſented, and the Interview was appointed at *Rimini*, whither *Alaric* and *Jovius* both went in Perſon. *Alaric* demanded the Ceſſion of *Dalmatia*, *Noricum*, and *Venetia*, to the *Goths*, together with a certain annual Subſidy in Mony, beſides Proviſions. The *Goths* being now very diffident, *Jovius*, as a Mark of his Integrity, drew up his Report to Court, in the Preſence of *Alaric*; and, by a particular Letter, adviſed the Emperor, to declare *Alaric* General of the Army, that he might the ſooner deſiſt from ſome of his Demands: But the Emperor's Anſwer was, that *Jovius* might make the beſt Terms he could, for the Payment of a Subſidy, and the Delivery of certain Proviſions; but that he would never entruſt *Alaric*, nor any other *Goth*, with Employments in the State, much leſs in the Army (1). *Jovius*, who did not expect this Anſwer would deviate from the Advice he had

(2) IDEM *L. c. cap.* 46.

§. XXIII. (1) ZOSIMUS *Lib.* V. *c.* 48. Jovius autem, præfectus prætorii, quum omnem apud imperatorem potentiam in ſe tranſtuliſſet: legatos ad Alarichum mittere decrevit, qui eum hortarentur, ut ad ipſam uſque Ravennam accederet, quod iſtic pacem facturi eſſent. Alaricho principis & Jovii litteris adſenſo, & Ariminum profecto, quæ Ravenna triginta milliaribus abeſt, celeriter eo Jovius quoque ſe contulit; et, quod in Epiris Alarichi hoſpes & amicus factus fuiſſet, de fœdere pangendo tractat. Alarichi hæc poſtulata erant: ut in annos ſingulos auri certa ſumma ſolveretur, & annonæ menſura quædam ſuppeditaretur: ut item ipſe cum ſuis omnibus utramque Venetiam & Noricos & Dalmatiam incoleret. Hæc Jovius, Alaricho præſente, perſcripta mittit ad imperatorem, datis ad eundem ſeorſim quoque litteris, quibus eum cohortabatur, Alarichum utriuſque militiæ magiſtrum conſtitueret; ut hoc modo delenitus, de conditionum aſperitate nonnihil remitteret, ac tolerabilibus moderatiſque legibus pacem faceret. Imperator his acceptis litteris, Jovii temeritatem damnat, & viciſſim miſſis ad eum litteris ſignificat, auri quiæm & annonæ modum, ut ipſe ſtatueret, æquum eſſe, qui & præfectus eſſet prætorii & publicorum tributorum copiam facultatemque perſpectum haberet; at dignitatem, aut ducis officium, nunquam ſe vel Alaricho, vel ejus gentilibus conceſſurum. SOZOMENUS Lib. IX. c. 7. *allows of this.* Poſtea, cum legationem ejus nomine miſiſſet Innocentius, epiſcopus Romanus, revocatus imperatoris litteris Alarichus Ariminium venit: quæ civitas ducentis ac decem ſtadiis Ravenna diſtat. Ibi ante muros civitatis caſtra metatum cum allocutus eſſet Jovius, Italiæ hyparchus, imperatori exponit petitionem Alarichi, & quod oporteret eum actis publicis declarari præfectum utriuſque exercitus. Imperator vero Pecuniæ & commeatus copiam, uti petierat, haud ſecus ac Jovio hyparcho facit; cæterum dignitatem, quam petebat, ſe illi nunquam eſſe conceſſurum, reſcripſit.

given

given, open'd and read the Letter, likewiſe, in *Alaric's* Preſence. The latter thought this Declaration ſuch a Diſhonour to the *Gothick* Nation, that he broke off immediately, and turned his Force upon *Rome*. *Jovius*, at his Return to *Ravenna*, to conceal the Overſight, which his Confidence in *Alaric* had betray'd him into, pretended that Prince would not give Ear to any Propoſals that were tolerable; and he exited the *Romans* to ſo eager and lively a Deſire for War, that *Honorius* made a Vow, never to conclude a Peace with *Alaric*; as he and the other Generals did that they would never adviſe him to it (2): But the Auxiliaries proved almoſt as arrant Enemies, as the *Goths* themſelves. He took 10,000 *Hunns* into his Service; and notwithſtanding *Alaric* moderated his Demands, and, by the Interpoſition of certain Biſhops, offer'd to be contented with the two Provinces of *Noricum*, which were almoſt always infeſted, and brought very little into the Imperial Treaſury, together with an annual Delivery of certain Proviſions and a Sum of Mony; in Conſideration of which he offer'd, with his Subjects, to ſerve the *Romans* againſt all their Enemies (3); the Court nevertheleſs perſiſted in the War they had once reſolved upon (4).

§. XXIV. *ALA-*

(2) ZOSIMUS, *l. c. c.* 49. Hanc epiſtolam, quum Jovius accepiſſet, non ſeorſum apertam, ſed audiente Alaricho, legit. Is cætera quidem moderate tulit, verum, ubi negatum ſibi gentique ſuæ militiæ magiſterium vidit; mox ira percitus, Romam contendere barbaros ſuos juſſit, quaſi confeſtim factum ſibi totique genti ſuæ injuriam ulturus. Jovius autem, ob inexſpectatas haſce litteras imperatoris ad inopiam conſilii reductus, Ravennam rediit. Quumque ſe omni culpa liberare vellet, Honorium ſacramentis obſtringit, quibus ſancte polliceretur, numquam pacem cum Alaricho facturum; ſed bellum perpetuo geſturum. Simul & ipſe principis tacto capite, jusjurandum præſtat; & a cæteris, quotquot erant cum poteſtate, conſimile quiddam exigit.

(3) ZOSIMUS *l. c. c.* 50. Alarichus autem, quod eum ſuſceptæ adverſus Romam expeditionis pœnituiſſet, epiſcopos urbium ablegat, qui ſimul & legatione fungerentur, & auctores Honorio eſſent, ne culpa ſua ſineret eam urbem, quæ jam a pluribus, quam mille annis, magnæ parti orbis terrarum imperaſſet, barbaris vaſtandam dedi; nec tantas ædificiorum moles hoſtili flamma deleri: ſed potius, moderatis admodum conditionibus, pacem componeret. Nec enim opus eſſe ſibi dignitate poteſtatis, nec jam ſe poſtulatas prius provincias ad conſtituendas in eis ſedes petere; ſed ambos tantum Noricos, ad extremas Iſtri partes ſitos, & qui continuis incurſionibus vexentur, tenueque fiſco tributum inferant. Præter hæc annonæ tantum in annos ſingulos adjiceret, quantum ipſe princeps ſatis eſſe putaret. Quin & ab auri ſe poſtulato diſcedere, ac velle, ut amicitia ſit, bellique ſocietas, inter ſe, ac Romanos, adverſus quemvis, qui arma ſumeret, & ad gerendum adverſus rempublicam bellum ſe commoveret.

(4) IBIDEM. Cum hæc Alarichus leniter ac modeſte proponeret, omneſque ſimul hominis moderationem admirarentur; Jovius & alii, penes quos ſecundum principem poteſtas omnis erat, hæc poſtulata concedi propterea poſſe negabant, quod omnes magiſtratus jurejurando ſe obſtrinxiſſent, cum Alaricho ſe pacem nullam facturos Quippe, ſi deo præſtitum ſuiſſet jusjurandum, fortaſſe negligi poſſe, permittendo benignitati divinæ facinoris impii condonationem. Sed quoniam per caput imperatoris juraſſent, non jam eis fas eſſe, contra

Alaric beſieges *Rome*, a ſecond Time; and raiſes *Attalus* to the Imperial Dignity.

§. XXIV. *ALARIC*, hereupon, beſieged *Rome* a ſecond Time; made himſelf Maſter of the Harbour, and got all the Proviſions of the City into his Power; ſo that he had nothing to do, but to leave the Enemy to ſtruggle with Famine. A Peace was, at Length, concluded, on this Condition, that the Senat ſhould, inſtead of *Honorius*, accept of *Attalus*, who 'till then had been *Præfectus Urbis*, for their Emperor; by whoſe Means *Alaric* hoped to obtain, what *Honorius* refuſed to grant him (1). The Gates were then open'd for the *Goths* (2). *Attalus* immediately nominated *Alaric* General of the Army, and *Atualph*, *Comes Domeſticorum*; *Lampadius* was made *Præfectus Prætorii*; *Marcianus*, *Præfectus Urbis*, and *Tertyllus*, *Conſul* for the enſuing Year 410: And the Senat, as well as the *Roman* People, conceived, at firſt, no leſs Hopes, from this Revolution, than the *Goths* themſelves.

Endeavours to to depoſe *Honorius*: Imprudent Deportment of *Attalus*.

§. XXV. BUT the *Goths* were the firſt who found themſelves deceived in the Opinion they had entertained of *Attalus*. *Alaric* adviſed him to take the Advantage of the firſt Diſorder, to make himſelf Maſter of *Africa*, from whence *Rome* was furniſh'd with Proviſions, and to that End, to ſend *Druma*, the *Gothick* General, thither. But here

contra tam grave jusjurandum delinquere. SOZOMENUS *L.* IX. *c.* 7. & 8. At vero barbarus non ita multo poſt pœnitentia ductus, ſignificat, ſe dignitatem jam nullam petere, quin ſe auxiliarem Romanis fore, ſi modo commeatum mediocrem, & habitationem donent locorum, qui a Romanis non magni fierent. Cum autem legatione per epiſcopos quoſdam facta, hujus rei petitione bis fruſtratus eſſet, Romam reverſus, civitatem oppugnat.

§. XXIV. (1) SOZOMENUS L. IX. c. 9. *ſays that he was baptiz'd by* Sigeſarius, *Biſhop of the* Goths, *and on that Account was agreable to the* Arians: Haſce res hujuſmodi eventum fuiſſe ſortitas, haud mediocriter doluerunt tum pagani, tum illi Chriſtiani, qui Arianam ſectabantur hæreſin. Iſti enim, ducta conjectura ex Attali tum propoſito, & priore educatione, prorſus exiſtimabant, illum palam paganiſmum amplexurum, & ipſis templa patria reſtituturum, & ferias & victimas. Hi vero, ſe primatum in eccleſiis, ſicuti tempore Conſtantii ac Valentis, rurſus conſecuturos, arbitrabantur, ſiquidem ille firmatum contineret imperium: propterea, quod a Sigeſario, Gothorum epiſcopo, baptizatus, & ob id cum ipſis univerſis, tum vel maxime Alaricho, chariſſimus eſſet.

(2) ZOSIMUS *Lib.* VI. *c.* 6. In Italia vero Alarichus, pace conditionibus iis, quas propoſuerat non impetrata, nec obſidibus acceptis, Romam rurſus invadit, minatus, eam ſe per vim expugnaturum, niſi cives Romani, conjunctis ſecum animis, adverſus Honorium auguſtum expeditionem ſuſcepiſſent. Illis ad hoc poſtulatum cunctantibus, urbem obſidet; & ad portum profectus, aliquot diebus in ejus oppugnatione conſumtis, tandem eo potitus eſt. Ubi, quum omnem urbis annonam reconditam inveniſſet, eam ſe minatus eſt in exercitum ſuum expenſurum, ni celeriter iis Romani, quæ proponebat, ſatisfeciſſent. Itaque ſenatus univerſus convenit, & inſtituta deliberatione, quid potiſſimum agendum eſſet, tandem omnibus adſenſus eſt, quæ Alarichus imperaverat. Nec enim mortis ullum erat effugium, poſteaquam urbi nulla e portu annona ſuppeditabatur. Secundum hæc exceptis Alarichi legatis, ad urbem eum arceſſunt; ac veluti juſſi fuerant, Attalum, præfectum urbis, ſublimem in auguſto ſolio, purpura coronaque cinctum, collocant. Is extemplo Lampadium præfectum prætorii declarat, & Marcianum præfectum urbis conſtituit. Militares præfecturas tum ipſi Alaricho, tum Valenti tradit. *add.* SOZOMENUS *L.* IX. *c.* 8.

Zoſimus

Zoſimus himſelf ridicules *Attalus*, for relying more upon the empty Promiſes of his Soothſayers, who had flatter'd him, that he ſhould have the Poſſeſſion of *Africa*, without Blood-ſhed, than upon the prudent Counſel of the *Gothick* King (1). He ſent another General, call'd *Conſtantine*, thither; but the Number of his Men was inſufficient, and he immediately defeated by *Heraclian*, the Lieutenant of that Province. *Attalus* ſet out, about the ſame Time, againſt *Honorius*, who was in the utmoſt Anxiety, and ſent Ambaſſadors to him, with the Offer of admitting him a Partner in the Empire: But *Attalus* ſent him ſo arrogant an Anſwer, that the moſt diſcreet of his own Adherents were aſtoniſh'd at it. This ſeems to have been the critical Juncture, on the Event of which every thing depended; ſo that if *Attalus* fail'd here, all his Hopes were loſt. This Anſwer had, indeed, ſuch an Effect on *Honorius*, that he order'd as many Ships, as could poſſibly be got together, to *Ravenna*, to be ready for tranſporting him to the *Eaſt*, in Caſe Matters ſhould go bad, in *Africa* (2): But ſome Recruits arrived, at the ſame Time, from the *Eaſt*, who had long before received Orders to march; and when, beſides this, the happy News of *Heraclian*'s Succeſs, in *Africa*, came, *Honorius* recover'd from his Fright and took freſh Vigour. *Heraclian* was, on this Occaſion, highly ſerviceable to him. He ſhut up all the Ports on the Coaſts of *Africa*; ſo that neither Corn, nor Oyl,

§. XXV. (1) ZOSIMUS *L.* VI. *c.* 7. *p.* 660. Quum autem Alarichus Attalo recte conſuleret, ut Idoneas copias in Africam & Karthaginem mitteret, earumque opera Heracliano abrogaret imperium; ne per illum quoque, partes Honorii ſectantem, aliquod impedimentum rebus inſtitutis objiceretur; nihili ejuſmodi admonitiones fecit Attalus: adeoque ſpes eas complexus, quas vates ei facerant, ac ſine certamine ſe Karthagine totaque potiturum Africa perſuaſus; non Drumam mittit, qui cum barbarorum copiis, quas ducebat, facillime potuiſſet Heraclianum poteſtate dejicere. Sed Alarichi conſilio poſthabito, cuidam Conſtantino in Africanos milites imperium tradit, nec firmas tamen eo copias mittit.

(2) ZOSIMUS *Lib.* VI. *c.* 7 *p.* 661. *& cap.* 8. *tot.* Interea vero, dum adhuc in dubio res Africanæ eſſent, expeditionem adverſus imperatorem, qui Ravennæ ſe continebat, ſuſcipit. Is metu perterritus, quum, miſſis legatis, imperii ſocietatem offerret: Jovius, ab Attalo præfectus prætorii conſtitutus, ne nomen quidem imperatoris Honorio relicturum ait Attalum, nec integrum corpus; ſed in inſulam relegaturum, & præterea partem aliquam corporis mutilaturum. Univerſis hac orationis adrogantia territis, & Honorio principe jam ad capeſſendam fugam parato, qui eo nomine non exiguam navium copiam in portum Ravennatem cöegerat: ſex militum cohortes adpulere, quæ quidem adhuc ſuperſtite Stilichone jam olim expectabantur, ſed tunc primum ex oriente ad belli ſocietatem venerunt. In his erant hominum quatuor millia. Quapropter velut excitatus e gravi ſopore Honorius, iis mœnium cuſtodiam credit, qui ex oriente venerant: atque interim Ravennæ manendum ſtatuit, donec certiora de rebus Africanis accepiſſet. Ac, ſiquidem ſuperior evaderet Heraclianus, rebus iſtic in tuto conſiſtentibus, univerſo cum exercitu Attalo & Alaricho bellum inferendum: ſin miſſi ab ſe in Africam vincerentur, in orientem ad Theodoſium, cum iis abeundum navibus, quas haberet; & occidentalium nationum imperio cedendum.

nor

nor any other Neceſſaries of Life could be exported; and the Dealers in Corn, in and about *Rome*, who had yet ſome Store, kept it up, that they might enhance the Price, which cauſed a Famine in *Rome*, as violent as that during the laſt Siege. The Senat was almoſt unanimous, that *Druma*, the *Gothick* General, in whom every one repos'd a great Confidence that he would perform ſomething, ſhould be ſent to *Africa*: But *Attalus* inſiſted upon it, not to entruſt any *Goth* with ſo great a Charge (3).

Alaric depoſes *Attalus*: Enters into freſh Negotiations with *Honorius*; but without Succeſs.

§. XXVI. IN this Confuſion, begun the Year 410 (1). *Alaric*, tho' he had already experienc'd *Attalus* not to anſwer his Expectations of him, had however, 'till now, not been remiſs, in reducing ſeveral Cities of *Æmilia* and *Liguria* to his Obedience (2): But when he was daily more and more convinced, that *Attalus* intended only to make Uſe of the *Goths* as a Tool, which, when he had gain'd his Ends, he could throw off; and *Honorius* probably making ſome new Advances for a Peace, *Alaric* made him ſenſible that he had, till then, only ſuffer'd him to act the Part of an Emperor in Shew (3), and depriv'd him of the Character,

(3) IBID *c.* 11, 12. Heraclianas vero, quum omnes in Africa portus occupatos multiplici præſidio tenuerat, neque jam frumentum, vel oleum, vel aliæ res ullæ ad victum neceſſariæ, in portum Romanum inveherentur: fames in urbe gravior, quam prius exiſtit; dardanariis ea ſpe, quidquid habebant, ſupprimentibus, ut omnium pecunias ad ſe averterent, eo potiti pretio, quod ipſimet arbitratu ſuo ſtatuerent. Adeoque redacta fuit urbs ad eas anguſtias, ut ab iis, qui ſperarent, hominum quoque corpora deguſtatum iri, vox hujuſmodi circenſibus ludis emitteretur: PRETIUM PONE CARNI HUMANÆ. Has ob cauſas Romam profectus Attalus, ſenatum advocat; & conſultatione propoſita, univerſis propemodum ea ſententia probata fuit, ut & barbari cum Romanis militibus in Africam mitterentur, eorumque parefectura Drumæ traderetur; illi nimirum viro, qui documenta jam plurima fidei benevolentiæque ſuæ edidiſſet. Solus Attalus cum paucis, judicio plurium non adſentiebatur; qui neminem barbarorum cum Romano exercitu mitti vellet.

§. XXVI. (1) *We find that* Tertyllus, *whom* Attalus *had nominated* Conſul *for this Year, is taken Notice of in ſome of the* Faſti; *as for Inſtance in* CASSIODORO. FL. VARARI, & TERTULLUS. His Coſſ. Roma a Gothis Halarico duce capta eſt, ubi clementer uſi victoria ſunt. *In others* Varanes, *who was nominated* Conſul *in the* Eaſt, *is only mention'd.*

(2) ZOSIMUS, *Lib.* VI. *c.* 10. Dum autem Alarichus adhuc in fide, Attalo data, perſtaret, Valens, equitum magiſter, occiſus eſt, proditionis inſimulatus: & Alarichus ipſe cunctas urbes Æmiliæ cum copiis adiit, quotquot imperium Attali promte accipere recuſaſſent. Et alias quidem nullo labore redigit in ditionem. Bononiam obſeſſam, & hoſtem compluribus diebus ſuſtinentem, capere non potuit. Itaque verſus Ligures pergit, ut illos etiam Attalum imperatorem agnoſcere cogeret. PHILOSTORGIUS *relates ſome other Circumſtances,* Lib. XII. c. 3. *which, however, are inconſiſtent.* v. TILLEMONT, p. 1243.

(3) OROSIUS, *Lib.* VII. *c.* 42. Quid de infeliciſſimo Attalo loquar, cui occidi inter tyrannos honor & mori lucrum fuit? In hoc Alaricus imperatore

many Vices, then unknown to the *Germans*, were in Vogue among the *Romans*, that it would not be an improper Queſtion, which of the two Nations were properly the *Barbarians?* The ancient Inhabitants of the conquer'd Countries ridicul'd ſometimes, among themſelves, the Manner of Speech, Habits, and Open-heartedneſs of their new Lords; but when it came to the Point, the *Roman* embroider'd Cloaths were oblig'd to truckle to the *German* Skins. I have, already, given ſome Inſtances, that after the firſt Apprehenſions were over, the Provinces themſelves were pleaſed with the Revolution, of which I ſhall give more Examples in the Sequel.

Converſion of the *German* Nations.

§ L. As for the State of Religion among the *German* Nations, during this Period, the *Franks*, *Alemanni*, *Saxons*, and other Nations, who remained behind in *Germany*, were ſtill involved in the Obſcurity of *Paganiſm*. Of the *Wiſi-Goths*, I obſerved before, that they were Proſelytes to *Arianiſm*. The *Vandals* ſeem likewiſe to have been *Chriſtians*, before they paſs'd the *Rhine*; but it is almoſt uncertain, whether they were then already fallen into the Errors of *Arius*, or were firſt ſeduced to that Schiſm by *Genſeric* (1). The *Burgundians* were not baptiz'd, 'till they were in *Gaul* (2): And the *Suevi*, in all Appearance, were likewiſe not converted to the *Chriſtian* Faith, 'till they invaded the *Roman* Provinces. We find, at leaſt, no Tokens of their Converſion, excepting thoſe, which only concern the *Marcomanni* (3): But whether theſe Nations were very much edified, by their Converſion, is a Queſtion: For, when the Teachers were no longer contented with gaining Converts by Conviction, and good Example, but by Force drew People into their Churches, many *Pagan* Superſtitions, at the ſame Time, crept in. Whoever reads the

§ L. (1) IDATIUS *relates* Genſeric's *Apoſtacy from the Catholick Church into the Errors of* Arianiſm. *See his Words below*, B. 9. § 5. not. 1. *The Spaniards, on the contrary, produce, in their Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, ſeveral Perſons who ſuffer'd for the Catholick Faith among the* Vandals, *whilſt they liv'd in* Spain: *But others have made ſeveral Objections to theſe Accounts.* Conf. RUYNART in commentario de perſecutionis Vandalicæ ortu, &c. cap. 2.

(2) v. TILLEMONT, *p.* 1366.

(3) VALESIUS *has contracted all that can be ſaid on this Head, in the following Declaration*, L. 3. p. 118. Quem hominem, ut ex ortu tot tyrannorum, & ex tot gentium incurſionibus intelligitur: & a ſuis & a barbaris ob deſidiam contemtum, omni Gallia ac Hiſpania propemodum amiſſa, in Italia latuiſſe, de ſalute magis quam de imperio ſolicitum, nec umquam Alpes tranſire auſum eſſe, nemo non mirabitur: qui animadverterit Fl. Valerium Conſtantium, &inſequentes imperatores, aut imperatoribus abſentibus cæſares, raro Gallia exceſſiſſe; in repellendis continuis Francorum & Alamannorum bellis occupatos, &c.

(2) *See above*, § 38.

(3) *See above*, B. 7. § 39.

Accounts

Accounts given by *Auſtin*, *Jerom*, and particularly *Salvianus*, of the *Chriſtians* of their Time, would be ready to imagine, that the Churches, by Reaſon of the many Controverſies about Articles of Faith, had but little Time left to think of the Reformation of Manners (4).

(4) ERASMUS ROTERODAMUS, *in dedicatoria tomi II. operum* Hieronymi, *ad archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem, ſpeaki thus of this Matter.* ' At illa ætate in chartis erat fides potius, quam in animo, ac pene tot erant ſymbola, quot profeſſores. Admiſcebant ſeſe rebus hiſce, ita ut fit, privata hominum ſtudia, & ſub fidei prætextu, impiæ ſimultates exercebantur.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ANCIENT GERMANS.

BOOK IX.

The Hiſtory of the GERMANS, to the Concluſion of the War with the HUNNS.

SECT. I. *THE Beginning of* Valentinian's *Reign.* II. Theodoric, *King of the* Wiſi-Goths, *makes War with the* Romans. *A Peace enſues.* III. *The* Vandals *pillage the* Balearian *Iſles*; *and take* Hiſpalis *and* Carthagena. IV. Boniface *decoys the* Vandals *to* Africa. V. Genſeric *goes to* Africa. VI. *The* Juthungi *invade* Rætia. *Commotions in* Noricum. VII. Ætius *marches to the* Rhine, *againſt the* Franks. *Of King* Clodius. VIII. *Tranſactions of* Hermanaric *with the ancient Inhabitants of* Gallicia. IX. *Succeſs of the* Vandals *in* Africa. X. *Changes at the Court of* Rome. Ætius *takes Refuge among the* Hunns; *but returns to Court.* XI. *The* Burgundians *invade* Belgica, *but are defeated by* Ætius. XII. *An Army of* Alemanni *ſerve the* Romans *againſt the* Armorici, *in* Gaul. XIII. *A freſh War with the* Wiſi-Goths. Ætius *employs the* Hunns *againſt them.* XIV. *The* Wiſi-Goths *beat the* Roman *General,* Litorius. *A Peace enſues.* XV. *The* Alani *obtain a ſettled Habitation in the Country about* Valence. XVI. Genſeric *takes* Carthage. XVII. *Perſecutes the* Orthodox Chriſtians, *in* Africa. XVIII. *Makes an Attempt upon* Sicily. XIX. *The Peace with the* Vandals *is renewed.* XX. Herma-

Hermanaric *resigns the Crown to* Rechila, *his Son.* *The* Suevi *extend themselves throughout* Bætica. XXI. Clodio *takes* Cambray. *Is beaten by* Ætius, *on the Frontiers of* Artois. *The State of* Triers, Mentz *and* Cologn. XXII. *Continuation of the History of the* Hunns. XXIII. Attila's *Descent, Court and Character.* XXIV. *His Preparations against* Gaul. XXV. *Of the* German *Nations, which were in his Army; what Route he took?* XXVI. *Contentions among the* Franks, *in which he interfered.* XXVII. *Makes an Inroad into* Gaul, *reaches* Orleans. XXVIII. *The Battle of* Chalons *on the* Marne. Attila's *Overthrow.* XXIX. *The Event of the Civil Broils among the* Franks. *Of King* Meroveus. XXX. *Whether* Attila *was ever in the present* Thuringia? *Origin of the* Thuringians. XXXI. Attila *invades* Italy. *Origin of the City of* Venice. XXXII. Valentinian *enters into a Treaty with* Attila. *Pope* Leo *goes to him as Ambassador. A Peace made with the* Hunns. XXXIII. Attila *makes War with the* Alani; *and is defeated by the* Wisi-Goths. XXXIV. *What occasion'd the* Saxons *going to* Britain. XXXV. *Foundation of the* Saxon *Kingdoms in that Island.*

§ I. AS the preceding Book has treated of the Foundation of the *German* Kingdoms in the *Roman* Provinces, the Continuation of their History; the *Transmigration* of the *Vandals* into *Africa*; the Wars of the *Hunns*, and the Settlement of the *Angles* and *Saxons* in *Britain*, points out, as it were, a new Period. These Occurrences all happen'd, during the Reign of *Valentinian* III, in the *West.* After the Death of *Honorius*, *John* assumed the Imperial Title: But the *Grecian* Court took the Part of *Valentinian*, for whom *Boniface* likewise declared in *Africa.* *John* was but just set aside, when those *Hunns* arrived, on whom he had very much depended. *Ætius* had undertaken to procure him these Auxiliaries; but now, finding his Design was frustrated, he made Use of these *Hunns* to make good Terms for himself: For the Court promised to forget his late Procedure, if he could persuade the *Hunns* to return Home. *Ætius* prevail'd, and soon became the principal Support of this new Government. *Valentinian* went thereupon to *Rome*, where, on the 23d of *October*, 425, *Helion*, a *Patricius* and *Magister Officiorum*, whom *Theodosius* had sent thither for that Purpose, presented him the Imperial Crown (*). The Beginning of *Valentinian*'s Reign.

§ I. (*) SOCRATES, *L.* 7. *c.* 24. Theodosius hunc suum consobrinum, cæsarem renunciatum, ad partes occidentis misit, rerum administratione matri Placidiæ concredita. Postea dum ille ipse in Italiam iter facere maturabat, ut consobrinum declararet imperatorem, suaque prudentia Italos, ne tyrannis facile obsecundarent, coram erudiret, Thessalonicam profectus, morbo, ne longius iret, præpe-

Theodoric, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, makes War with the *Romans*. A Peace enſues.

§ II. THE ſpeedy Quelling of this Commotion was the more advantageous to *Valentinian*, becauſe *Theodoric*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, who had, in the mean Time, ſucceeded *Wallia*, declared War againſt the *Romans*. We do not find his Motives; but only, that in the Year 425, the *Goths* beſieged *Arles*, and *Ætius* relieved that City (1): But the Peace and Alliance was probably ſoon after renewed (2); for, we find that, in the Year 427, a good Underſtanding ſubſiſted between thoſe two Nations, and that the King of the *Goths* aſſiſted the *Romans*, in Perſon, in their War with the *Vandals* in *Spain* (3).

The *Vandals* take *Hiſpalis* and *Carthagena*.

§ III. THE latter were the more encourag'd by their late Victory over the *Romans*, becauſe the Defence, on their Part, by Reaſon of the Diviſions in the Empire, after the Deceaſe of *Honorius*, was greatly weaken'd.

præpeditus fuit. Per Helionem igitur, patricium, corona imperatoria ad conſobrinum miſſa, ille ipſe Conſtantinopolim revertitur. OLYMPIODORUS, *p.* 15. Remiſſa eſt Conſtantinopoli a Theodoſio Placidia cum liberis, adverſus Joannem tyrannum: & illa quidem auguſtæ nomen, Valentinianus vero nobiliſſimi titulum iterato ſuſcepit. Submiſſus quoque exercitus, bellique imperator utriuſque militiæ, Ardaburius nimirum cum filio Aſpare, addito & tertio Candidiano. Ad Theſſalonicam cum ventum eſſet, Helion officiorum magiſter a Theodoſio miſſus, Valentinianum in ipſa illa urbe cæſaris veſte induit, annos natum non amplius quinque. Cum autem ad Italiam perveniſſent, Ardaburius a tyranni militibus capitur, miſſuſque ad illum amicitiam cum eodem init. Ejus interim filius, Aſpar, una cum Placidia in magna rerum deſperatione luctuque verſabantur. Sed Candidianus, multis occupatis urbibus, partaque rebus bene geſtis nominis claritate, luctum diſſipavit, animoſque reddidit. Cæſo dein Joanne tyranno, Placidia una cum Cæſare filio Ravennam iniit. Helion vero magiſter & patricius Romam invaſit, omnibuſque eo confluentibus, Valentinianum jam ſeptennem veſte induit imperatoria. PAGIUS, ad A. 424. n. 4. *and* A. 425. n. 2--6. *takes Notice of the other Paſſages of the Ancients; and in particular confirms from thence the Circumſtance, that* Valentinian *aſſumed the Purple at* Rome.

§ II. (1) PROSPER, *in chron. conſulari*: THEODOSIO IX. & VALENTINIANO Coss. (*A.* 426.) *ſays*: Arelas, nobile oppidum Galliarum, a Gothis multa vi oppugnatum eſt, donec, imminente Ætio, non impuniti abſcederent.

(2) SIRMONDUS, *in notis ad Sidonium, p* 57. *and* PAGIUS, *ad A.* 427. *n.* 20, *apply to this Peace the following Paſſage, which we find in* Sidonii Panegyricus Aviti. (*Carm.* 7.) *v.* 214. *ſeq.*

——Ducis hinc pugnas, & fœdera regum
Pandere Roma libet. Variis incuſſa procellis
Bellorum, regi Gethico, tua Gallia, pacis
Pignora juſſa dare eſt: inter quæ nobilis, obſes
Tu, Theodore, venis, quem pro pietate propinqui
Expetis, in media pelliti principis aula
Tutus, Avite, fide, probat hoc jam Theudoris altum
Exemplum officii, res mira & digna relatu
Quod fueris blandus regi placuiſſe feroci.

(3) JORNANDES, *c* 33. *ſays*: Videns Vallia Vandalos in ſuis finibus, id eſt, Hiſpaniæ ſolo, audaci temeritate ab interioribus partibus Galliciæ (ubi eos fugaverat dudum Ataulfus) egreſſos, cuncta in prædas vaſtare, eo tempore, quo HIERIUS & ARDABURIUS CONSULES (*A.* 427.) proceſſiſſent, nec mora, mox contra eos movit exercitum. PAGIUS *obſerves, that we muſt read* Theodoric, *inſtead of* Wallia.

They

They ravag'd the *Balearian* Iſlands, and, about the Year 425, took *Hiſpalis*, now *Sevil*, the Capital of *Bætica*, and *Carthagena* (1). As therefore every Thing went to their Wiſh, in *Spain*, it ſeems ſomewhat ſtrange, that they ſhould, ſo ſoon after, leave that Country, and go over into *Africa*.

§. IV. ACCORDING to *Procopius*, the Motive that induced them to this Tranſaction, was as follows: During *Valentinian*'s Minority, when *Placidia* was at the Helm, the Adminiſtration was chiefly lodg'd in the Hands of *Ætius*, who was *Magiſter militum*; and *Boniface* Lieutenant in *Africa*. The Jealouſy, ſubſiſting between theſe two Miniſters, prov'd as fatal in its Conſequences, as they might both have been advantageous in the State, had it been govern'd by a Prince, capable of keeping them within Bounds. *Ætius*, who was excellent at Diſſimulation, inſinuated to the Empreſs, that *Boniface* was projecting Innovations, and perſuaded her to recall him: At the ſame Time, under the Pretence of Friendſhip, he ſecretly warned *Boniface*, that his Enemies had ſet the Empreſs againſt him, and that, if he came to Court, his Life would be in Danger. When *Boniface* was therefore ſent for to *Ravenna*, giving Credit to the Admonition given him by *Ætius*, he fell into the Snare laid for him by his pretended Friend, and involv'd the Province, entruſted to his Care, in his own unhappy Fate. He refuſed to obey this Order, and endeavour'd to put himſelf into ſuch a Poſture of Defence, not to be brought to a Compliance by Force. He invited *Gundaric* and *Gaiſeric*, the two Princes of the *Vandals*, who then reigned in *Spain*, to come to *Africa*, on Condition, that they ſhould divide the Province among them into three equal Shares, and if either ſhould be attack'd, that they ſhould ſtand by one another (1). He had been before well

Boniface decoys the *Vandals* into *Spain*.

§ III. *(1)* IDATIUS *ad annum primum Valentiniani*. Vandali Balearicas inſulas deprædantur. Deinde Carthagine Spartaria, & Hiſpali everſa, & Hiſpaniis prædatis, Mauritaniam invadunt.

§. IV. (1) PROCOPIUS *de bello Vandalico, L.* 1. *c.* 3. Duo Romani duces erant, Ætius & Bonifacius, validi ambo, bellique rerum peritia ſecundi ætatis ſuæ nemini. His æmulatus circa civile regimen intercedebant. Cæterum tanta erat animi magnitudo, virtuteſque aliæ, ut, ſi quis utrumvis Romanorum ultimum dicat, a vero non ſit abiturus. Ita omnis Romana laus in illos duos confluxerat. Horum alterum, Bonifacium, Placidia toti præfecit Africæ: dolebat id Ætio, ſed minime diſplicere ſibi rem oſtendebat. Nondum enim in apertum odia proruperant, ſed ſub perſona amicitiæ tegebantur. Profectum jam in Africam Bonifacium criminari apud Placidiam Ætius cœpit ut regni appetitiorem, & ipſi & imperatori Africam erepturum. Nec rem exploratu difficilem. Si enim Romam Bonifacium vocaret, non venturum. Hæc ut audiit femina, laudatum Ætii conſilium ſequitur. At occuparat jam Ætius clam ſcribere Bonifacio, matrem imperatoris inſidias ipſius in exitium ſtruere, ejus rei indicium prædixit, fore ut ſine cauſa ſubito revocare-

acquainted with the *Vandals*, which proved, perhaps, on this Occaſion, of Advantage to him: For, by a Letter written to him by *S. Auſtin*, it appears, that he, not long before, fetch'd a Wife from that Country, who had ſo great an Influence over him, that tho' at her Nuptials ſhe was obliged to profeſs the *Catholick* Faith, the Daughter, he had by her, was nevertheleſs baptized by the *Arians* (2).

Genſeric goes to *Africa*.

§ V. *GUNDARIC* died, *A.* 428, before the Matter was ripe (1). His Brother, *Genſeric*, who, tho' a natural Son, obtain'd the Dominion of the whole Nation, alone undertook the Expedition (2). This Prince was

vocaretur. Hæc erant, quæ literis ipſius continebantur. Quibus neutiquam ſpretis Boniſacius, ſimul aderant, qui ipſum ad imperatorem accirent, negavitſe aut imperatori, aut matri ejus pariturum, Ætii monita ſilentio premens. His Placidia intellectis, tam Ætium fidiſſimum principi credidit, quam ſuſpectum habuit Boniſacium. Hic vero nec parem ſe imperatoris potentiæ ſentiens, nec ſalutem ſperans, ſi Romam proficiſceretur, conſultare cœpit, quomodo Vandalos ſibi adjungeret, qui Africæ propinquam Hiſpaniam obtinebant. Mortuo ibi Gotigiſclo, filii ſucceſſerant duo, natus juſta matre familias Gontharis, Gizerichus autem nothus: quorum ille ætate & ingenio ſecors; alter vero ad bella plurimum exercitus, & ſollertiæ eximius. Miſſis igitur in Hiſpaniam Boniſacius de amicorum numero potiſſimis, cum ambobus Godigiſcli filiis æquum iniit ſœdus, ut cuique ipſorum tertia pars Africæ cederet; quod ſi quis bello impeteretur, commune periculum eſſet. Hæc pacti, Vandali fretum ad Gades tranſvecti, in Africam venere. Pagius *ad A.* 427. *n.* 2 & 3. *and* Ruynart, *in hiſt. perſecutionis Vandalicæ, confirm this Relation by farther Teſtimonies.*

(2) Augustinus, *epiſt* 220. *c.* 4. *p.* 618. Cum te eſſe in hoc propoſito ſciremus, navigaſti, uxoremque duxiſti. Sed navigaſſe obedientiæ fuit, quam, ſecundum apoſtolum, debebas ſublimioribus poteſtatibus: uxorem autem non duxiſſes, niſi ſuſceptam deſerens continentiam, concupiſcentia victus eſſes. Quod ego cum comperiſſem fateor miratus obſtupui: dolorem autem meum ex aliqua parte conſolabatur, quod audivi, te illam ducere noluiſſe, niſi prius catholica fuiſſet facta: & tamen hæreſis eorum, qui verum filium Dei negant, tantum prævaluit in domo tua, ut ab ipſis filia tua baptizaretur. *We find beſides, in this Epiſtle, likewiſe ſome Tokens, that* Boniface *had then broke with the Court.*

§ V. (1) *This Computation is confirmed by* Pagius ad A. 428. n. 2. *But* Procopius *himſelf could not obtain a perfect Knowledge of the Circumſtances of the Death of* Gundaric, *or* Gontharis, *as he always calls him. He ſays, Lib.* 1. *c.* 3. *p.* 184. D. Jam enim Gontharis diem obierat, fratre autore mortis, ut fama eſt: cui refragantes Vandali, in Hiſpania a Germanis captum in prælio, crucique affixum Gontharin, & Vandalos a Gizericho, cum ſolus regnaret, ductos in Africam fuiſſe, ferunt: ſic a Vandalis ipſis accepi. Idatius, *in chron. ad A.* Valentiniani IV. Gundericus, rex Vandalorum, capta Hiſpali, cum impie elatus, manus in eccleſiam civitatis ipſius extendiſſet, mox dei judicio, dæmone correptus interiit. Cui Gaiſericus frater ſuccedit in regno. Qui, ut aliquorum relatio habet, effectus apoſtata de fide catholica, in Arianam dictus eſt tranſiſſe perfidiam.

(2) Procopius, *L.* 1. *c.* 3. *p.* 184. A. Mortuo Godigiſclo, dominatum ſuſceperunt ejus filii, Gontharis, ex juſta uxore natus, & Gizerichus nothus: verum ille adhuc puer, & natura parum induſtrius, hic in armis optime exercitatus, ac mortalium omnium ſolertiſſimus. Sidonius Apollinaris,

was (3) one of the moſt renowned among thoſe, who promoted the Subverſion of the *Roman Empire* in the *Weſt*, and diſcover'd Qualities, as excellent, in overthrowing, as the ancient Heroes had done in founding it. His whole Reign confirms the Character given of him by *Procopius* and *Jornandes*. They deſcribe him of a middling Stature, and lame of one Foot; of profound Knowledge and few Words; Moderate; an Enemy of Pomp; Valiant and Experienced in all the Arts of War; no Undertaking appear'd too great to him, if it could ſerve, either to confirm, or to extend his Power; and he excell'd particularly in the Art of uniting or

linaris, *in panegyr. Majoriani (carm. 5.) repreſents* Africa *as ſpeaking thus: v.* 56.

——— Venio pars tertia mundi
Infelix felice uno. FAMULA SATUS olim
Hic PRÆDO, & dominis extinctis, barbara dudum
Sceptra tenet, tellure mea, penituſque fugata
Nobilitate furens, quod non eſt, non amat hoſpes.

narent, imperio ad Genſericum primo relato. Egyptum ergo ille ac Ethiopiam ſibi ſubjugavit. Siciliam claſſe ingreſſus vaſtavit, a qua in Aphricam rurſus transfretavit. Depravatus inter hæc impietate Ariana, fidem omnino Chriſtianam molitus eſt ſubvertere, a quo quum Hippona urbs obſidione ſæviſſima cingeretur, divus Aurelius Auguſtinus in fata conceſſit. Mox ſubacta Aphrica univerſa, Siculos & Apulos adiit, flamma ac ferro viam ſibi aperuit, quem Eudoxa, Theodoſii junioris filia, Valentiniani cæſaris defuncti conjux, in Italiam adverſus Maximi tyrannidem accerſiit. Urbem vacuam ingreſſus, quamvis natura ſanguinarius a cede temperavit, ſacris pepercit, igne abſtinuit. Leonis., pontificis tum ſummi monitis placatus, tredecim tantum diebus prædandam concedens, Maximo ſub ſaxis interempto, abducta in Aphricam Eudoxa quam conjugem accepit, abductis & filiabus binis Eudocia & Placidia, e quibus illam Honorifico filio collocavit, hanc Olibrio imperatori Romano poſt facto. In Aphrica dein obiit, quum regnaſſet annos octo ac quatraginta, de quo Sidonius Apollinaris:

——— Hinc Vandalus hoſtis
Urget, & in noſtrum numeroſa claſſe quotannis
Militat exitium.

It appears yet more ſurprizing, when we read, I. 3. c. 16. *that* Stilico *ſtil'd himſelf, after* Rhadagaiſus's *Overthrow,* Rex Vandalorum, *and,* I. 3. c. 26. *that he makes* Placidia *a Princeſs of the* Vandals.

(3) *The Account* Mareſchalcus Thurius *gives of* Genſeric, *in the* Annales Herulorum. Lib. 2. c. 18. *is very defective, if compar'd with the Ancients.* Genſericus, homo magnanimus & inter hæc ſævus, ſucceſſit. Eudoxiam cum filiabus binis Roma abduxit, quarum alteram Traſimundo filio ſuo conjugem dedit. Treviros quoque eum cœpiſſe quidam ſcribunt, martyrio ibi multos conſecraſſe, ac dein in Aphricam reverſum vita ibi functum, anno ut putant regni ſeptimo ac trigeſimo, relicto domi Viſilao inter cæteros filios. *Lib.* 3. *c.* 20. *he has ſomewhat amended it:* Genſericus illi ſucceſſit, homo longe prudentiſſimus, qui cum Vandalorum millibus octo Hiſpanias intravit, Carthaginem urbem, olim potentiſſimam iterum cæpit, anno quingenteſimo trigeſimo quinto poſteaquam cœperat eſſe Romanis ſubjecta, ibique annos trigenta ſeptem regnavit. Erat tunc in Hiſpaniis Vallias rex, Vandalorum hoſtis acerrimus, regnum & ipſe affectans, qui Bonifacii comitis interventu, ab Honorio principe miſſi, ſic pacati, ut ordine, cæterum re inturbata, reg-

dividing

dividing other Nations, juſt as it would contribute to his ſeveral Ends (4). He was hardly in Motion, when *Hermigarius*, a Prince of the *Suevi*, invaded the Country, which the *Vandals* had, 'till then, poſſeſs'd in *Spain*. But *Genſeric* returned, and, when *Hermigarius* fled, he purſued and overtook him, not far from *Emerita*, at preſent *Merida*, and defeated him. *Hermigarius* was drown'd, in his Flight, in the River *Anas*, now call'd *Guadiana* (5). *Genſeric* then continu'd his March to the *Streight* which divides *Africa* from *Spain*, from whence he went over to *Africa*, in the Month of *May*, *A.* 429. The Rumour of his Arrival cauſed ſo great a Terror, that the Biſhops and Divines were preparing for their Flight before he landed; as appears from a Letter of S. *Auſtin*, Biſhop of *Hippon*, in Anſwer to the Query, Whether it was lawful for a Biſhop, or other Prieſt, to fly, on the Arrival of the *Vandals* (6). *Victor* ſays, that his whole Army conſiſted only of 80,000 Souls (7); and, according to *Procopius*'s Account,

(4) PROCOPIUS's *Words have already been cited*, not. 2. Jornandes *de rebus Getic. c.* 33. *deſcribes him in the following Relation:* Erat namque Gizericus, jam Romanorum clade in urbe notiſſimus, ſtatura mediocris, equi caſu claudicans, animo profundus, ſermone rarus, luxuriæ contemtor, ira turbidus, habendi cupidus, ad ſollicitandas gentes providentiſſimus, ſemina contentionum jacere, odia miſcere paratus. Talis Africæ rempublicam, precibus Bonifacii, ut diximus, invitatus intravit, ubi, a divinitate (ut fertur) accepta autoritate, diu regnans, ante obitum ſuum filiorum agmen accitum ordinavit, ne inter ipſos de regni ambitione eſſet diſſenſio; ſed ordine quiſque & gradu ſuo fieret ſequens ſucceſſor, & rurſus ei poſterior ejus.

(5) IDATIUS *in chronico ad annum* VALENTINIANI V. Gaiſericus rex de Bæticæ provinciæ litore cum Wandalis omnibus, eorumque familiis, menſe Maio ad Mauritaniam, & Africam, relictis tranſit Hiſpaniis. Qui priuſquam pertranſiret, admonitus, Hermigariam Suevum vicinas in tranſitu ſuo provincias deprædari, recurſu cum aliquantis ſuis facto, prædantem in Luſitania conſequitur. Qui haud procul de Emerita, quam cum S. Martyris Eulaliæ injuria ſpreverat, multis per Gaiſericum cæſis, ex his quos ſecum habebat, arrepto, ut putavit, Euro velocius fugæ ſubſidio, flumine, Ana, divino brachio præcipitatus, interiit.

(6) AUGUSTIN. *in ep.* 228. *ad Honoratum data A.* 428 Quid eſt ergo, quod in epiſtola tua priore poſuiſti? Dicis enim, ſi in eccleſiis perſiſtendum eſt, quid ſimus nobis vel populo profuturi non video, niſi ut ante oculos noſtros viri cadant, fœminæ conſtuprentur, incendantur eccleſiæ, nos ipſi in tormentis deficiamus, cum de nobis quæritur quod non habemus.

(7) POSSIDIUS *in vit. S. Auguſtini, cap.* 28. Divina, *inquit*, voluntate & poteſtate provenit, ut manus ingens diverſis telis armata & bellis exercitata immanium gentium Vandalorum, & Alanorum, COMMIXTAM SECUM HABENS GOTTHORUM GENTEM, ALIARUMQUE DIVERSARUM PERSONAS, ex Hiſpaniæ partibus tranſmarinis, navibus Africæ influxiſſet & irruiſſet, univerſa per loca Mauritaniarum, etiam ad alias noſtras tranſiens provincias & regiones, omni ſæviens crudelitate & atrocitate, cuncta quæ potuit exſpoliatione, cædibus, diverſiſque tormentis, incendiis, aliiſque innumerabilibus & infandis malis depopulata eſt: nulli ſexui, nulli parcens ætati, nec ipſis dei ſacerdotibus & miniſtris, nec ipſis eccleſiarum ornamentis, ſeu inſtrumentis, vel ædificiis. *And lower*, Videbat ille homo dei, SANCTUS AUGUSTINUS,

Account, of thoſe only 50,000 were Soldiers (8); But, by *Poſſidius*, we find that, beſides the *Vandals* and *Alani*, there were likewiſe *Goths* and other *Germans* in his Service (9).

§ VI. THE Frontiers of *Rætia* ſeem'd, after the Departure of the *Vandals* and *Suevi*, to have been out of Danger, on the Side of the

The *Juthungi* invade *Rætia*. Commotions in *Noricum*.

TINUS, civitates excidio perditas, pariterque cum ædificiis villarum habitatores, alios hoſtili nece exſtinctos, alios effugatos, virgineſque ſacras, & quoſque continentes ubique diſſipatos; & in his alios tormentis defeciſſe, alios gladio interemtos eſſe, alios in captivitate, perdita animi & corporis integritate ac fidei, malo more ac duro, hoſtibus deſervire; hymnos dei & laudes de eccleſiis deperiſſe ædificia eccleſiarum quam plurimis locis ignibus concremata, ſolemnia quæ deo debentur de propriis locis deſiſſe ſacrificia, ſacramenta divina vel non quæri, vel quærenti qui tradat non facile reperiri; in ipſas montium ſilvas & cavernas petrarum & ſpeluncas confugientes, vel ad quaſque munitiones, alios fuiſſe expugnatos & interfectos, alios ita neceſſariis ſuſtentaculis evolutos atque privatos, ut fame contabeſcerent, ipſoſque eccleſiarum præpoſitos & clericos, qui forte dei beneficio vel eos non incurrerant, vel incurrentes evaſerant, rebus omnibus exſpoliatos atque nudatos, egentiſſimos mendicare; nec eis omnibus ad omnia, quibus fulciendi eſſent, ſubveniri poſſe: vix tres ſuperſtites ex innumerabilibus eccleſias, hoc eſt Carthaginenſem, Hipponenſem, & Cirtenſem, quæ dei beneficio exciſæ non ſunt, & earum permanent civitates, & divino & humano fultæ præſidio, licet poſt ejus obitum urbs Hipponenſis incolis deſtituta ab hoſtibus fuerit concremata.

(8) VICTOR VITENSIS *de perſecutione Vandalica, Lib.* 1. *c.* 1. Sexageſimus nunc, ut clarum eſt, agitur annus, ex quo populus ille crudelis ac ſævus Vandalicæ gentis Africæ miſerabilis attigit fines, tranſvadans facili tranſitu per anguſtias maris, qua inter Hiſpaniam, Africamque æquor hoc magnum & ſpatioſum, biſſenis millibus anguſto ſe limite coarctavit. Tranſiens igitur quantitas univerſa, calliditate Geiſeri ducis, ut famam terribilem ſuæ faceret gentis, ilico ſtatuit omnem multitudinem numerari, quam huic luci ad illam uſque diem uterus profuderat ventris. Qui reperti ſunt ſenes, juvenes, parvuli, ſervi, vel domini, octogintа millia numerati. Qua opinione divulgata, uſque in hodiernum a neſcientibus armatorum tantis numerus æſtimatur, cum ſit nunc exiguus & infirmus. Inveniente; igitur pacatam quietamque provinciam, ſpecioſitatem totius terræ florentis, quaquaverſum, immutatis agminibus impetabant, devaſtando depopulabantur, incendio atque homicidiis totum exterminantes. Sed nec arbuſtis fructiferis omni mode parcebant; nec forte quos antra montium, aut prærupta terrarum, vel ſecluſa quæque occultaverant, poſt eorum tranſitum illis pabulis nutrirentur: & ſic iterum, atque iterum tali crudelitate furentibus, ab eorum contagione nullus remanſit locus immunis. Præſertim in eccleſiis baſiliciſque ſanctorum, cœmeteriis vel monaſteriis ſceleratius ſæviebant, ut majoribus incendiis domos orationis magis, quam urbes, cunctaque oppida concremarent. Ubi forte venerabilis aulæ clauſas repererant portas, certatim ictibus dextralium, aditum reſerabant.

(9) PROCOPIUS *de bello Vandalico, Lib.* 1. *c.* 5. Contributis in cohortes Vandalis & Alanis ducem Gizericus non minus LXXX. præfecit, quos chiliarchos, ſeu mille virorum tribunos ideo nominavit, ut habere ſub ſignis LXXX. bellatorum millia crederetur. Ac ſuperiori quidem tempore Vandali atque Alani non excedere dicebantur L. millia: deinde tamen, qua liberorum procreatione, qua ſocietatis coitione cum aliis barbaris, eorum numerus maxime crevit. Porro in unum Vandalorum nomen Alani, cæterique barbari ſua vocabula confuderunt, exceptis Mauris, quorum adeptus obſequia Gizericus a morte Valentiniani, in Siciliam atque Italiam, quotannis vere novo ſe invehebat.

Germans:

Germans: But, in the Year 430 (1), we find *Ætius* employed in an Expedition againſt the *Juthungi*, and quelling ſome Commotions in *Noricum*, in that as well as the next enſuing Year. *Avitus*, who afterwards attain'd to the Imperial Dignity, accompanied him in both Expeditions; and this it was, that occaſioned *Sidonius* to mention them, in the Poem, compoſed in Honour of him (2).

Ætius marches to the Rhine, againſt the Franks. Of King Clodio.

§ VII. *ÆTIUS* was thereupon ſucceſsful in an Expedition againſt the *Franks*. Some ancient Hiſtorians ſay, that he drove them back again out of the Country, which they at that Time poſſeſs'd, on the left Banks of the *Rhine* (1); which confirms the Conjecture, that in the Times of *Jovinus*, a Body of *Franks* croſs'd the *Rhine* and eſtabliſhed themſelves there (2). According to *Idatius*'s Account, he made a Peace with them in the Year 432 (3). More modern Hiſtorians generally place the Beginning of King *Clodio*'s Reign about this Time (4): But if *Clodio* at this Time acceded to the Throne, and, in the Beginning of his Reign, was unfortunate in War with the *Romans*, he muſt either have retained; by Virtue of a Peace, a District in *Germania Inferior*, perhaps in the ſame Manner as the *Romans* granted another to the *Burgundians* in *Germania Superior*, or elſe muſt have recover'd himſelf again: We ſhall find him, ſome Years afterwards, making Incurſions as far as *Cambray*.

Tranſactions of Hermanaric with the ancient Inhabitants of Gallicia.

§. VIII. THE Inhabitants of *Gallicia* had enter'd into certain Treaties with the *Suevi*, after they had ſettled themſelves in their Country. Now

§ VI. (1) IDATIUS *ad A.* VALENTINIANI VI. *(430.)* Per Ætium comitem non procul de Arelate quædam Gothorum manus extinguitur, Anaulpho optimate eorum capto. Jothungi per eum ſimiliter debellantur, & Nori. *In the following Year he relates:* Ætius, dux utriuſque militiæ, Noros edomat rebellantes. Rurſum Suevi initam cum Gallæciis pacem libata ſibi occaſione conturbant. Ob quorum deprædationem Idatius epiſcopus ad Ætium ducem, qui expeditionem agebat in Galliis, ſuſcipit legationem,

(2) *See* not. 2 *of* § XI.

§ VII. *(1)* PROSPER *in chronico conſulari* FELICE & TAURO Coss. *(A.* 429.*)* Pars Galliarum propinqua Rheno, quam Franci poſſidendam occupaverant, Ætii comitis armis recepta. CASSIODORUS *ad eandem annum:* Ætius multis Francis cæſis, quam occupaverant, propinquam Rheno Galliarum partem recepit. Idatius's *Teſtimony relating to this may be ſeen below*, § VIII. not. 2.

(2) *See in the foregoing Book*, § XLIII. *and* XLIV.

(3) IDATIUS *ad A. Valentiniani* VIII. Superatis per Ætium in certamine Francis, & in pace ſuſceptis, Cenſorius comes legatus mittitur ad Suevos, ſupradicto ſecum Idatio redeunte.

(4) PROSPER *in chronico a* Pithœo *edito.* Clodius regnat in Francia. Sigebertus *places the Beginning of this Reign, in the Year* 430. Pagius ad A. 428. n. 10. *imagines that he begun to reign yet ſooner.*

as under theſe Circumſtances, in which the *Spaniards* and *Suevi* were, with Regard to each other, frequent Opportunities aroſe for Miſunderſtandings between them; ſo a new Treaty was indeed concluded, *A.* 430, but ſoon after broken (1). The *Gallicians* had Recourſe to *Ætius* (2), who was at that Time in *Gaul*, and ſent the Biſhop *Idatius* (3), whoſe Chronicle, in this Part of our Hiſtory, muſt be our ſureſt Guide, to him. *Ætius*, after having humbled the *Franks*, ſo far took their Part, that, *A.* 432, he ſent an Ambaſſador to King *Hermanaric* (4). How far this Ambaſſy ſucceeded is uncertain: For that King did not make Peace with the *Gallicians* till the next Year, at the Interceſſion of ſeveral Biſhops, after *Cenſorius*'s Return (5). *Hermeric* himſelf ſent an Ambaſſador to the Emperor; but to no Purpoſe (6).

§ IX. WE muſt here look back on the War in *Africa*. *Placidia* being apprized of *Boniface*'s Innocence, endeavour'd to put a Stop to all Hoſtilities (1), and ſeems to have ſent *Darius* to *Africa*, for that Purpoſe, as appears from the Encomiums given him by *St. Auſtin* (2). But *Boniface* could not now, by fair Means, prevail on the *Vandals* to return; and when the *Romans* attempted to force them to it, the *Vandals* carried the Day. They thereupon beſieged *Hippon*, a famous ſtrong City on the Coaſts of *Numidia*: The Siege laſted 14 Months, and the *Van-*

Progreſs of the *Vandals* in *Africa*.

§ VIII. (1) IDATIUS *ad A. Valentiniani* VI. (430.) Suevi ſub Hermerico rege medias partes Gallæciæ deprædantes, per plebem, quæ caſtella tutiora retinebat, acta ſuorum partim cæde, partim captivitate, pacem quam ruperant, familiarum quæ tenebantur, redhibitione inſtaurant. *This Paſſage is, in ſome Meaſure, illuſtrated by* Iſidorus, *who, in the* Hiſtoria Suevorum, *contracts the Tranſactions of ſeveral Years*, in ſcript. rerum Goth. p. 231. Vandalis autem tranſeuntibus Africam, Galliciam ſoli Suevi ſortiti ſunt, quibus præfuit Emericus annis quatuordecim. Galleci autem in parte provinciæ regno ſuo utebantur, quos Emericus aſſidua vaſtatione deprædans, tandem ob morbi dolorem pacem eis dedit.

(2) IDATIUS *ad A.* VII. *Valentiniani.* Rurſum Suevi initam cum Gallæcis pacem libita ſibi occaſione conturbant, ob quorum deprædationem Idatius epiſcopus ad Ætium ducem, qui expeditionem agebat in Galliis, ſuſcipit legationem.

(3) Epiſcopus LEMICENSIS, *others call him* Epiſcopus Lucenſis. Cardinal d' Aguirre, T. II. conciliorum Hiſpaniæ, p. 169 *imagines, that he was Biſhop of* Lugo *in* Gallicia; *and took his Title of* Lucenſis *from the City; that of* Lemicenſis *from the Country, which was formerly call'd* Lemica *(now* Lemia*) and where the Capital* Montforte di Lemos *is*. Antonius in Bibliotheca Hiſpan. vet. T. 1. p. 193, *ſtiles him* Epiſcopus Lemicenſis, *and pretends that he was Biſhop of* Ponte de Lima, *which Place was called* Lemica.

(4) IDEM. *See above* § VII. not. 3.

(5) IDEM *ad A. Valentiniani* IX. Regreſſo Cenſorio ad palatium, Hermericus pacem cum Gallæcis, quos prædabatur, aſſidue, ſub interventu epiſcopali, datis ſibi reformat obſidibus.

(6) IDEM. IB. Symphoſius epiſcopus per eum ad comitatum legatus miſſus, rebus incaſſum fruſtratur arreptis.

§ IX. (1) PROCOPIUS *L.* 3. *p.* 184. *C.*

(2) AUGUSTINUS *ep.* 229.

dals were, at last, obliged to raise it (3). *St. Austin*, of whom a Sermon is still extant, in which he administer'd Comfort to his Countrymen, under the Calamities of this War (4), liv'd to see this Siege, but died in the third Month of it. In the mean Time, a considerable Number of Troops were sent from *Rome* and *Bizantz*, to *Africa*, the latter of which were commanded by *Aspar*, *Magister militum*: But, when they came to a second Battle, *Boniface* and *Aspar* were again defeated by the *Vandals*. *Valentinian* found himself therefore at last oblig'd to make a Peace with them, at *Hippon*, in the Year 435, and to leave them in Possession of their Conquests in *Africa* (5). *Procopius* indeed says, that *Genseric* agreed to the Payment of a Tribute, and gave his Son *Honoric* for an Hostage (6). But, if we consider the Advantages obtain'd by *Genseric*, it is hardly probable.

Changes at the Court of *Rome*.

Ætius takes Refuge among the *Huns*; but returns to Court.

§ X. During this War in *Africa*, great Changes happen'd in the Court at *Ravenna*. *Ætius* had indeed, by many fortunate Exploits and Negotiations, acquired great Honour and Esteem; but that raised a Suspicion at Court, that he would become too powerful. *Placidia* resolved therefore to humble one Faction by Means of another, and sent for *Boniface*, to whom, as I observed before, she was fully reconciled, from *Africa*, in Order to promote him to the Dignity of *Magister militum*, and set him in Opposition to *Ætius*. *Ætius* was belov'd by the Army, and had Reason to hope for any Assistance from the foreign

(3) Procopius, *l. c. p.* 185. *A.* Demum multo elapso tempore, postquam nec vi Hipponem regiam, nec conventione in suam redigere potestatem valuerunt, illos ab obsidione fames abstraxit. *add.* Possidius *in vit. Augustini*, c. 29.

(4) Augustini *sermo de tempore barbarico*, *T.* 6. *p.* 453.

(5) Prosper *in chronico consulari* Theodosio XV. & Valent. IV. Coss. (435.) Pax facta cum Vandalis, data eis ad habitandum per Trigetium, in loco Africæ Hippone III. idus Febr. Cassiodorus in chronico *to this very Year* Theodosio XX. & Valentiniano VI. Coss. His Coss. pax facta cum Wandalis: data eis ad habitandum Africæ portione. Isidorus *says of this Peace*, in hist. Vandalorum: Cui [*scil. Genserico*] Valentinianus junior occidentis imperator, non valens subsistere, pacem misit, & partem Africæ, quam Vandali possederant, tanquam pacifico, dedit, conditionibus ab eo sacramenti acceptis, ne quid ultra invaderet.

(6) Procopius, *Lib.* 1. *c.* 4. *p.* 186. *B.* Tum autem acie victis Aspare & Bonifacio. sibi felicitatem e memorabili providentia Gizericus asseruit. Etenim veritus, ne, si alter contra ipsum exercitus Roma ac Byzantio mitteretur, non iisdem viribus Vandali, nec pari uterentur fortuna; cum ea sit rerum humanarum conditio, ut opem deo subtrahente ruant; & paritur cum corporibus senescant ac debilitentur, idcirco non elatus successu, sed metu provido animum & moderationem componens, pacem cum Valentiniano hac lege pepigit, ut ex Africa tributum annuum imperatori mitteret: cujus pacti conventi obsidem e suis unum liberis tradidit Honoricum. Igitur Gizericus, re fortiter gesta in prælio, victoriam firmissime retinuit, itaque crevit amicitia, ut Honoricum filium receperit,

Nations,

Nations, whom the *Romans* had long been forc'd to employ. We have already given ſome Inſtances of the Friendſhip he ſupported with the *Hunns*: But his Wife ſeems to be deſcended from a *Gothick*, and probably a Royal Houſe (1). He was therefore reſolved not to give Way tamely, and, as it were, himſelf to lay his Head at the Feet of his Enemy; but had Recourſe to Arms, for his Support. A Battle thereupon enſued, in which *Ætius* was indeed overcome; but *Boniface* was ſo ſorely wounded, that he expired ſome few Days after. He was ſucceeded by *Sebaſtian* his Son in Law; but *Ætius* retreated among the *Hunns* in *Pannonia*, and ſo manag'd Matters, that, in the Year 434, he returned to Court, and *Sebaſtian* was ſent into Exile (2).

§ XI. HE thereupon commanded the *Roman* Army, with as much Glory as before: For when *Gundicar*, King of the *Burgundians*, about this Time invaded *Belgica*, he, in ſeveral bloody Battles, in the Year 435 and 436, ſubdued him (1). We find by *Sidonius*'s Panegyrick, that *Avitus* was perſonally at theſe Expeditions, and that the *Hunns*, *Sarmatæ*, and ſeveral other *German* Nations, *viz. Heruli*, *Salii* and other *Franks*, fought, on the Side of the *Burgundians* (2).

The *Burgundians* invade *Belgica*; but are defeated by *Ætius*.

§ X. (1) SIDONIUS, carm. V. v. 203. *introduces her as ſaying:*

Quid faciam infelix? nato quæ regna parabo
Excluſo ſceptris Geticis?

(2) *See the Paſſages of the ſeveral Hiſtorians relating to this, in* Pagius, ad A. 432. n. 18. & 20. *and* ad A. 434. n. 21.

§ XI. (1) IDATIUS *ad A. Valent.* XII. Burgundiones qui rebellaverant, a Romanis duce Ætio debellantur: *And* ad A. XIII. Burgundionum cæſa viginti millia. PROSPER in chron. conſulari *contracts the whole Relation.* Theodoſio XV. & Valentiniano IV. Coss. (435.) Eodem tempore Gundicarium, Burgundionum regem, intra Gallias habitantem, Ætius bello obtrivit, pacemque ei ſupplicanti dedit, qua non diu potitus eſt: ſiquidem illum Hunni cum populo ſuo ac ſtirpe deleverunt, CASSIODORUS *ad c. a.* Cundicharium Burgundionum regem Ætius bello ſubegit, pacemque ei reddidit ſupplicanti, quem non multo poſt Hunni peremerunt.

(2) SIDONIUS *carmine* VII. *v.* 230.

Ætium interea, Scythico quia ſæpe duello
Edoctus, ſequeris: qui quanquam celſus in armis
Nil ſine te geſſit, cum plurima tu ſine illo.
Nam poſt Jothungos, & Norica bella, ſubacto
Victor Vindelico, BELGAM, BURGUNDIO QUEM TRUX
PRESSERAT, abſolvit junctus tibi. Vincitur illic
Curſu Herulus, Chunus jaculis, Fancuſque natatu,
Sauromata clypeo, Salius pede, falce Gelonus,
Vulnere vel ſi quis plangit, cui fleſſe periſſe eſt,
Ac ferro peraraſſe genas, vultuque minaci
Rubra cicatricum veſtigia defodiſſe.

Sirmondus *imagines indeed, in his Annotations, that the* Goths *likewiſe, at that Time, aſſiſted the* Burgundians; *But it appears from* Sidonius, *that the* Gothick *War did not break out till after the* Burgundian.

An Army of *Alemanni* ſerves the *Romans* againſt the *Armorici* in *Gaul.*

§ XII. I obſerved above, that the *Gallick* Nations in *Armorica*, laid hold of their Freedom, when, in the Times of *Honorius* and *Conſtantine*, they ſaw *Gaul* in the utmoſt Confuſion (1): *Ætius* had a Mind now to reduce them to their former Subjection, and made Uſe of the Aſſiſtance of *Eocharich*, a King of the *Alemanni*, who invaded *Armorica*, and laid the Country waſte (2). *Pagius* ſuppoſes that Prince and his Subjects to have poſſeſs'd a Diſtrict on the *Loire*, in like Manner as the *Burgundians* and other *German* Nations had obtained in the *Roman* Provinces (3): But it is likewiſe poſſible, that he only aſſiſted the *Romans*, purſuant to a Treaty made with *Ætius*, and was in particular employed againſt theſe People, and might ly encamp'd for ſome Time, in the Countries about the *Loire*, without having erected a ſeparate eſtabliſh'd Kingdom there, of which we find no other Tokens.

A freſh War with the *Wiſi-Goths.*

§. XIII. THE *Wiſi-Goths*, about the Year 436, were again involv'd in a War, after having lived in Amity with the *Romans*, for ten Years. We do not find, which Party were the Aggreſſors; but this we know, that the *Goths* beſieged *Narbonne* this Year, and that the *Romans* relieved it the next (1). This War fell heavier upon the *Romans*, becauſe thoſe Inhabitants of the Provinces of *Gaul*, who were ſtill ſubject to the *Romans*, were, by heavy Taxes, and other Oppreſſions, almoſt reduced to

§ XII. (1) *See* § XLIII. *of the preceding Book.*

(2) CONSTANTIUS *in vita S. Germani L. 2. c.* 5. Offenſus ſuperbæ inſolentia regionis, vir magnificus, Ætius, qui tum rempublicam gubernabat, EOCHARICH, ferociſſimo Alamannorum rege, loca illa inclinanda, pro rebellionis præſumtione permiſerat. quæ ille aviditate barbaricæ cupiditatis inhiaverat. Sirmondus *reads* Alanorum *inſtead of* Alamannornm: *But* Pagius ad A. 435, not. 39. *refutes this Conjecture.*

(3) Pagius *here quotes a Paſſage from the Life of* S. Eugendus, Abbas monaſterii Jurenſis, *in the County of* Burgundy, *written by a Monk of the ſame Monaſtery, who was his Diſciple, and inſerted by* F. Mabillon in ſec. I, Benedictin. *He begins* n. 17, *the Relation of a new Miracle, in the following Words:* Quadam die dum diros metuunt, ac vicinos Alemannorum incurſus, qui inopinatis viantibus non congreſſione in cominus, ſed ritu ſuperventuque ſolerent irruere beſtiali, e limite Tyrrheni maris potius, quam de vicinis Herienſium locis, coctile decernunt petere ſal. Pagius *ſuppoſes theſe* Alemanni *to have been the ſame, who dwelt upon the* Loire, *and confutes* F. Mabillon, *who in his Annotations on this Paſſage, imagines the* Alemanni *to have been comprehended under the Name of* Franks.

§ XIII. (1) PROSPER *in chronico conſulari* Iſidoro & Senatore Coss. *(A.* 436.*)* Gothi pacis placita perturbant, & pleraque municipia vicina ſedibus ſuis occupant, Narbonnenſi oppido maxime infeſti: quod cum diu obſidione & fame laboraret, per Litorium comitem ab utroque periculo liberatum eſt. Siquidem per ſingulos equites binis tritici modiis advectis, ſtrenuiſſime & hoſtes in fugam vertit, & civitatem annona implevit. Idatius *ad A.* XII. *Valentiniani* (436) Narbona obſideri cœpta per Gothos. *and in the next Year*: Narbona obſidione liberatur, Ætio duce & magiſtro militum. *and* ad A. XIV. Gothorum cæſa octo millia, ſub Ætio duce.

Deſpair

Deſpair, and therefore aſſembled in a Body (which were again call'd *Bagaudæ*, a Name long before known on Occaſion of the like Commotions) and took to Arms (2). *Ætius* therefore liſted ſeveral Thouſands of *Hunns* (with whom he liv'd in a conſtant good Underſtanding (3), in Order to employ them againſt the *Goths*: But theſe Auxiliaries were as great a Burden to the Countries and Cities they paſs'd thro', as if they had actually fallen into the Enemies Hands (4).

§ XIV. THE War, in the mean Time, was carried on with various Succeſs, 'till *Litorius* the *Roman* General, led the *Hunns* himſelf againſt the *Goths* (1), who retreated as far as *Tholouſe*. Their King *Theodoric*, who knew himſelf not to be a Match for the *Roman* General, cauſed Offers of a Peace to be made him, by ſome Biſhops, and daily Prayers to be ſaid, in the mean Time, in his Army: But *Litorius* was determined to try the Event of a Battle. Some Advantages he had, not long before, obtained over the People of *Armorica*, now flatter'd his Inclinations to excel *Ætius* in the Field, and he was beſides ſo weak, as

The *Wiſi-Goths* beat the *Roman* General *Litorius*. A Peace enſues.

(2) SALVIANUS *preſbyter*, *de gubernatione dei*, *L.* 5. *p.* 91. De Bagaudis nunc mihi ſermo eſt: qui, per malos judices & cruentos ſpoliati, afflicti, necati, poſtquam jus Romanæ libertatis amiſerant, etiam honorem Romani nominis perdiderunt. Et imputatur his infelicitas ſua, imputamus his nomen calamitatis ſuæ, imputamus nomen, quod ipſi fecimus. Et vocamus rebelles, vocamus perditos, quos eſſe compulimus criminoſos. Quibus enim aliis rebus Bagaudæ facti ſunt, niſi iniquitatibus noſtris, niſi improbitatibus judicum, niſi eorum proſcriptionibus & rapinis, qui exactionis publicæ nomen in quæſtus proprii emolumenta verterunt, & indictiones tributarias prædas ſuas eſſe fecerunt? qui in ſimilitudinem immanium beſtiarum non texerunt traditos ſibi, ſed devorarunt, nec ſpoliis tantum hominum, ut plerique latrones ſolent, ſed laceratione etiam, &, ut ita dicam, ſanguine paſcebantur: ac ſic actum eſt, ut latrociniis judicum ſtrangulati homines & necati, inciperent eſſe quaſi barbari, quia non permittebantur eſſe Romani. Adquieverunt enim eſſe, quod non erant, quia non permittebantur eſſe, quod fuerant; coactique ſunt vitam ſaltem defendere, quia ſe jam libertatem videbant penitus perdidiſſe. Aut quid aliud etiam nunc agitur, quam tunc actum, id eſt, ut qui adhuc Bagaudæ non ſunt, eſſe cogantur. Quantum enim ad vim atque injurias pertinet, compelluntur, ut velint eſſe. Sic ſunt ergo, quaſi captivi jugo hoſtium preſſi. Tolerant ſupplicium neceſſitate, non voto. Animo deſiderant libertatem, ſed ſummam ſuſtinent ſervitutem.

(3) PROSPER *in chronico conſulari*, Ætio II. & Sigiſuldo Coss. *(A.* 437*)* Bellum adverſus Gethos, Chunis auxiliantibus, geritur.

(4) SIDONIUS: *See the Paſſage in the next* § not. 1.

§ XIV. (1) SIDONIUS *in panegyr. Aetii (carm.* VII*) v.* 246.

Litorius Scythicos equites tum forte, ſubacto
Celſus Armorico, Gethicum rapiebat in agmen
Per terras Arverne tuas: qui proxima quæque
Diſcurſu, flammis, ferro, feritate, rapinis,
Delebant, pacis fallentes nomen inane.

to repoſe too much Confidence in ſome *Pagan* Sorcerers (2), who notwithſtanding the Rigour of the Laws againſt them, and all other Remains of *Paganiſm*, were nevertheleſs countenanc'd by ſome Perſons of Diſtinction, who only made a feign'd Profeſſion of the *Chriſtian* Religion: But this did but add to his Diſgrace, when he was overcome, taken Priſoner, and carried in Triumph, thro' the Streets of *Tholouſe* (3).

(2) *Theſe Circumſtances are related by* Proſper: Theodoſio XVII. & Feſto Coſſ. *(A.* 439.) Litorius, qui ſecunda ab Ætio patricio poteſtate Hunnis auxiliaribus præerat, dum Ætii gloriam ſuperare appetit, dumque auſpicium reſponſis, & dæmonum ſignificationibus fidit, pugnam cum Gothis imprudenter conſeruit: fecitque intelligi, quantum illa quæ cum eo periit manus prodeſſe potuerit, ſi potioribus conſiliis, quam ſua temeritate uti maluiſſet: quando tantam ipſe hoſtibus cladem intulit, ut, niſi inconſideranter prælians in captivitatem incidiſſet, dubitandum foret, cui potius parti victoria adſcriberetur. Caſſiodorus, Theodoſio XVII. & Feſto. His Coſſ. bellum adverſus Gothos, Hunnis auxiliaribus geritur, & Litorius, dux Romanus, ub eis capitur.

(3) *Theſe Circumſtances, which are partly verify'd by* Proſper *and* Caſſiodorus, *are related more largely by* Silvianus, Preſbyter Maſſilienſis, *in his Treatiſe* de Providentia Dei, *which he wrote a few Years after this Battle*, Lib. 7. p. 140. Denique probavit hoc bello proximo infelicitas noſtra. Cum enim Gothi metuerent, præſumebamus nos, in Chunis ſpem ponere, illi in deo: cum pax ab illis poſtularetur, a nobis negaretur: illi epiſcopos mitterent, nos repelleremus: illi etiam in alienis ſacerdotibus deum honorarent, nos etiam in noſtris contemneremus: prout actus utriuſque partis, ita ut rerum terminus fuit. Illis data eſt in ſummo timore palma, nobis in ſumma elatione confuſio. Ut vere & in nobis, tunc & in illis evidenter probatum ſit illud domini noſtri dictum: *Quoniam qui ſe exaltat, humiliabitur; & qui ſe humiliat, exaltabitur.* Illis enim exaltatio data eſt pro humilitate, nobis pro elatione dejecto. Namque agnovit hoc ille dux noſtræ partis [*Litorius ſcil.*] qui eandem urbem hoſtium, quam eodem die victorem ſe intraturum eſſe præſumpſit, captivus intravit, [*Tolojam*]. Probavit ſcilicet, quod Propheta dixit: *Quia non eſt hominis via ejus: neque viri eſt, ut ambulet, & dirigat greſſus ſuos.* Nam quia viam ſuam juris ſui exiſtimavit; nec greſſum directionis habuit, nec viam ſalutis invenit. *Effuſa eſt*, ut legimus, *abjectio ſuper principem, ſeductus eſt in invio, & non in via: & ad nihilum deductus eſt, velut aqua decurrens.* In quo quidem, præter ipſam rerum infelicitatem, præſens judicium dei patuit, ut quicquid ſe facturum uſurparat, pateretur. Nam quia ſine divinitatis auxilio ac dei ductu capiendum a ſe hoſtem credidit; ipſe captus eſt, conſilii ac ſapientiæ ſummam uſurpavit, ignominiam temeritatis incurrit: vincula, quæ aliis paravit, ipſe ſuſtinuit. Et quod, rogo, evidentius dei judicium eſſe potuit, quam ut habens prædatoris fiduciam, præda fieret? triumphum præſumens, triumphus eſſet? circumdaretur, corriperetur, alligaretur, retorta tergo brachia gereret; manus, quas bellicoſas putabat, vinctas videret; puerorum ac mulierum ſpectaculum fieret, illudentes ſibi barbaros cerneret, irriſionem ſexus promiſcui ſuſtineret? & qui maximum habuerat ſupercilium fortis viri, mortem ſubiret ignavi? Atque utinam hoc ipſum breve remedium malorum eſſet, non diuturna toleratio. Ille autem, quantum ad pœnarum longitudinem pertinet, longo tempore & diuturna in ergaſtulo barbarorum tabe conſumtus, in hanc miſeriam redactus eſt, ut (quod plerumque homines etiam pœnis ipſis gravius atque acerbius putant) in miſerationem hoſtium deveniret. Et cur hoc? abſque dubio, niſi quia (ut jam dixi) illi deo humiles, nos rebelles: illi crediderunt in manu dei eſſe victoriam, nos in manu noſtra, immo in ſacrilega atque impia, quod eſt pejus, nocentiuſque quam noſtra. Denique ipſe rex hoſtium quantum res prodidit ac probavit, uſque ad diem pugnæ ſtratus cilicio preces fudit, ante bellum in oratione jacuit, ad bellum de oratione ſurrexit; priuſquam pugnam manu capeſſeret, ſupplicatione pugnavit: & ideo fidens proceſſit ad pugnam, quia jam meruerat in oratione victoriam.

The

The whole Country, as far as the *Rhone*, lay now expos'd to the *Goths*, and *Theodoric* was not wanting to make Advantage of ſo fair an Opportunity. The Inhabitants ſeem'd the more inclin'd to the *Goths*, the leſs a Diſcipline was obſerv'd in the *Roman* Army (4). During this general Conſternation, *Avitus*, who was then *Prafectus Prætorio Galliarum*, found Means to perſuade *Theodoric*, by friendly Propoſals, to a Peace; and from the Circumſtances we may eaſily infer, that the *Romans* made very advantageous Conceſſions to them; we are not, therefore, to have great Regard to the Adulations of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who, in the *Poem* he compos'd in Honour of *Avitus*, after he was advanc'd to the Imperial Dignity, attributes all the Advantage of that Treaty to this Prince (5).

§ XV. As I have mention'd the Fate of all thoſe Nations, who, at the Beginning of this Century, paſs'd over the *Rhine*, I muſt not now forget that of thoſe *Alani*, who remain'd at that Time in *Gaul*, under the Conduct of their Duke, *Goar*, when the other Company wander'd into *Spain*. I obſerv'd in its proper Place, what Share they had in *Jovinus*'s Rebellion (1), and that, for a Time, they adhered to *Ataulphus*; but went over to the *Romans*, during the Siege of *Bazas* (2). They remain'd probably, from that Time, under the Subjection of the *Romans*, and obtain'd, in the Year 440, of *Ætius*, the Country about *Valence*, in the preſent *Dauphiny*, for an eſtabliſh'd Habitation (3); perhaps, with a View, that they might ſerve for a Barrier to the *Romans* againſt the

The *Alani* obtain a ſettled Habitation, in the Country about *Valence*.

(4) *See* not. 1.

(5) SIDONIUS *in panegyrico in Avitum carm.* 7. *v.* 299.

Nil prece, nil pretio, nil milite, fractus agebat
Ætius, capto terrarum damna patebant
Litorio: in Rhodanum proprios producere fines.
Theudoridæ fixum: nec erat pugnare neceſſe
Sed migrare Getis: rabidam trux aſperat iram;
Victor, quod ſenſit Scythicum pro mœnibus hoſtem,
Imputat: & nihil eſt gravius, ſi forſitan unquam
Vincere contingat, trepido. Poſtquam undique nullum
Præſidium, ducibuſque tuis nil, Roma, relictum eſt.
Fœdus, Avite, novas; ſævum tua pagina regem
Lecta domat. Juſſiſſe ſat eſt te, quod rogat orbis,
Credent hoc unquam gentes populique futuri?
Littora Romani caſſat, quod barbare vincis.

§ XV. (1) *B.* VIII. § XXXIV.

(2) IBIDEM, § XXXVII.

(3) PROSPER *in chronico imperiali: ad annum quadringenteſimum quadrageſimum.* Pacatis motibus Galliarum, Ætius ad Italiam regreditur Deſerta Valentinæ urbis rura, Alanis, quibus SAMBIDA præerat, partienda traduntur. *We ſhall find a farther Account of theſe* Alani *in the Sequel, and of their King* Sangibanus.

Goths.

Goths. Thoſe Countries were before not a little deſerted, and the *Alani* now entirely drove away the Remainder of the Inhabitants, who would not paſſively ſuffer them to deal with them and their Effects at their own Pleaſure (4).

Genſeric takes *Carthage.*

§ XVI. About the ſame Time, the War broke out again in *Africa.* *Genſeric* took *Carthage*, in the Month of *October*, in the Year 439, which City, under the Dominion of the *Romans*, roſe almoſt with greater Splendour, out of her Ruins, than ſhe had before appear'd in, while ſhe contended with *Rome* for the Sovereignty (2). What Inducement he had, or pretended to have for breaking the Peace is not known. This War happen'd very unſeaſonably for the *Romans.* They were not only unprovided; but had likewiſe, by their Injuſtice and Oppreſſion, loſt the Love and Zeal of the Subject; on which depend the moſt certain Means of reſtoring a State; inſomuch, that many, who ſaw no Remedy for, nor a Proſpect of any End of their Sufferings themſelves, incited the *Vandals*, as it were, to alleviate their Diſtreſs, by reducing thoſe, by whom they had hitherto been oppreſs'd, into the ſame State of Miſery with

(4) Ibidem *ad A.* 442. Alani, quibus terræ Galliæ ulterioris cum incolis dividendæ a patricio Ætio traditæ fuerant, reſiſtentes armis ſubigunt: & expulſis dominis, terræ poſſeſſionem vi adipiſcuntur.

§ XVI. (1) Prosper *in chron. conſul.* Theodoſio XVIII. & Feſto Coſſ. (*A.* 439) *ſays:* Ætio rebus, quæ in Galliis componebantur, intento, Genſericus, de cujus amicitia nihil metuebatur, decimo quarto kal. Nov. Carthaginem dolo pacis invadit, omneſque opes ejus, excruciatis diverſo tormentorum genere civibus, in jus ſuum vertit. Nec ab eccleſiarum ſpoliatione abſtinens, quas & ſacris vaſibus exinanitas, & ſacerdotum adminiſtratione privatas, non jam divini cultus loca, ſed ſuorum juſſit eſſe habitacula. In univerſum captivi populi ordinem ſævus, ſed præcipue nobilitati & religioni infenſus: ut non diſcerneretur, hominibuſne magis, an deo bellum intuliſſet. Marcellinus in chron. Theodoſio XVII. & Feſto Coss. (439) *relates it as on the* 23*d of* October. Hoc tempore Genſericus, rex Wandalorum, Africæ civitates, Carthaginemque metropolim, cum ſuis ſatellitibus occupavit X. kal. Nov. Idatius *affirms it to have been the* 19 *of the ſame Month.* Carthagine fraude decepta XIV. kal. Nov. omnem Africam rex Gaiſericus invadit. *The Paſſages of* Victor, Vitenſis, *and* Iſidorus *will be quoted below* § XVIII.

(2) Salvianus *de gubernatione dei, Lib. 7. p.* 148. Una tantum univerſarum illic urbium principe & quaſi matre contentus ſum, illa ſcilicet Romanis arcibus ſemper æmula, armis quondam & fortitudine, poſt ſplendore & dignitate. Carthaginem dico, & urbi Romæ maxime adverſariam, & in Africano orbe quaſi Romam: quæ mihi ideo in exemplum ac teſtimonium ſola ſufficit, quia univerſa penitus quibus in toto mundo diſciplina reipublicæ vel procuratur, vel regitur, in ſe habuit. Illic enim omnia officiorum publicorum inſtrumenta, illic artium liberalium ſcholæ, illic philoſophorum officinæ, cuncta denique vel linguarum gymnaſia, vel morum. Illic quoque etiam copiæ militares, & regentes militiam poteſtates, illic honor proconſularis, illic quotidianus judex & rector, quantum ad nomen quidem proconſul, ſed quantum ad potentiam conſul, illic denique omnes rerum diſpenſatores, & differentes inter ſe tam gradu quam vocabulo dignitates, omnium, ut ita dicam, platearum & compitorum procuratores, cuncta ferme & loca urbis, & membra populi gubernantes.

themſelves.

themſelves. The Inhabitants of the Provinces were ſo little excited, by the Danger apparent from the Neighbourhood of the *Vandals*, to Fortitude and neceſſary Preparations, that *Salvianus*, a famous Prieſt of *Marſeilles*, who wrote his Book, *de gubernatione Dei*, ſoon after the taking of *Carthage*, could hardly find Terms ſufficient to expreſs the Effeminacy, Luxury, and other Vices, which reign'd in that great City (3).

§ XVII. As laviſh as *Salvianus* is, otherwiſe, in his Praiſes of the Moderation of the *Vandals* in *Africa*, they loſt as much of their Renown by the Perſecutions they rais'd againſt the *Orthodox Chriſtians*. The Controverſies between the *African* Clergy were carried on with ſo much Heat, that thoſe of the *Orthodox* Faith, who had the Court on their Side, had at laſt Recourſe to Force, and induc'd the Emperors to iſſue very ſevere Edicts. *S. Auſtin* himſelf had ſo retracted his former Opinion, that no Force ought to be employ'd in Point of Faith, that the Laws againſt the *Donatiſts* appear'd hardly rigorous enough to him (1). This Method of making Converts now turn'd to their own Diſadvantage. *Genſeric* was a zealous *Arian*, and plac'd as much Faith in the Doctrine of that Sect, as *Honorius* and *Valentinian* did in that of the *Roman* Church. As Compulſion had therefore once been introduc'd, in Matters of Religion, the Party which now bore the Sway had Recourſe to the ſame Arguments to ſpirit up *Genſeric* to the enforcing his Errors, in Oppoſition to the true Believers, as the latter had made uſe of to obtain the Edicts the Emperors had iſſued in their Favour. No wonder, therefore, if thoſe very Means, which before were turn'd againſt the *Here-*

Perſecutes the *Orthodox Chriſtians* in *Africa*.

(3) SALVIANUS *de gubernatione dei, Lib.* 7. *p.* 145. Unde &, quod Vandali ad Africam tranſierunt, non eſt divinæ ſeveritati, ſed Afrorum ſceleri, deputandum. *He then complains at large of the Vices which reign'd in* Africa, *and when he mentions* Carthage ; p. 149, *proceeds thus*, Video enim, quaſi ſcaturientem vitiis civitatem : video urbem omnium iniquitatum genere ferventem, plenam quidem turbis, ſed magis turpitudinibus, plenam divitiis, ſed magis vitiis, vincentes ſe invicem homines nequitia flagitiorum ſuorum, alios rapacitate, alios impuritate certantes, alios vino languidos, alios cruditate diſtentos, hos ſertis redimitos, illos unguentis oblitos, cunctos vario luxus marcore perditos, ſed pene omnes una errorum morte proſtratos, non omnes violentia temulentos, ſed omnes peccatis ebrios. Populos putares non ſani ſtatus, non ſui ſenſus, non animo incolumes, non gradu, quaſi more Baccharum crapulæ catervatim inſervientes. Jam vero illud ejuſmodi, aut quam grave, genere quidem diſpar, quia majus : proſcriptiones dico orphanorum, viduarum afflictiones, pauperum cruces : qui gemiſcentes quotidie ad deum, finem malorum imprecantes, & quod graviſſimum eſt, interdum vi nimiæ amaritudinis etiam adventum hoſtium poſtulantes, aliquando a deo impetrarunt, ut everſionem tandem a barbaris in commune tolerarent, quam ſoli ante a Romanis toleraverant. Sed eſto, hæc omnia prætermittantur, quia & in toto ferme aguntur orbe Romano, & ſpoſpondi, me de his malis nec pauca dicturum.

§ XVII. (1) Philippus à Limborgh, *in his* Hiſtoria Inquiſitionis, c. 6. *has collected thoſe Paſſages, which ſerve to prove this.*

ticks, were now retorted and employ'd againſt thoſe of the *Orthodox* Faith (2). This Perſecution aroſe immediately after the Concluſion of the firſt Peace (3). None were employ'd at Court, but ſuch as profeſs'd the Religion of their King; the *Orthodox*, in many Places, were depriv'd of their Books, and at laſt even of their Churches, and the greater Number, which had little more than the outward Appearance of *Chriſtians* (4), was ſoon hurried away with the Current. But ſome, of the firſt Diſtinction, and particularly thoſe Divines who remain'd ſteadfaſt in their Faith, were oblig'd to fly their Country; among whom was *Quodvultdeus*, Biſhop of *Carthage*, who retir'd to *Naples* (5). This Perſecution

(2) Victor Vitensis *complains of this, de perſecut. Vandal. Lib.* 4. *c.* 1. Neſciens quoque quid loqueretur, neque de quibus affirmabat, legem, quam dudum Chriſtiani imperatores noſtri contra eos & contra alios hæreticos pro honorificentia eccleſiæ catholicæ dederant, adverſum nos illi proponere non erubuerunt, addentes multa de ſuis, ſicut placuit tyrannicæ poteſtati.

(3) *Conf.* Honorati Antonini, *Conſtantinæ in Africa epiſcopi, epiſtola cohortatoria ad Arcadium pro fide exſulantem, ſub Genſerico, Vandalorum rege Ariano.*

(4) Salvianus *gives the following Account of the Church of* Carthage. *Lib.* 8. *p.* 163. Sed quia de impuritate Afrorum jam multa diximus, nunc de blaſphemiis ſaltem pauca dicamus. Profeſſa enim illic jugiter plurimorum paganitas fuit: habebant quippe intra muros patrios inteſtinum ſcelus, Cœleſtem illum ſcilicet, Afrorum dæmonem dico: cui ideo, ut reor, veteres pagani tam ſpecioſæ appellationis titulum dederunt, ut quia in eo non erat numen, vel nomen aliquod eſſet, & quia non habebat aliquam ex poteſtate virtutem, haberet ſaltem ex vocabulo dignitatem. Quis ergo illi idolo non initiatus? quis non a ſtirpe ipſa, ſorſitan etiam a nativitate, devotus? Nec loquor de hominibus ſicut vita, ita etiam profeſſione ac vocabulo paganis, & qui ſicut profani erant errore, ſic nomine: tolerabilior quippe eſt, & minus nefaria gentilitas in hominibus profeſſionis ſuæ. Illud perniciosius ac ſceleſtius, quod multi eorum, qui profeſſionem Chriſto dicaverant, mente idolis ſerviebant. Quis enim non eorum, qui Chriſtiani appellantur, Cœleſtem illum, aut poſt Chriſtum adoravit, aut, quod pejus eſt, multo ante, quam Chriſtum? Quis non dæmonicorum ſacrificiorum nidore plenus divinæ domus intravit, & cum factione ipſorum dæmonum Chriſti altare conſcendit; ut non tam innanis criminis fuiſſet, ad templum domini non venire, quam ſic venire? *And a little lower:* At inquis, non omnes iſta faciebant, ſed potentiſſimi quique ac ſublimiſſimi. Acquieſcamus hoc ita eſſe, ſed cum ditiſſimæ quæque ac potentiſſimæ domus turbam faciant civitatis, vides, perpaucorum potentium ſacrilega ſuperſtitione urbem cunctam fuiſſe pollutam. Nemini autem dubium eſt, omnes dominorum familias aut ſimiles eſſe dominis, aut deteriores, quamvis hoc uſitatius, ut deteriores, *&c. And L.* 6. Circumſonabant armis muros Cathaginis populi barbarorum, eccleſia Carthaginenſis inſaniebat in circis, luxuriabat in theatris, *&c.*

(5) Victor *de perſec. Vandal. L.* 1. *c.* 5. Tum vero memoratæ urbis epiſcopum, id eſt, Carthaginis, deo & hominibus manifeſtum, nomine Quodvultdeum, & maximam turbam clericorum navibus fractis impoſitos, nudos atque expoliatos expelli præcepit: quos deus miſeratione bonitatis ſuæ proſpera navigatione Neapolim, Campaniæ perducere dignatus eſt civitatem. Senatorum autem atque honoratorum multitudinem primo exilio crudeli contrivit, poſtea tranſmarinas in partes projecit. Pulſo namque epiſcopo, ut præfati ſumus, cum clero venerabili, illico eccleſiam nomine reſtitutam, in qua ſemper epiſcopi commanebant, ſuæ religioni mancipavit, atque univerſas, quæ intra muros fuerant civitatis, cum ſuis divitiis abſtulit.

became

became afterwards ſtill more rigid in the Reign of *Hunoric*, *Genſeric*'s Son. *Victor*, Biſhop of *Vita*, who likewiſe felt its Weight, gave a Deſcription of it, about the Year 487, with all the Bitterneſs, that his own Sufferings, and thoſe of his Brethren, could dictate to him (6).

§ XVIII. THE *Vandals* thereupon extended themſelves, almoſt without Reſiſtance, throughout *Africa*. Theſe Countries were, at that Time, in a flouriſhing State, and had, by their Navigation and Traffick, acquir'd great Riches from foreign Countries. *Genſeric* reſolv'd, therefore, upon a farther Purſuit of thoſe Advantages, which the Nature and Situation of the Country, as it were, offer'd him; and to accuſtom his *Vandals* ſtill more and more to Navigation, of which they had already got ſome Knowledge in *Spain*. The firſt Attempt they made was on *Sicily*, in which Iſland, among other Undertakings, not recorded by Hiſtorians, they beſiged *Palermo*, about the Year 440 and 441 (1), and took *Lilybæum*, at preſent *Capo Boco* (2). *Theodoſius* indeed equipp'd a Fleet, to ſuccour the *Weſt*; which ſerv'd for no other Purpoſe, but to prey upon the Vitals of *Sicily* (3). The *Vandals* not only ſubdued a Part of that Iſland, but likewiſe afterwards took *Sardinia* and *Corſica* (4): And render'd themſelves as formidable in the *Mediterranean*, as formerly the *Carthaginians* were. Makes an Attempt on *Sicily*

(6) PETRUS FRANCISCUS CHIFLETIUS elucidationum in Victorem Vitenſem, c. 8. *and* 9. *imagines, that* Victor Vitenſis *was* Primas Proviciæ Byzacenæ, *and retir'd, after having ſuffer'd Perſecution, to* Conſtantinople, *and there wrote his Book* de Perſecutione Vandalica. *But* F. Ruinart *demonſtrates, in his Preface,* § VI. & ſeq. *that this Conjecture is liable to great Difficulties.*

§ XVIII. (1) ISIDORUS *in hiſt. Vanaal p.* 226. Cui [*Geiſerico*] Valentinianus, occidentis imperator, non valens obſiſtere, pacem mittit, & partem Africæ, quam Vandali poſſederant, tanquam pacifico tradidit, conditionibus ab eo ſacramenti acceptis, ne quid amplius invaderet. Ille autem ſacramenti religione violata, Carthaginem pervadit, Siciliam deprædatur, Panormum obſidet, Arianam peſtilentiam per totam Africam intromittit, ſacerdotes eccleſiæ expellit, martyres plurimos efficit. IDATIUS *in chronico ad A. Valentiniani* XVI. (440) Gaiſericus, Siciliam deprædatus, Panormum diu obſedit: qui damnati a catholicis epiſcopis Maximini, apud Siciliam Arianorum ducis, adverſum catholicos præcipitantur inſtinctu, ut eos quoquo pacto in impietatem cogeret Arianam. Nonnullis declinantibus, aliquanti durantes in catholica fide conſummavere martyrium.

(2) PASCHASINUS, epiſcopus Lilybetanus, *mentions this Calamity in a Letter, which he wrote to Pope* Leo, *in the Year* 443, *about the* Cyclus Paſchalis, inter opera S. Leonis p. 209. Apoſtolatus veſtri ſcripta, diacono Panormitanæ eccleſiæ, Silano, deferente percepi, quæ nuditati meæ atque ærumnis, quas amariſſima captivitate faciente incurri, ſolatium in omnibus atque remedium attulerunt.

(3) PROSPER *in chronico conſulari* Cyro Cos. (441) *ſays:* Theodoſius imperator bellum contra Vandalos movet, Ariobindo & Anſila atque Germano ducibus, cum magna claſſe directis: qui longis cunctationibus negotium differentes, Siciliæ magis oneri, quam præſidio fuerunt.

(4) VICTOR, *Lib.* 1. *c.* 4. *Gives a brief Account of* Genſeric's *Conqueſts.* Poſt has truces impieta-

tis

The Peace with the *Vandals* concluded.

§ XIX. ABOUT the ſame Time, the *Hunns* and other *Eaſtern* Nations, making a terrible Inroad on the Dominions of *Theodoſius* (1), and thereby preventing the Court of *Conſtantinople* from lending any Aſſiſtance to that of *Ravenna*; *Valentinian* was, at Length, oblig'd to make a Peace with the *Vandals*, in *Africa*, that he might be in a Capacity to maintain *Italy* (2). He left *Genſeric*, if not all, at leaſt the greateſt Part of the Countries he had conquer'd. How far the Dominions of the *Vandals* in *Africa* extended, at that Time, may be concluded from *Victor*'s Account, that *Genſeric* retain'd *Getulia*, with a Part of *Numidia*, and the two Provinces *Byzazyna* and *Abaritana* for himſelf: And ſhared two others, *viz. Zeugitana* and *Proconſularis*, among his Army (3). In this they proceeded as in the Eſtabliſhment of other *German* Kingdoms. The Conquerors took Poſſeſſion, not only of the Rights and Revenues of the Sovereignty, together with the Eſtates, which probably had belong'd to the Imperial Treaſury, but the Inhabitants were likewiſe obliged to give up to them a Part of their Lands. Theſe Diſtricts were, in *Africa*, call'd *Sortes Vandalicæ*, and *Procopius*, on this Occaſion, obſerves, that thoſe Lands, which fell to the Share of the *Vandals*, were exempt from all Taxes; without Doubt, becauſe they were aſſign'd them in Payment for future Services they were oblig'd to

tis inſanias, ipſam urbem maximam, Carthaginem, Geiſericus tenuit & intravit; & antiquam illam ingenuam ac nobilem libertatem in ſervitutem redegit. Nam & ſenatorum urbis non parvam multitudinem captivavit. Et inde propoſuit decretum, ut unuſquiſque auri, argenti, gemmarum, veſtimentorumque pretioſorum quodcunque haberet, afferret; & ita in brevi avitas atque paternas opes tali induſtria abſtulit rapax. Diſponens quoque ſingulas quaſque provincias, ſibi Byzacenam, Abaritanam, atque Getuliam, & partem Numidiæ reſervavit: exercitui vero Zeugitanam & proconſularem funiculo hereditatis diviſit: Valentiniano adhuc imperatore, reliquas, licet jam exterminatas provincias defendente: poſt cujus mortem, totius Africæ ambitum obtinuit, nec non & inſulas maximas, Sardiniam, Siciliam, Corſicam, Ebuſum, Majoricam, Minoricam, & alias multas ſuperbia ſibi conſueta defendit. Quarum unam illarum, id eſt, Siciliam, Odoacro, Italiæ regi poſtmodum, tributario jure conceſſit: ex qua ei Odoacer ſingulis quibuſque temporibus, ut domino tributa dependit, aliquam tamen ſibi reſervans partem.

§ XIX. (1) MARCELLINUS *ad conſulatum Cyri* (A. 441) *ſays:* Perſæ, Saraceni, Zanni, Iſauri, Hunni, finibus ſuis egreſſi, Romanorum ſola vaſtarunt. Miſſi ſunt contra hos Anatolius & Aſpar, magiſtri militiæ, pacemque cum eis unius anni fecerunt. Joannes, natione Vandalus, magiſter militiæ, Arnegiſeli fraude, in Thracia interemtus eſt. Hunnorum reges numeroſis ſuorum cum millibus in Illyricum irruerunt; Naiſum, Singidunum, aliaſque civitates, oppidaque Illyrici plurima exciderunt.

(2) PROSPER *in chronico conſulari*, Dioſcoro & Eudoxia Coſſ. (*A.* 442.) Cum Gaiſerico autem ab auguſto, Valentiniano, pax eſt confirmata, & certis ſpatiis Africa inter utrumque diviſa eſt.

(3) *See the Paſſage from* Victor, *in* § XVI. Not. 1.

perform

perform in War (4). *Valentinian* likewiſe obtained ſome Alleviation for the *Catholicks*; and for the Church of *Carthage*, in particular, the Privilege of electing their own Biſhop (5): But the *Catholick* Biſhops were oblig'd to uſe the utmoſt Caution in their Diſcourſes and Sermons, not to make ſuch Mention of the Names of *Pharoah*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, or *Holofernes*, as could be applied to the King of the *Vandals*, leſt they ſhould thereby render themſelves ſuſpected, and be in Danger of Baniſhment (6). *Genſeric* found another particular Advantage in this Peace: For a Conſpiracy formed againſt him was ſoon after diſcover'd, which he was now in a better Condition to ſuppreſs, than if he had ſtill been involv'd in a War with the *Romans*. (7).

§ XX. WHILST the *Vandals* were thus enlarging their Dominions in

(4) PROCOPIUS *de bello Vandalico, Lib.* 1. *c.* 5. *p.* 189. Si qui inter Afros nobilitate & opibus florebant, eos ipſorumque latifundia ac rem omnem familiarem, cum onere ſervitutis, addixit filiis ſuis, Honorico atque Genzoni; quorum frater natu minimus, Theodorus, jam ante obierat, nulla nec virili nec ſequioris ſexus relicta prole. Agros cæteris ademit Afris, plurimos ſane & optimos, ac Vandalis diviſit; unde VANDALORUM SORTES etiamnum vocantur. Redactis ad ſummam inopiam veteribus prædiorum dominis, retenta libertate, integrum erat, quo luberet concedere. Quoſcunque Gizericus fundos filiis ſuis ac Vandalis aſſignaverat, immunes omnino omnes juſſit eſſe: quidquid ſoli non adeo frugibus commodum judicavit, id priſtinis poſſeſſoribus reliquit, tantis vectigalibus obrutum, ut ſua quamvis prædia obtinerent, inde tamen ad eos nihil rediret.

(5) VICTOR, *Lib.* 1. *c.* 8. Poſt hæc factum eſt, ſupplicante Valentiniano auguſto, Carthaginenſi eccleſiæ, poſt longum ſilentium deſolationis, epiſcopum ordinari, nomine Deogratias.

(6) IDEM, *L.* 1. *c.* 7. Si forſitan quiſpiam, ut moris eſt epiſcoporum, dum dei populum admoneret, Pharaonem, Nabuchodonoſor, Holofernem, aut aliquem alium ſimilem nominaſſet, objiciebatur illi, quod in perſonam regis illa dixiſſet; & ſtatim exilio tradebatur. Hoc enim perſecutionis genus agebat hic aperte, alibi occulte, ut piorum nomen talibus inſidiis interiret: qua de re plurimos ſacerdotum tunc novimus relegatos, ſicut Urbanum Girbenſem, Creſcentem, metropolitanum Aquitaniæ civitatis, qui centum viginti epiſcopis præerat, Habetdeum Theudalenſem, Euſtrathium Suffectanum, & Tripolitanos duos, Vices Sabratenum, Creſconium Ocenſem, & Adrumetinæ civitatis Felicem epiſcopum, ob hoc quod ſuſcepiſſet quendam Joannem monachum tranſmarinum; ſed & alios multos, quos longum eſt enarrare. Quibus tamen in exilio poſitis, dum obitus obveniſſet, non licebat alios eorum civitatibus ordinari epiſcopos. Inter hæc tamen dei populus in fide conſiſtens, ut examen apum cereas ædificans manſiones creſcendo, melleis fidei calculis firmabatur; ut impleretur illa ſententia: Quanto magis eos affligebant, tanto magis multiplicabantur, & invaleſcebant nimis.

(7) PROSPER, DIOSCORO & EUDOXIA Coſſ. (442.) In Geiſericum, de ſucceſſu rerum etiam apud ſuos ſuperbientem, quidam optimates ipſius conſpiraverunt. Sed molitione detecta, multis ab eo ſuppliciis excruciati, atque extincti ſunt. Quumque idem audendum etiam ab aliis videretur, tam multis regis ſuſpicio exitio fuit, ut hac ſui cura plus virium perderet, quam ſi bello ſuperaretur.

Africa

Hermanaric resigns the Crown to *Rechila* his Son.

The *Suevi* extend themselves throughout *Bætica*, &c.

Africa (1), the *Suevi* extended themselves, in their Room, in *Spain*. *Hermanaric* their King, who led this Nation into *Spain*, and, for above thirty Years, had bravely defended his Kingdom against the *Romans* and *Goths*, found himself, at Length, obliged, after a tedious Fit of Sickness, to resign his Crown to *Rechila*, his Son (2), and died three Years afterwards (3). This Prince continued to extend the Power of the *Suevi*, more and more, in *Spain*. He took *Merida* (4), and *Hispalis*, and reduced to his Subjection, all *Bætica*, with the Province of *Carthagena* (5). At the same Time, he kept his Ground against the *Romans* (6), and, in the Year 446, beat *Vitus*, their General, who, with the Assistance of the *Goths*, attempted to reduce those Countries again to their Obedience (7). During these intestine Broils, the Churches in *Spain* likewise bore their Share of the Calamity. *Turribius*, Bishop of *Astroga*, complains, that several Errors crept in, especially that of the *Priscillianists*, because the Bishops could not, in these melancholy and perilous Junctures, with any Safety, hold their Conventions (8). In *Rechila's* Reign, *Spain* seems to have been

§ XX. *(1)* Mariana *was of Opinion that the* Silingi, *who, as we observed before, were a* Vandalick *People, remained in* Spain, *and that* Bætica *received from them the Appellation of* Vandalitia. L. 5. c. 3. p. 193. Silingi remanserunt in Hispania, eaque potissima Bæticæ parte, ubi Hispalis sita est. Unde, quoniam Vandalis contributi erant, illisque confusi, consequenti tempore Bæticæ nomen Vandalosiæ appellatione, non iisdem prorsus finibus mutatum est. *But we meet with no Tokens of this in the Ancients.*

(2) IDATIUS *ad A.* XIV. VALENTINIANI *(438.)* Hermericus rex, morbo oppressus, Rechilam filium suum substituit in regnum, qui Andevotum, cum sua quam habebat manu, & Singilonem Bæticæ fluvium aperto Marte prostravit, magnis ejus auri & argenti opibus occupatis. Singilo *is by the Ancients call'd* Singulis, *at present* el Xenil. Isidorus in chr. Suevorum *mentions this* Andevotus *as a* Roman *General.* Hic, jubente patre ab eo missus, Undebotum, Romanæ militiæ ducem, cum suis omnibus copiis ad Singilium, Beticæ fluvium, inito bello prostravit, magnis ejus auri argentique copiis occupatis.

(3) IDATIUS *ad A.* XVII. Rex Suevorum, diuturno per annos septem morbo adflictus, moritur Hermericus.

(4) IDEM *ad A* XV. Valentiniani (439.) Rechila, rex Suevorum, Emeritam ingreditur.

(5) IDEM *ad A.* XVII. Valentiniani. Rex Rechila, Hispali obtenta, Bæticam, & Carthaginensem provincias, in suam redigit potestatem.

(6) IDATIUS *takes Notice of this Hostility*, ad A. Valentiniani. Censorius comes, qui legatus missus fuerat ad Suevos, residens Mirtyli, absessus a Rechila, in pace se tradidit. Mirtylis *is the present* Mertola *in* Portugal.

(7) IDEM *ad A.* Valentiniani XXII. Vitus, magister utriusque militiæ factus, ad Hispanias missus, non exiguæ manus fultus auxilio, cum Carthaginenses vexaret, & Bæticos, succedentibus cum rege suo illic Suevis, superatis etiam in congressione, qui ei ad depredandum in adjutorium venerant Gothis, territus miserabili timore, diffugit. Suevi exin illas provincias magna depræ-datione subvertunt.

(8) TURRIBIUS *in epistola ad Idatium & Ceponium, episcopos, inter opera S. Leonis, p.* 232. Quod quidem per mala temporis nostri, synodorum conventibus decretisque cessantibus, liberius crevit: & impiissime, quod est cunctis deterius, ad unum altare diversis fidei sensibus convenitur.

in

in a ſomewhat more peaceable State: For a Letter is extant from Pope *Leo* to the before-mentioned *Turribius*, written in the Year 447, in which he gives him Notice, that he had ſummon'd all the Biſhops of *Spain* to a national Convention, and intreats him, if that could not be done, that the Biſhops of *Gallicia*, at leaſt, would not fail of coming in due Time (9).

§ XXI. ABOUT this Time, *Clodio*, King of the *Franks*, begins to be mention'd in Hiſtory. *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who liv'd at that Time, in *Gaul*, gives us an Account of his Irruptions into *Belgica ſecunda*, how *Ætius* defeated him, on the Borders of the *Atrebates*, *ad vicum Helenæ*, where *Vieux-Hedin* (1) was afterwards ſituate, and that *Majoranus* was in this Expedition (2). He mentions, at the ſame Time, a certain great Nuptial Feſtival which the *Franks* were juſt celebrating, when the *Romans* fell upon them (3). The Account *Tacitus* gives us, of the Stature of

Clodio takes *Cambray*. Is beaten by *Ætius* on the Frontiers of the *Atrebates*. The State of *Triers*, *Mentz*, and *Cologn*.

(9) LEO, *epiſt.* 15. *cap.* 17. *p.* 231. Dedimus itaque literas ad fratres & coëpiſcopos noſtros, Tarraconenſes, Carthaginienſes, Luſitanos, atque Gallicos: [*ſ. Gallecos*] eiſque concilium ſynodi generalis indiximus. Ad tuæ dilectionis ſolicitudinem pertinebit, ut noſtræ ordinationis autoritas ad prædictarum provinciarum epiſcopos deferatur. Si autem aliquid quod abſit obſtiterit, quo poſſit celebrari generale concilium, Galliciæ ſaltem in unum conveniant ſacerdotes.

§ XXI. (1) *vid.* SIRMONDUS *in notis ad* SIDONIUM APOLLINAREM, *p.* 120.

(2) SIDONIUS *in panegyrico Majoriani*, *A.* 458. *dicto. v.* 212. *ſqq.*

Pugnaſtis pariter, Francus qua CLOJO patentes
Attrebatum terras pervaſerat. Hic coëunte,
Claudebant Anguſta vias, arcuque ſubactum
VICUM HELENAM, FLUMENQUE ſimul ſub tramite longo
Artus ſuppoſitis trabibus tranſmiſerat agger.

(3) IDEM, *l. c. v.* 218. *ſeq.*

—— Fors ripæ colle propinquo,
Barbaricus reſonabat hymen, Scythiciſque choreis
Nubebat flavo ſimilis nova nupta marito,
Hos ergo, ut perhibent, ſtravit, crepitabat ad ictus
Caſſis, & oppoſitis haſtarum verbera thorax
Arcebat ſquammis, donec converſa fugatus
Hoſtis terga dedit. Plauſtris rutilare videres
Barbarici vaga feſta tori, convectaque paſſim
Fercula, captivaſque dapes, citroque madente
Ferre coronatos redolentia ſerta lebetas.
Ilicet increſcit Mauros, thalamique refringit
Plus ardens Bellona faces. rapit eſſeda victor,
Nubentemque nurum. non ſic Pholœtica monſtra
Atque Pelethronios Lapithas Semeleius Evan
Miſcuit, Æmonias dum flammant orgia matres
Et venerem Martemque cient, ac prima cruentos
Conſumunt ad bella cibos, Bacchoque rotato
Pocula tela putant, cum crudeſcente tumultu
Polluit Æmathium ſanguis Centauricus Othrym.
Nec plus nubigenum celebrentur jurgia fratrum:
Hic quoque monſtra domat, rutili quibus arce cerebri
Ad frontem coma tracta jacet, nudataque cervix
Setarum per damna nitet: tum lumine glauco

Albet

of the *Germans*, of their cloſe Habits, and Manner of pleating their Hair; of their Turnaments, and other Cuſtoms, cannot be more clearly illuſtrated, than by the Deſcription he, on that Occaſion, gives of the *Franks*. The Teſtimony of this authentick Writer is the more agreable, as it ſerves to confirm the Account we meet with, in *Gregorius Turonenſis*, of this Prince. He ſays (4), that *Clodio* reſided at *Disbargum* (5), and from thence invaded *Belgica ſecunda*, took the City of *Cambray*, and ſubdued all the Country to the *Somme*. *Salvianus*, who wrote ſoon after the Year 441, repreſents the City of *Triers*, after it was a fourth Time taken by the Enemy, as only a Heap of Ruins. He ſays, he was himſelf an Eye-witneſs of that Calamity, and rebukes the Inhabitants, who continued to lead a ſecure and voluptuous Life; eſpecially ſome Perſons of Diſtinction, who entreated the Emperor to reſtore to that City their Privilege of exhibiting publick Spectacles (6.) This fourth Deſtruction cannot be

Albet aquoſa acies, ac vultibus undique raſis,
Pro barba tenues perarantur pectine criſtæ.
Strictius aſſutæ veſtes procera coërcent
Membra virûm, patet his altato tegmine poples,
Latus & anguſtam ſuſpendit balteus alvum.
Excuſſiſſe citas vaſtum per inane bipennes,
Et plagæ præſciſſe locum, clypeoſque rotare
Ludus, & intortas præcedere ſaltibus haſtas,
Inque hoſtem veniſſe prius. puerilibus annis
Eſt belli maturus amor, ſi forte premantur
Seu numero, ſeu ſorte loci, mors obruit illos,
Non timor. Invicti perſtant, animoque ſuperſunt.
Jam prope poſt animam.

(4) Gregorius Turonensis, *L. 2. c. 9.* Ferunt, tunc Chlogionem utilem ac nobiliſſimum ingente ſua regem Francorum fuiſſe, qui apud DISPARGUM, caſtrum, habitabat, QUOD EST IN TERMINO THORINGORUM. In his autem partibus, id eſt, ad meridionalem plagam habitabant Romani uſque Ligerim fluvium, *&c.* Chlogio autem, miſſis exploratoribus ad urbem Camaracum, perluſtrata omnia ipſe ſecutus, Romanos præterit, civitatem adprehendit: in qua paucum tempus reſidens, uſque Suminam fluvium occupavit. De hujus ſtirpe quidam Meroveum regem fuiſſe aſſerunt, cujus filius fuit Childericus.

(5) Gregorius *mentions this Caſtle in the Paſſage cited in the foregoing Note. But ſince, in other Copies, we read,* in Termino Tongrorum, *inſtead of* in Termino Thoringorum, *the Learned differ in their Conjectures about the Situation of* Diſpargum: *Thoſe, who place it on the right of the* Rhine, *as well as others, who look for it in* Germania ſecunda, *where the* Tongri *dwelt, appeal to* Gregorius's *Words. But, as it is dubious, whether he wrote* Tongrorum *or* Thoringorum, *all the Proofs which they pretend to ſhew, are uncertain. We ſhall obſerve below that the* Romans *drove the* Franks *back again over the* Rhine.

(6) Salvianus *was himſelf a Spectator of this Calamity in* Triers: *de gubernatione dei, Lib. 6. p. 21.* Vidi ſiquidem ego ipſe Treveros domi nobiles, dignitate ſublimes, licet jam ſpoliatos atque vaſtatos, minus tamen everſos rebus fuiſſe quam moribus. Quamvis enim depopulatis jam, atque nudatis, aliquid ſupererat de ſubſtantia, nihil tamen de diſciplina. Adeo graviores in ſemet hoſtes externis hoſtibus erant, ut licet a barbaris jam everſi eſſent, a ſe tamen magis everterentur. Lugubre eſt referre, quæ vidimus, ſenes honoratos, decrepitos Chriſtianos, imminente admodum jam excidio civitatis, gulæ ac laſciviæ ſervientes. Quid primum hic accuſandum eſt? quod honorati, an quod ſenes, an quod Chriſtiani, an quod periclitantes?

be more properly plac'd, than in this laſt War of the *Franks*: In which likewiſe *Mentz* and *Cologn* ſuffer'd greatly. He ſpeaks of *Mentz*, as a

tantes? Quis enim hoc fieri poſſe credat, vel in ſecuritate a ſenibus, vel in diſcrimine a pueris, vel unquam a Chriſtianis? Jacebant in conviviis obliti honoris, obliti ætatis, obliti profeſſionis, obliti nominis ſui, principes civitatis cibo conferti, vinolentia diſſoluti, clamoribus rabidi, bacchatione furioſi, nihil minus quam ſenſus ſui; immo quia prope jugiter tales, nihil magis quam ſenſus ſui. Sed cum hæc ita eſſent, plus multo eſt quod dicturus ſum, finem perditioni huic nec civitatum excidia fecerunt. Denique expugnata eſt quater urbs Gallorum opulentiſſima. *He makes farther Mention of it, p.* 124. *ſqq.* Denique id breviter probari poteſt, exciſa ter continuatis everſionibus ſumma urbe Gallorum, cum omnis civitas buſtum eſſet, malis & poſt excidia creſentibus. Nam quos hoſtis in excidio non occiderat, poſt excidium calamitas obruebat; cum id, quod in excidio evaſerat morti, poſt excidium non ſupereſſet calamitati. Alios enim impreſſa altius vulnera longis mortibus necabant: alios ambuſtos hoſtium flammis etiam poſt flammas pœna torquebat. Alii interibant fame, alii nuditate, alii tabeſcentes, alii rigentes: ac ſi in unum exitum mortis per diverſa moriendi genera corruebant. Et quid plura? Excidio unius urbis affligebantur quoque aliæ civitates. Jacebant ſiquidem paſſim, quod ipſe vidi atque ſuſtinui, utriuſque ſexus cadavera nuda, lacera, urbis oculos inceſtantia, avibus canibuſque laniata. Lues erat viventium, fœtor funereus mortuorum. Mors de morte exhalabatur. Ac ſic, etiam qui excidiis ſupradictæ urbis non interfuerant, mala alieni excidii perferebant. Et quid poſt hæc inquam, quid poſt hæc omnia? Quis æſtimare hoc amentiæ genus poſſit? Pauci nobiles, qui excidio ſuperfuerant, quaſi pro ſummo deletæ urbis remedio, circenſes ab imperatoribus poſtulabant. Vellem mihi hoc loco, ad exequendam rerum indignitatem, parem negotio eloquentiam dari; ſcilicet, ut tantum virtutis eſſet in querimonia, quantum doloris in cauſa. Quis enim æſtimare poſſit quid primum in his de quibus diximus accuſandum ſit, inreligioſitas, an ſtultitia, an luxuria, an amentia! Totum quippe in illis eſt. Quid enim inreligioſius quam petere aliquid in injuriam dei? aut quid ſtultius, quam quid petas non conſiderare? aut quid tam perditi luxus, quam in luctu res deſiderare luxuriæ? aut quid amentius, quam in malis eſſe, & malorum intelligentiam non habere? Quanquam in iis omnibus nulla res minus culpanda eſt, quam amentia: quia voluntas crimen non habet, ubi furore peccatur. Quo magis hi de quibus loquimur accuſandi ſunt, quia ſani inſaniebant. Circenſes ergo Treveri deſideratis? & hoc vaſtati, hoc expugnati, poſt cladem, poſt ſanguinem, poſt ſupplicia, poſt captivitatem, poſt tot everſæ urbis excidia? quid lacrymabilius hac ſtultitia? quid luctuoſius hac amentia? fateor, miſerrimos eſſe vos credidi, cum excidia paſſi eſtis; ſed miſeriores vos video, cum ſpectacula poſtulatis. Putabam enim, vos in excidiis rem tantum atque ſubſtantiam; neſciebam etiam ſenſum atque intelligentiam perdidiſſe. Theatra igitur quæritis, circum a principibus poſtulatis! cui quæſo ſtatui, cui populo, cui civitati? urbi exuſtæ ac perditæ, plebi captivæ, & interemtæ, quæ aut periit, aut luget? de qua etiam ſi quid ſupereſt, totum calamitatis eſt; quæ cuncta aut mœſtitudine eſt anxia, aut lacrymis exhauſta, aut orbitate proſtrata: in qua neſcias pene, cujus ſit ſors pejor ac durior, interfectorum an viventium? tantæ enim ſunt miſeriæ ſuperſtitum, ut infelicitatem vicerint mortuorum. Ludicra ergo publica Trever petis? ubi quæſo excercenda? an ſuper buſta & cineres, ſuper oſſa & ſanguinem peremtorum? quæ enim urbis pars his malis omnibus vacat? ubi non cruor fuſus, ubi non ſtrata corpora, ubi non conciſorum membra lacerata? ubique facies captæ urbis, ubique horror captivitatis, ubique imago mortis. Jacent reliquæ infeliciſſimæ plebis ſuper tumulos defunctorum ſuorum, & tu circenſes rogas? Nigra eſt incendio civitas, & tu vultum feſtivitatis uſurpas? lugent cuncta, tu lætus es? inſuper etiam inlecebris flagitioſiſſimis deum provocas, & ſuperſtitionibus peſſimis iram divinitatis inritas? non miror plane, non miror, tibi eveniſſe mala quæ conſecuta ſunt. Nam quia te tria excidia non correxerant, quarto perire meruiſti.

City buried in her own Ruins (7), and of *Cologn*, as a Place, then actually in the Enemy's Hands (8).

Continuation of the History of the *Hunns*.

§ XXII. As the Invasion of the *Hunns* had prevented *Theodosius* from attempting any thing to the Purpose on the *Vandals* in *Africa*; and *Attila* will now have so great a Share in the *German* History, I must here briefly resume the History of the *Hunns*, after having, in its proper Place, related their Irruptions into *Europe*, and Victories over the *Goths* (1). It is indeed, impossible, to observe here an exact Order; because the *Hunns* were not all govern'd by one King; nor is it so absolutely requisite for our Purpose. About the Year 428, *Attila* begun to reign, with his Brother *Bleda*. The same Year, *Theodosius* concluded with the *Goths*, at *Margus*, a City of *Mœsia*, on the *Danube*, the Treaty (2), which he had already

(7) IDEM, *Lib.* 6. *p.* 113. Et ideo rectissime ad nos dominus deus dicit: *Propter spurcitiam exterminati estis exterminio.* Et rursum: *exterminabuntur*, inquit, *aræ hujus risus.* Sed videlicet responderi hoc potest, non in omnibus hæc Romanorum urbibus agi. Verum est. Etiam plus ego addo, ne illic quidem nunc agi, ubi semper acta sunt antea. Non enim hoc agitur jam in MOGONTIACENSIUM civitate; sed quia excisa atque deleta est. Non agitur Agrippianæ; sed quia hostibus plena. Non agitur in Treverorum urbe excellentissima; sed quia quadruplici est eversione prostrata.

(8) *See the Quotation from* Salvianus *in the foregoing Note. He takes Notice of the City of* Cologn, p. 122, *without naming it, having before lamented the Fate of* Triers. Quid in alia non longe, sed prope ejusdem magnificentiæ civitate? nonne eadem & rerum ruina pariter & morum? nam præter cetera, cum duobus illic præcipuis & generalibus malis, avaritia & ebrietate, omnia concidissent, ad hoc postremo rabida vini aviditate perventum est, ut principes urbis ipsius ne tunc quidem de conviviis surgerent, cum jam hostis orbem intraret. Adeo etiam deus ipsis evidenter, ut credo, manifestare voluit cur perirent, cum per quam rem ad perditionem ultimam venerant, eam ipsam rem ad perditionem ultimam venerant, eam ipsam agerent, cum perirent. *But that* Cologn *remain'd in the Enemy's Hands appears farther from a Letter of* Salvianus, *to bespeak the Favour in behalf of a young Person, who was a Native of* Cologn, *to his Friend: epistola* 1. *p.* 170. Adolescens, quem ad vos misi, Agrippinæ cum suis captus est, quondam inter suos non parvi nominis, familia non obscurus, domo non despicabilis, & de quo aliquid fortasse amplius dicerem, nisi propinquus meus esset. Hoc enim fit, ut minus dicam, ne de me ipso dicere videar, de illo plura dicendo. Matrem ergo is de quo dico, Agrippinæ viduam reliquit, probam, honestam, & de qua forsitan audacter dicere valeam, vere viduam. Nam præter cæteras castimoniæ sapientiæque virtutes, est etiam side nobilis, quæ omnibus semper ornatibus ornamento est: quia sine hac nihil tam ornatum est, quod ornare possit. Hæc ergo, ut audio, tantæ illic inopiæ atque egestatis est, ut ei nec residendi nec abeundi facultas suppetat: quia nihil est, quod vel ad victum vel ad fugam opituletur. Solum est, quod mercenario opere victum quæritans, uxoribus barbarorum locatitias manus subdit. Ita licet per dei misericordiam vinculis captivitatis exemta sit, cum jam non serviat conditione, servit paupertate.

§ XXII. (1) *See above Book* VII. § 16.

(2) PRISCUS *p.* 47. *B.* Cum autem, mortuo Rua, Hunnorum regnum ad Attilam pervenisset, senatus decrevit, Plintham legationem ad Attilam exoqui. *He then relates, how the Peace was concluded at* Margus: Itaque placuit, profugos e Scythis, etiam qui multo ante profugerant, una cum captivi

already begun with King *Rua*, *Attila*'s Predeceſſor; and, among other Conditions, granted them an annual Subſidy of 700 Pounds of Gold. The Renown and Power of the *Hunns* firſt came, in the Reign of theſe two Princes, to a very great Height. How far their Dominions extended *Northwards* cannot be juſtly aſſign'd: But as to the Provinces of the *Roman Empire*, in the Year 442, they both made an Irruption into *Thrace* and *Illyricum* (3). *Bleda* loſt his Life, *A.* 445, and the Cauſe of his Death is in Hiſtory imputed to *Attila* (4). In the Year 447, *Attila* again invaded *Thrace*, and *Illyricum*, and at that Time penetrated as far as *Thermypole* (5). *Priſcus* mentions another Treaty of Peace, by which the Emperor was oblig'd to augment the annual Subſidy to 2100 Pounds of Gold (6): And that was, perhaps, the Peace which followed this War. The Court of *Conſtantinople* had formed a Deſign on *Attila*'s Life; but he detected the whole Affair, and the ancient *Romans* could not, on the like Occaſion; have expreſſed themſelves with greater Magnanimity, than he did in the Reproaches he made the Emperor *Theodoſius*, on this Account (7). *Priſcus* on this Occaſion, repreſents the State of the

captivis Romanis, qui non ſoluto redemptionis pretio, ad ſua redierant, dedi: aut pro uno quoquo captivo Romano, his qui eum bello ceperant, octo aureos dari, Romanos belli ſocietatem cum barbara gente, quæ bellum cum Hunnis gerat, non facere. Conventus ad mercatus paribus legibus celebrari, & in tuto Romanos & Hunnos eſſe. Ut fœdera rata maneant & obſerventur, tributi nomine, ſeptingentas auri libras uno quoque anno Scytharum regibus, a Romanis pendi; cum antea tributum annuum non fuiſſet, niſi trecentarum quinquaginta librarum. His conditionibus pacem Romani & Hunni pepigerunt.

(3) MARCELLINUS COMES *gives the following Account of this.* Eudoxio & Dioſcoro Coſſ. (422). Bleda & Attila fratres, multarumque gentium reges, Illyricum, Thraciamque depopulati ſunt.

(4) IDEM, *l. c.* Valentiniano VI. & Nomo Coſſ. (445). Bleda, rex Hunnorum, Attilæ, fratris ſui inſidiis interimitur.

(5) IDEM, *l. c.* Ardabure & Callepio Coſſ. (447). Ingens bellum & priore majus per Attilam regem noſtris inflictum, pene totam Europam, exciſis, invaſiſque civitatibus, atque caſtellis conraſit. *Et poſt pauca:* Attila rex uſque ad Thermopolim infeſtus advenit. Arnegiſclus magiſter militiæ, in ripenſi Dacia, juxta Utum amnem, ab Attila rege, viriliter pugnans, plurimis hoſtium interemtis, occiſus eſt.

(6) PRISCUS, *p.* 34. *C.* Poſt Cherſonenſem pugnam, Romani cum Hunnis pacem per Anatolium legatum fecerunt, & in has conditiones convenerunt. Profugos Hunnis reddi, ſex mille auri libras pro præteritis ſtipendiis ſolvi. Duo mille & centum, in poſterum ſingulis annis, tributi nomine pendi, pro unoquoque captivo Romano, qui in Romanorum fines, non ſoluto redemptionis pretio, evaſiſſet, duodecim aureorum mulctam inferri. Quæ ſi non ſolveretur, qui captivum recepiſſet, reſtituere teneri. Romanos neminem ex barbaris ad ſe confugientem admittere. In has quidem fœderum leges, Romani ſponte conſenſiſſe videri volebant: ſed certe, neceſſitate coacti.

(7) PRISCUS, *p.* 39. *A.* Theodoſium quidem clari patris, & nobilis eſſe filium; Attilam quoque nobilis parentis eſſe ſtirpem, & patrem

ejus

Eaſtern Empire, as ſo wretched (8), that it ſeems Matter of Doubt, whether the Subjects had not more Reaſon to wiſh themſelves under the Goverment of the *Hunns* than that of the *Romans*: And no Wonder if now the *Hunns*, and ſoon after, the *Goths* dealt with theſe Provinces according to their own Will and Pleaſure.

Attila's Extraction, Court and Character.

§ XXIII. THIS was the ſame *Attila* (1), who, for ſome Time, was the Terror of *Europe*: And yet as famous as his Name was at that Time, as obſcure is his Hiſtory now (2). Some Authors, whoſe Relations are founded

ejus Mundiuchum acceptam a patre nobilitatem integram conſervaſſe. Sed Theodoſium tradita a patre nobilitate excidiſſe, quod tributum ſibi pendendo, ſuus ſervus eſſet effectus. Non igitur juſtam rem facit, qui præſtantiori, & ei quem fortuna dominum demonſtravit, tanquam ſervus ſceleſtus & improbus, clandeſtinas inſidias paret. Neque ſe prius criminari illum eo nomine deſtiturum, quam eunuchus ad ſupplicium ſit traditus.

(8) PRISCUS, *p.* 34. *D.* In has quidem fœderum leges, Romani ſponte conſenſiſſe videri volebant: ſed certe, neceſſitate coacti. Superante enim metu, qui Romanorum ducum mentes occupaverat, quantumvis duras, & iniquas conditiones ſibi impoſitas (quo pacis conſequendæ ſtudio tenebantur) lubentibus animis ſuſceperunt. Imo & tributi collationi ceſſerunt, quod illis fuit graviſſimum, & maxime moleſtum. Regii enim theſauri, & privatorum facultates, in abſurda ſpectacula, in vanos honorum ambitus & titulos, in delicias & voluptates, conſumptæ fuerant tam profuſis ſumptibus, ut eos nemo ſanæ mentis, vel in maxime affluentibus divitiarum copiis ſuſtineret, aut toleraret. Præterea armorum, & rei militaris ſtudium neglexerant, ut non ſolum Scythis, ſed & reliquis barbaris, qui proximas imperii Romani regiones incolebant, quoad tributorum penſitationem parerent. Itaque tributa & pecunias, quas ad Hunnos deferri oportebat, quibus exactio mandata erat, omnes conferre coëgerunt: nulla etiam eorum immunitatis habita ratione, qui terræ onere, tanquam nimis gravi ad tempus, ſive imperatorum benignitate, ſeu judicum ſententia, levati erant. Conferebant etiam aurum indictum, qui altius repetita temporum memoria, in ſenatum adſcripti fuerant, ultra quam facultates ferre poterant, & multis ſplendida, & illuſtris fortuna vitæ commutationem attulit. Conficiebantur enim illæ pecuniæ, cum acerbitate & contumelia, pro arbitrio, & ut ſcripto unumquemque adnotaverant, quibus hujus rei cura ab imperatore erat demandata. Ex quo, qui antiquas, & a majoribus acceptas divitias poſſidebant, mundum uxorum, & pretioſam ſuam ſuppellectilem, in foro palam & publice venum exponebant. Ab hoc bello, tam atrox, & acerba calamitas Romanos excepit, ut multi ſibi violentas manus attulerint, aut aptato collo laqueo, vitam finierint.

§. XXIII. (1) PRISCUS *always calls him* Attilas. Otrokoſci, in originibus Hungaricis, P. 2. p. 39. *imagines, that in the* Hunnick *Tongue he was called* Athila, *the Signification of which is* Magnas: *And that the Name is ſtill in Uſe among the* Hungarians, *but pronounced* Atzel, *inſtead of* Athel. Attilla *is in the ancient* German *Songs and Chronicles, call'd King* Etzel.

(2) NICOLAUS OLAHUS, *Archbiſhop of* Gran, *a learned Prelate, wrote* Attila's *Life, but had not the beſt Materials to work upon.* Sabellicus *is one of the principal Authors he refers to. He appeals at the ſame Time to ancient Songs, and an old* Chronicon Hungaricum; *but the Proofs he draws from thence ſufficiently demonſtrate it to be full of Fables.*

founded on the ancient Songs of his Exploits, (which remain'd among the *Hunns* and *Germans* (3), and were, perhaps, compoſed long after his Death) or who perhaps invented many Circumſtances themſelves, have almoſt chang'd it into a Romance (4). By good Luck, ſome Fragments are ſtill extant of the *Gothick* Hiſtory, written by *Priſcus*, (who was Ambaſſador at *Attila*'s Court from *Theodoſius*) from which the moſt credible Circumſtances are deducible. As to his Extraction, according to *Priſcus*, he himſelf boaſts of the Nobility of it (5). The whole Power of the *Hnnns*, after his Brother's Deceaſe, was united under him, and extended over the *Oſtro-Goths*, and many other *German* and *Sarmatian* Nations, who had before been under their Dominion, from the Danube, and the Black-Sea, very far *Northwards*. He poſſeſs'd likewiſe, a vaſt Tract of Land, on the Left of that River; *Priſcus* makes the Length to be from the *Sau* to *Novi* in *Thrace*, and the Breadth 15 Days Journy: He relates, moreover, that *Naiſſus*, at preſent *Niſſa*, in *Servia*, was the laſt Place, where the Subjects of the *Roman Empire* and the *Hunns* were allow'd to traffick with one another (6). This

Fables. Philippus Callimachus *borrow'd his Account of* Attilla *from* Olahus. *Beſides theſe, one* Juvencus Cælius Callanus Dalmata de vita Attilæ *is famous; whom Dr.* Fabricius *mentions in his* Bibliotheca Latina, p. 702, *and obſerves, that this Book was printed in Quarto at* Ingoldſtadt, 1604.

(3) LAZIUS de migrationibus gentium, *mentions*, p. 603, *ſome ancient* German *Poems on* Attila's *Exploits; and* Otrokoſci *here and there refers to ſuch old* Hungarian *Songs; particularly*, P. I. p. 133.

(4) La guerra d'Attila flagello di dio, tratta dallo archivo dei prencipi d'Eſti. Ferrara, 1568, 4to. *It is, indeed, ſaid in the Preface, that* Thomas, *Secretary to* Nicetas, *Patriarch of* Aquileia, *wrote this Hiſtory in* Latin, *and that* Nicolaus la Caſola, *a Native of* Bologne, *tranſlated it into the Provincial Tongue, and dedicated it to* Bonifacius *of* Eſte; *from whence this* Italian *Tranſlation was afterwards taken: But we need not read much of it to perceive, that it is a meer Romance, written in Honour of the Houſe of* Eſte. *Monſieur* Corneille, *in the Tragedy of* Attila, *notwithſtanding the Freedom always allow'd to Poets, has not taken ſo much Liberty as the Author of this Book, which nevertheleſs he publiſhes as a Hiſtory.*

(5) *See* Not. 7. *of the preceding* Sect.

(6) PRISCUS, p. 37. B. Edecon, vir Scytha, qui maximas res in bello geſſerat, venit iterum legatus cum Oreſte. Hic genere Romanus, Pæoniam regionem, ad Saum ſitam, incolebat, quæ ex fœdere inito, cum Aëtio Romanorum occidentalium duce, barbaro parebat. Itaque Edecon in palatium admiſſus, imperatori literas Attilæ reddidit, in quibus de transfugis non redditis querebatur, qui niſi redderentur, & Romani a colenda terra abſtinerent, quam bello captam ſuæ ditioni adjecerat, ad arma iturum minabatur. Ea vero, ſecundum Iſtrum a Pæonibus, ad Novas uſque Thraciæ in longitudinem extendebatur. Latitudo autem erat quindecim dierum itinere. Neque vero forum celebrari, ut olim, ad ripam Iſtri, ſed in Naiſſo, quam urbem a ſe captam & dirutam, quinque dierum itinere expedito homini ab Iſtro diſtantem, Scytharum & ditionis limitem conſtituebat. Legatos quoque ad ſe venire juſſit, controverſa diſceptaturos, non ex quolibet hominum genere & ordine, ſed ex conſularibus illuſtriores, quos mittere libuerit, quorum excipiendorum gratia, in Sardicam diſcederet.

Difference

Difference of the Nations, ſubject to him, occaſioned corrupted *Latin* to be ſpoken at his Court, beſides the *Hunnick* and *Gothick* Tongues †. The chief Reſidence of his Kingdom was in the Countries on the Right of the *Danube*. From the Account, which *Priſcus* has tranſmitted to us of his Journy thither, as Ambaſſador, it appears, that *Attila*'s Camp was, at that Time, on the Right of the *Danube*, oppoſite to the preſent *Widin*; and that the Ambaſſy had then 15 Days Journy to his Reſidence (7). His Court conſiſted of a great number of contiguous Buildings of Wood, and were ſo ſpacious, ſo regular, and ſo neat, that they might be ſaid to excell many Cities. *Priſcus* has left us many particular Circumſtances of this Court (8). He makes

† *See* Not. 8. Priſcus *ſays elſewhere*; (p. 59. B.) Intra ſua, barbaricam linguam colunt, & affectant; neque tam Hunnorum, quam Gothorum, aut etiam Auſoniorum, hi ſcilicet, quibuſcum Romanis frequentius eſt commercium. Otrokoſci *imagines*, p. 126, *that* Lingua Auſoniorum, *here*, *ſignifies the Language ſtill us'd in* Wallachia.

(7) Otrokoſci *endeavours to rectify this Itinerary, and concludes*, p. 180. Magna itineris hujus emenſio videtur locum nobis oſtendere circa *JASZ-BIRINY*, aut plane ipſum oppidum.

(8) Priscus, *p.* 66, 67, 68. Reverſus nobis in tentorium, ecce ad nos Oreſtis pater, vos ambos, inquit, ad convivium invitat Attilas, fiet vero illud ad nonam diei. Tempore condicto obſervato, ut venimus, & una quoque Romanorum occidentalium legati, ſtetimus in limine cœnaculi, coram Attila. Hic pincernæ, ut mos eſt in illis regionibus, calicem tradiderunt, ut ante accubitum, vota faceremus. Quo facto, & calice deguſtato, ipſa ſolia in quibus nos ſedentes cœnare oportebat, ingreſſi ſumus. Hic præparata erant omnia ſedilia, circa parietes cubiculi, ab utraque parte diſpoſita: in medio ſedebat Attilas, in lecto, e regione cujus erat & alter Attilæ lectus, pone quem erant quidam gradus, qui ad ejus cubile ferebant, linteis candidis, & variis tapetibus, venuſtatis & ornatus gratia, contectum, ſimile cubilibus, quæ Romani & Græci nubentibus adornare pro more habent. Tum convivarum primum ordinem, ad Attilæ dextram ſedere conſtituerunt, ſecundum ad lævam: in quo nos & Berichus, vir apud Scythas nobilis; ſed Berichus ſuperiore loco. Nam Oneſegius in cathedra, ad dextram regii thori, & e regione Oneſegii, duo ex Attilæ filiis ſedebant. Senior enim in eodem, quo pater throno, non prope, ſed multum infra accumbebat, oculis præ pudore, propter patris præſentiam, ſemper in terram conjectis. Omnibus ordine ſedentibus, qui Attilæ erat a poculis, ingrediens, pateram vini tradit. Hanc ubi ſuſcepit, priorem ordine ſalutavit, ſalutatione honoratus ſurrexit, neque prius eum ſedere fas erat, quam merum deguſtans, aut etiam ebibens, poculum pocillatori redderet. Sedenti autem Attilæ, ex more, qui convivio intererant, pocula ſuſcipientes, & poſt ſalutationem deguſtantes, honorem exhibebant. Uni cuique vero unus pocillator aderat, quem pincerna Attilæ exeunte, intrare ſuo ordine oportuit. Secundo ſedente, & reliquis deinceps ad hunc modum honore affectis, Attilas nos ex Thracum inſtituto, ad parium poculorum certamen provocavit. Tum omnibus ſalutationis honore delato, pincernæ receſſerunt. Menſæ vero juxta Attilæ menſam erant erectæ, excipiendis tribus & quatuor, aut etiam pluribus convivis idoneæ, quorum unuſquiſque poterat, minime tranſgreſſis ſedium ordinibus, cultello, ex ferculis, quod ſibi libitum erat, deſumere. Deinde primus in medium acceſſit Attilæ miniſter, diſcum carnibus plenum ferens. Poſt ipſum, qui reliquis miniſtrabant

makes, at the ſame Time, Mention of *Attila*'s two Wives, to both which he paid his Court (9), and likewiſe of ſeveral Sons, who were then with him.

ON

ſtrabant panem & opſonia menſis appoſuerunt. Sed cæteris quidem barbaris, & nobis cœna omni eduliorum genere referta & inſtructa, præparata erat, & in diſcis argenteis repoſita, Attilæ in quadra lignea, & nihil præter carnes. Moderatum pariter in omnibus reliquis ſeſe præbebat. Convivis aurea & argentæ pocula, quibus bibebant, ſuppeditabantur, Attilæ poculum erat ligneum. Frugalis admodum illius veſtis, nihil, quo ab aliorum veſtibus dignoſci poſſet, habebat, niſi quod erat pura & impermixta. Neque ejus enſis erat aliqua illuſtri elegantia conſpicuus, neque calceorum barbarorum ligamina, neque ejus equi fræna, ut reliquorum Scytharum, auro, aut lapidibus, & aliis hujuſmodi pretioſis gemmis erant ornata. Ut opſonia primorum ferculorum fuere conſumta, ſurreximus, neque prius quiſquam noſtrum, ad ſedem ſuam eſt reverſus, quam ſibi traditam pateram vini plenam, ſervato quem ſupra diximus ritu, Attilam ſalvum & incolumem precatus, ebibiſſet. Eo ad hunc modum honore culto, ſedimus. Tum nova fercula cuique menſæ ſunt illata, quæ alia continebant eſculenta, ex quibus ubi omnes, quoad ſatis eſſet, comediſſent, modo quo ſupra, in pedes erecti, ebibito calice, ſedes noſtras repetivimus. Adveniente veſpere, ſublatis epulis, duo viri Scythæ coram Attila prodierunt, & verſus a ſe factos, quibus ejus victorias, & bellicas virtutes canebant, recitarunt. In quos convivæ oculos vultuſque defixerunt. Et alii quidem verſibus delectabantur, aliis bellorum recordatio animos exſuſcitabat, aliis manabant lachrymæ, quorum ætas affecta roddiderat corpus effœtum, & imbecillum, ex quo eorum pugnandi ardor & cupiditas quieſcere cogebatur. Poſt cantus & carmina, Scytha neſcio quis, mente captus, abſurda & prodigioſa, nec ſani ſenſus quicquam habentia, reſonans, & deblatterans, riſum omnibus commovit. Poſtremo Zerchon Maurufius introivit. Edecon enim illi perſuaſerat, ut ad Attilam veniret, omnem operam & ſtudium pollicitus, quo uxorem recuperaret. Hanc enim cum illi Bleda ſtuderet, in barbarorum regione acceperat, quam in Scythia, ab Attila ad Aëtium dono miſſus, reliquerat. Sed hac ſpe fruſtratus eſt, quia Attilas illi ſuccenſuit quod ad ſua emigraſſet. Itaque tunc arrepta feſtivitatis occaſione progreſſus, & forma & habitu, & pronuntiatione & verbis confuſe ab eo prælatis, modo Auſoniorum, modo Hunnorum, modo Gothorum linguam intermiſcens, omnes lætitia & hilaritate effudit, & effecit, ut in riſum, qui ſedari & extingui non poterat, prorumperent. Sed Attilas ſemper eodem vultu, omnis mutationis expers, & immotus permanſit, neque quicquam facere, aut dicere, quod jocum aut hilaritatem præ ſe ferret, conſpectus eſt: præterquam quod juniorem ex filiis introeuntem, & adventantem, nomine Irnach, placidis & lætis oculis eſt intuitus, & cum gena traxit. Ego vero cum admirarer Attilam, reliquos ſuos liberos parvi facere, ad hunc ſolum advertere, & animum adjicere, unus ex barbaris, qui prope me ſedebat, & Latinæ linguæ uſum habebat, fide prius accepta, me nihil eorum quæ dicerentur evulgaturum, dixit, vates Attilæ vaticinatos eſſe, ejus genus quod alioquin interiturum erat, ab hoc puero reſtauratum iri. Ut vero convivium ad multam noctem ferunt, minime diutius nobis compotationi indulgendum eſſe duximus, ſed frequentes exivimus.

(9) PRISCUS, *p.* 63. *A.* Poſtridie ad domus Attilæ interiora ſepta me contuli, dona ferens ejus uxori, quæ Cerca vocabatur. Ex ea tres illi liberi. Senior jam tum Acatirorum, & reliquarum gentium, quæ Scythia ad Pontum patet, regno potiebatur. Intra illa ſepta erant multa ædificia, partim ex tabulis ſculptis, & eleganter compacti,

On the Medals, invented of *Attila* (10), he is ſcarce allow'd a Human Form: And as to his Genius, modern Writers generally repreſent him, as ſo ſavage, that he himſelf took Pride in his Cruelty, and, among other odd Titles, aſſumed that of the *Scourge* of God (11). In oppoſition to this, let us examine the Character left us of him by *Jornandes*, and, perhaps, borrow'd from *Priſcus*'s Hiſtory; he was of a ſhort Stature, had broad Shoulders, a large Head, ſmall Eyes, and a flat-Noſe. His chief Paſſion was an impetuous Ambition for Sovereignty; but, withal, he was as beneficent to thoſe, whom he once took into his Protection, as he was terrible to his Enemies (12). As the Deſcription

compactis, partim ex trabibus, opere puro & in rectitudinem affabre dolatis & politis, quæ erant interjectæ, lignis ad tornum elaboratis, exſtructa & compoſita. Circuli autem a ſolo incipientes, in altum aſſurgebant, certa proportione & menſura. Hic habitabat Attilæ uxor, ad quam a barbaris, qui circa januas erant, nactus aditum, ipſam deprehendi in molli ſtragula jacentem. Erat autem pavimentum tapetibus ſtratum, & ſuper ipſis gradiebamur. Eam famulorum multitudo in orbem circumſtabat, & ancillæ ex adverſo humi ſedentes, telas coloribus variegabant, quæ veſtibus barbarorum ad ornatum inſeruntur. Cerca ſalutata, & muneribus traditis, egreſſus, expectans, dum Oneſegius regia exiret (jam enim e domo ſua illuc venerat) reliqua ædificia, ubi Attilas commorabatur, perluſtravi. *And farther*, *p.* 68. *D.* Interea Reccam, Attilæ uxor, quæ ejus res domeſticas curabat, nos etiam ad cœnam invitavit. Ad eam, ut erat multis Scythiæ principibus comitata, accedentes, contigit nobis etiam humanitate frui. Illa vero nos excœpit mellitis, & jucundis confabulationibus, & magnifico epularum apparatu. Tum unuſquiſque eorum, qui aderant, ſurgens, Scythica comitate, poculum plenum nobis porrexit, & eum, qui biberat amplexus, & oſculatus, illud excepit. A cœna nos in tentorium noſtrum recipientes, ſomnum cepimus.

(10) *V.* Rudolfi Rothii *diſſ. de Attila rege. conf.* 1. C. Eckardi *obſervatio de nummis Attilæ regis in Actis eruditorum A.* 1720, *p.* 214. Toppeltinus *mentions a Statue of this King, in originibus Tranſylvaniæ, p.* 84. Attilæ tamen ſtatua intonſa viſitur.

(11) Olahus: Titulus Attilæ, quo utebatur, erat: Athila filius Bendegigicz, nepos magni Nemroth, in Engadi nutritus. Dei gratia Hunnorum, Medorum, Gothorum, Danorum rex: metus orbis. Cui poſterioribus temporibus, propter verba eremitæ adjecit, flagellum dei. *He is ſeconded by* Michael Ritius, *L.* 1. *de regibus Hungariæ, p.* 841. In epiſtolis, diplomatibuſque ita ſe inſcribebat. Atila, filius Bendecuci, nepos magni Nembroth, nutritus in Engaddi. Dei gratia rex Hunnorum, Medorum, Gothorum, Dacorum, metus orbis & flagellum Dei. *This Author relates, that, when* Attila *beſieg'd* Orleans, *he ſent a Part of his Troops to* Spain *againſt the Sultan* Miroman. *Theſe Titles are taken from the ſame Chancery, from whence* Olahus *obtain'd* Attila's *Coat of Arms. cap* 3. Inſigne tam in ſcuto, quam velis gerebat Aſturem avem, coronam in capite geſtantem.

(12) Jornandes, *c.* 35. Vir in concuſſionem gentis natus minando, terrarum omnium metus, qui neſcio qua ſorte terrebat cuncta, formidabili de ſe opinione vulgata. Erat namque ſuperbus inceſſu, huc atque illuc circumferens oculos, ut elati potentia ipſo quoque motu corporis appareret. Bellorum quidem amator, ſed ipſe manu temperans,

Deſcription of his Perſon agrees with what is generally known of the exterior Appearance of the *Huns* (13), ſo does the Account of the Qualities of his Mind perfectly anſwer to his Actions, their moſt certain Mirrour. *Priſcus*, in general, deſcribes him as a Prince of great Auſterity, and interſperſes ſome Circumſtances, which diſcover a Cruelty of Temper. As the Paſſions of Love and Anger are almoſt always equally impetuous, in Perſons of a fiery Diſpoſition, *Attila* gave himſelf up to the latter, in Proportion as Severity was the more neceſſary, to keep ſo ſavage a Nation within Bounds. His own Ambition, and the common Bent of the Nation, which knew no other Means of acquiring Fame, prompted him to War. He took Advantage, at the ſame Time, of the Superſtition of his Subjects, to make them place the greater Confidence in his Arms: For he cauſed a Rumour to be ſpread, that he was in Poſſeſſion of the Sword of I know not what ancient Hero, whom his Poſterity, at that Time, rever'd as the God of War (14): But as we muſt not always imagine, that the Founders of Kingdoms arriv'd at that Pitch of Fortune, meerly by Dint of the Sword; ſo we find in *Attila*, likewiſe, many other Talents, which, in a *Scythian Hero*, ought to raiſe the greater Eſteem and Admiration in us; becauſe, what in the *Greeks* and *Romans* was the Effect of the moſt careful Education, was, in them, the meer Product of Nature. He was not ſo very ſavage, but that ſome Sparks of Natural Religion, which are ſeen in the moſt unciviliz'd Heathens, were diſcover'd in all his Actions. *Priſcus* relates, that of all his Sons, he loved the Youngeſt moſt; becauſe the Soothſayers had foretold, that Heaven had decreed the Succeſſion for him (15). Amidſt the Noiſe and Hurry of Arms, he likewiſe knew how to improve the uſeful Arts of Peace. *Priſcus* almoſt complains of his having ſent out too many Ambaſſies. He not only led his Army to the Field himſelf, but likewiſe preſided, in Perſon, in his Courts of Juſtice (16): And, which

rans, conſilio validiſſimus, ſupplicantibus exorabilis, propitius in fide ſemel receptis. Forma brevis, lato pectore, capite grandiori, minutis oculis, rarus barba, canis aſperſus, ſimo naſo, teter colore, originis ſuæ ſigna reſtituens. Qui quamvis eſſet hujus naturæ, ut ſemper magna conſideret, addebat ei tamen confidentiam gladius Martis inventus, ſacer apud Scytharum reges ſemper habitus. Quem Priſcus hiſtoricus tali refert occaſione detectum, &c.

(13) *See above* § XIV. *of Book* VII.

(14) *See Note* 12.

(15) *See Note* 8.

(16) PRISCUS, *p.* 63. *C.* Hic dum ego ſtarem cum reliqua multitudine (nec enim acceſſu ullius loci prohibebar, quippe qui Attilæ cuſtodibus, & barbaris, qui eum aſſectabantur, eram notus) vidi magnam turbam, qua prodibat, currentem, tumultum & ſtrepitum excitantem. Attilas egreſſus habitatione, gravis vultu, omnium oculis, quaqua verſus, in ſe converſis, incedens cum Onegio, ſedit pro ædibus. Hiç eum multi, quibus erant lites adierunt, & ejus judicium excepernt.

is moſt ſurprizing, when *Attila* appeared at publick Feſtivals, he had his Poets in Waiting; and the Poems, which they compoſed, in Honour of his Expeditions, made a Part of the Entertainment of the Court. Tho' he amaſs'd vaſt Treaſures, and his Subjects had adopted much of the Prodigality and Luxury of the *Romans*, yet he kept, indeed, a Court, ſuitable to ſo great a Monarch; but himſelf retained the ancient Parſimony. In his Garments, Arms and Accoutrements, he made no great Shew of Splendour; and *Priſcus* obſerves, in the before-mention'd Place, that, tho' his Table was ſerv'd with Veſſels of Gold and Silver, yet for himſelf he only made Uſe of a Wooden Cup, and had ſome Meat ſerv'd up in a Wooden Platter (17). With theſe Qualities, *Attila* might perhaps have paſs'd for an excellent Prince, had he not eſteem'd it more glorious to conquer foreign Nations, than to act the Part of a good Regent at Home: But, as the Qualities of Princes ought only to be valued in Proportion, as they contribute to the Advantage or Prejudice of Mankind; ſo *Attila*'s Memory is always attended with this Blemiſh, that his Grandeur was owing to the Devaſtation of ſo many Countries.

Attila's Preparations againſt *Gaul*.

§ XXIV. *ATTILA*'s Arms had, 'till then, been chiefly a Terror to the *Eaſt*: But *Theodoſius* II, dying in the Year 450, on the 28th of *July*, his Siſter *Pulcheria*, a Princeſs of 52 Years of Age, who had long bore the Title of *Auguſta*, and had, during her Brother's Life, bore a great Share in the Government, married *Marcianus*, and thereby pav'd his Way to the Succeſſion. This Prince begun his Reign with more Vigour than his Predeceſſors (1): *Attila* had beſides ſome particular Motives to employ his Arms againſt the *Weſtern* Provinces.

(17) *See above, Note* 8.

§ XXIV. (1) PRISCUS, *p.* 3. Cum primum Attilæ nunciatum eſt, Marcianum poſt Theodoſii mortem ad imperium perveniſſe, & quæ Honoriæ acciderant, ad eum qui in occidente rerum potiebatur, miſit, qui contenderent, Honoriam nihil ſe indignum admiſiſſe, quum matrimonium ſecum contracturam ſpopondiſſet. Miſit & ad Romanos in oriente tributorum conſtitutorum gratia. Sed re infecta, legati utrimque ſunt reverſi. Etenim qui occidentis imperio præerat, reſpondit, Honoriam ſibi nubere non poſſe, quod jam alii nupſiſſet. Neque imperium Honoriæ deberi, virorum enim, non mulierum Romanum imperium eſſe: Qui in oriente imperabat, ſe minime ratum habere tributi illationem, quam Theodoſius conſenſiſſet, quieſcenti munera largiturum, bellum minanti viros & arma objecturum, nec enim vires & copias ſibi deeſſe. Itaque Attilas in varias diſtrahebatur ſententias, & illi in dubio hærebat animus, quos primum aggrederetur. Tandem melius rem ſe habituram viſum eſt, ad periculoſius bellum ſeſe convertere, & in occidentem exercitum educere. Illic enim ſibi rem fore, non ſolum cum Italis, ſed etiam cum Gothis & Francis: cum his, ut Honoriam cum ingentibus divitiis in uxorem acciperet: cum illis, ut Genſerichi gratiam promereretur.

Honoria,

Honoria, Emperor *Valentinian*'s Sister, was weary of leading an unmarried and retired Life, and this Solitude became perhaps the more insupportable to her, when she compar'd her State to that, which *Pulcheria* enjoyed at her Brother's Court. She had therefore caused Proposals of Marriage to be made to *Attila*, which he readily embraced. He begun already to form vast Enterprizes upon this Match; when the Court of *Ravenna* got Intelligence of this Correspondence, and when they reflected, what Advantages the *Goths* made of having the Princess *Placidia* in their Power, they were the more assiduous in suppressing it. *Attila* (2), however, thought this might serve as a Pretence for a War. Besides his own Ambition, he was excited by *Genseric* King of the *Vandals*, to make some Attempt in *Gaul*: For that Prince aim'd at giving Uneasiness to *Theodoric*, King of the *Wisi-Goths*, who he knew ow'd him a Grudge; for having sent back his Daughter, the Wife of *Hunnoric*, a Prince of the *Vandals*, in an injurious Manner (3).

(2) *These Circumstances appear partly from the afore-cited Testimony of* Priscus; *but the following Passages give a farther Account of the Princess* Honoria's *amorous Intrigues.* Marcellinus *in chronico*, Ariobinda & Aspare Coss (435). Honoria Valentiniani imperatoris soror, ab Eugenio procuratore suo stuprata, concepit, palatioque expulsa & Theodosio principi de Italia transmissa, Attilanem contra occidentalem rempublicam concitabat. Jornandes *de succeff. regn.* c. 97. *relates more Circumstances:* Honoria, dum ad aulæ decus virginitatem suam cogeretur custodire, clam misso clientulo, Attilam Hunnorum regem invitabat in Italiam: cumque veniente Attila votum suum nequiret explere, facinus, quod cum Attila non fecerat, cum Eugenio procuratore suo committit. Quamobrem tanta a germano, & in Constantinopolim Theodosio principi destinata est. *In one of* Prosper's *Chronicles, we read, ad A.* 1. Martiani & Valentiniani, Attila Gallias ingressus quasi jure debitam poscit uxorem, ubi gravi clade inflicta & accepta, ad propria recedit. *We meet with Medals with the Image of* Honoria, *where she is stiled* Augusta; *and one, among the Rest, with the Inscription* VOT. XX. MULT. XXX. *But History is here so obscure, that we cannot say on what Occasion she obtained the Title of* Augusta.

(3) *From the Words of* Priscus, *in* not. 1. *it appears, that* Genseric *excited* Attila *to this War.* Jornandes *relates farther Circumstances*, cap. 36. Hujus ergo mentem, ad vastationem orbis paratam, comperiens Gizericus rex Vandalorum, quem paulo ante memoravimus, multis muneribus ad Vesegotharum bella præcipitat, metuens, ne Theodoricus, Vesegotharum rex, filiæ ulcisceretur injuriam, quæ Hunericho Gizerici filio juncta, prius quidem tanto conjugio lætaretur; sed postea, ut erat ille & in sua pignora truculentus, ob suspicionem tantummodo veneni ab ea parati, eam naribus absciffis, truncatisque auribus spolians decore naturali, patri suo ad Gallias remiserat, ut turpe funus miserandâ semper offerret, & crudelitas, qua etiam moverentur externi, vindictam patris efficacius impetraret. Attila igitur dudum bella, accepta Gizerici redemptione, parturiens, legatos in Italiam ad Valentinianum principem misit, serens Gothorum Romanorumque discordiam, ut, quos prælio non poterat concutere, odiis internis elideret, adserens, se reipubl. ejus amicitias in nullo violare, sed contra Theodericum Vesegotharum regem sibi esse certamen, unde eum excipi libenter optaret: Cætera epistolæ usitatis salutationum blandimentis oppleverat, studens fidem adhibere mendacio.

Of the *German* Nations in his Army. What Rout he took.

§ XXV. *ATTILA* broke up, in the Year 450, for *Gaul*, with a formidable Army of *Huns* and *Germans*. *Jornandes*, to whom we may give the more Credit (1), because, among others, he made use of *Priscus*'s History, relates, that, in particular, the three *Ostro-Gothick* Princes, *Valamir*, *Theodomir*, and *Vidimir*, and *Ardaric* King of the *Gepidæ*, distinguish'd themselves, with their Troops; and that *Attila*, among all the Princes, who served under him, reposed most Confidence in the King of the *Gepidæ*, and in *Valamir* the *Gothick* Prince (2). *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who not only lived in these Times, but himself wrote a History of the *Hunnick* War, names, among the Nations in *Attila*'s Army, the *Rugii*, *Scyrri*, *Burgundians*, *Thuringians*, *Bructeri*, and even the *Franks* (3). Of the latter, are only to be understood that Part of the Nation, which adhered to *Attila*, and perhaps joined him in his March. What *Route* he took, is uncertain: An ancient Account mentions, indeed, that

§ XXV. (1) *This is confirmed by* Pagius, *ad A.* 451. *n.* 18. Gesta hoc anno in Galliis ab Attila nullus accuratius descripsit, quam Jornandes.

(2) Jornandes, *c.* 38. E diverso vero fuit Hunnorum acies ordinata, ut in medio Attila cum suis fortissimis locaretur, sibi potius rex hac ordinatione prospiciens, quatenus inter gentis suæ robur positus, ab imminenti periculo redderetur exceptus. Cornua vero ejus multiplices populi, & diversæ nationes, quas ditioni suæ subdiderat, ambiebant. Inter quos Ostrogotharum præeminebat exercitus, Walamire, & Theodomire, & Widemire, germanis ductantibus, ipso etiam rege, cui tunc serviebant, nobilioribus; quia Amalorum generis eos potentia illustrabat, eratque & cum Gepidarum agmine innumerabili rex ille fortissimus & famosissimus, Ardaricus, qui ob nimiam suam fidelitatem erga Attilam ejus consiliis intererat. Nam perpendens Attila, sagacitatem suam, eum, & Walamirem, Ostrogothorum regem, super cæteros regulos diligebat. Erat namque Walamir secreti tenax, blandus colloquio, doli ignarus: Ardaricus, fide & consilio, ut diximus, clarus. Quibus non immerito contra parentes Vesigothas debuit credere pugnatoribus. Reliqua autem, si dici fas est, turba regum, diversarumque nationum ductores, ac si satellites, nutibus Attilæ attendebant, & ubi oculo annuisset, absque reliqua murmuratione cum timore & tremore unusquisque adstabat, aut certe quod jussus fuerat, exsequebatur. Sed solus Attila rex omnium regum, super omnes & pro omnibus sollicitus erat.

(3) *The Rest may be seen in* Sidonius's *Panegyrick*, in Avitum (carm 7.) v. 319.

——— Subito cum rupta tumultu
Barbaries, totas in te transfuderat arctos
Gallia: pugnacem Rugum, comitante Gelono,
Gepida trux sequitur, Scyrum Burgundio cogit:
Chunus, Bellonotus, Neurus, Basterna TORINGUS,
Bructerus, ulvosa vel quem Nicer abluit unda,

Prorumpit

that he deſtroy'd *Augſpurg* in his Way (4); but that Story has not ſufficient Vouchers among the Ancients. We may rather conclude, from *Sidonius Apollinaris*, that he did not paſs thro' *Rætia*, but thro' the Countries on the Right of the *Danube*, filed off towards the *Rhine*, and paſs'd over that River, in the Dominions of the *Franks*.

§ XXVI. THE Diviſions among that Nation, in which *Attila* interpoſed, and were, perhaps, in Part, a Pretext to this War, took Riſe on the following Account. Two Princes of the *Franks* contended for the Succeſſion; the Elder adhered to *Attila*, the Younger, whom *Priſcus*, whence this Account is borrowed, himſelf ſaw at *Rome*, ſought Aid from *Ætius*, and, by his Mediation, *Valentinian* made a League with him. Both ſeem to have had Adherents among thoſe Nations, which were comprehended under the general Name of *Franks*. *Attila*, with his Army, therefore firſt invaded the Country of the *Franks* (1). The Parti- Contentions among the *Franks*, in which he interfered.

Prorumpit FRANCUS. Cecidit cito ſecta bipenni
Hercinia in lintres, & Rhenum texuit alno.
Et jam terrificis diffuderat Attila turmis.
In campos ſe, Belga, tuos. Vix liquerat Alpes
Aëtius, tenue & rarum ſine milite ducens
Robur, in auxiliis Geticum male credulus agmen
In caſſum propriis præſumens adfore caſtris.
Nuntius at poſtquam ductorem perculit, Hunnos
Jam prope contemtum propriis in ſedibus hoſtem
Expectare Getas, verſat vagus omnia ſecum
Conſilia, &c.

Sidonius, *in another Place, calls* Attila Rheni Hoſtis. *See* §. XXVII. not. 5.

(4) *Vid.* Marcus Velſerus, *rerum Auguſtanarum Vindelicarum*, L. 8. p. 332.

§ XXVI. (1) PRISCUS, *p.* 40. At Francos bello laceſſendi, illi [*Attilæ*] cauſa fuit regum ipſorum obitus: & de regno inter liberos controverſia. Seniori Attila ſtudebat, juniorem Aëtius tuebatur, quem Romæ vidimus legationem obeuntem, nondum lanugine efflorefcere incipiente flava coma, & capillis propter denſitatem & magnitudinem ſuper humerum effuſis. Hunc etiam Aetius in filium adoptaverat, & plurimis donis ornatum, ad imperatorem, ut amicitiam & ſocietatem cum eo faceret, miſerat. Sed Attilas, antequam in eam expeditionem ingrederetur, rurſus legatos in Italiam miſit, qui Honoriam poſcerent. Etenim ſecum matrimonium pepigiſſe: cujus rei ut fidem faceret, annulum ab ea ad ſe miſſum, per legatos, quibus tradiderat, exhiberi mandavit. Itaque imperii partem ſibi Valentinianum cedere æquum cenſebat, quam pater Honoriæ reliquiſſet, ſed hac illam frater, quæ ejus erat avaritia & cupiditas, privarat. At Romani Heſperii in prima ſententia perſtiterunt, & Attilæ mandata rejecerunt.

zans

zans of the Prince whom *Attila* favoured, readily assisted him, and furnished him with all Necessaries for transporting his Army over the *Rhine* (2). Another Body of *Franks* encounter'd them on the other Side, and the Event prov'd fortunate to that Party, which was assisted by the *Romans* (3).

He invades *Gaul*.

§ XXVII. *ATTILA* endeavoured, indeed, to remove all Apprehensions from the Emperor *Valentinian*, by pretending, that his Preparations were only against the *Goths*: But the *Romans* would not be thus lull'd into Security, and, probably, gave him to understand in Time, that he would involve himself in a War with them as well as with the *Goths*, if he invaded *Gaul* †. Among the Cities in *Gaul*, which felt the Effects of his Fury, we find, in particular, *Metz*, *Triers*, and *Tongres* (1), expressly mention'd. Historians likewise relate, that *Attila* vanquish'd a King of the *Burgundians*, and almost extirpated his whole Nation: But as the Year, when this happen'd, is not remark'd, it may, with most Probability, be reckon'd in this Invasion, when the *Burgundians* could not well escape the Rage of the *Huns*, after they had pass'd the *Rhine* (2). *Attila* was advanced as far as *Orleans*

(2) *See the Quotation from* Sidonius, §. XXV. not. 3.

(3) PAGIUS, ad A. 447. n. 12. *observes, that* Clodio *died that Year; and* ad A. 451. n. 20. *concludes from the Words of* Priscus, *mention'd above, that the two Princes, who contended for the Succession, were his Sons; that* Attila *sided with the Elder, and* Ætius *took the Part of the Younger; and that this latter was the same King of the* Franks, *who, according to the Account of* Gregorius Turonensis, *fought for the* Romans *at the Battle of* Chalons, *and, by the Victory then obtained, at the same Time, got the better of his Brother.*

§. XXVII. † *See the Words of* Jornandes *above*, § XXIV. not. 3.

(1) AUTOR DE GESTIS FRANCORUM, *secundum manuscriptum Cameracense*, c. 5. Chuni Rhenum transierunt, Mettis succenderunt, Treviris distruunt: Tuncrus pervadunt, usque Aurelianis, pervenientes. *We meet with many Circumstances of this Invasion, related by* Paulus Diaconus, *in gestis episcoporum Metensium, in vit. S. Auctoris episcopi. And farther, in the Life of* S. Servatius, *Bishop of* Tongres; *in the Life of* S. Anianus, *Bishop of* Orleans, ap. Surium die 17. Novemb. *from whence* Baronius, ad h. A. n. 48. *extracted his Account: But some manifest and fabulous Circumstances render them suspected, and the Rest require a narrow Examination, because, perhaps, they are not warranted by any Writer more ancient, than* Gregorius Turonensis, L. 2. c. 5. *The same may be said of what* Baronius *quotes from the Life of* Lupus, *Bishop of* Troyes, ap Surium ad d. 29. Julii n. 41. *and from the* Acta S. Nicasii *Bishop of* Triers, ap Surium d. 4. Dec.

(2) PAULUS DIACONUS, *de gestis episcoporum Metensium, says, in vita* S. Auctoris, Eo igitur tempore, cum reverendus hic præsul vitam cunctis

leans (3), and already threaten'd to croſs the *Loire*, and attack the *Goths*, even in their own Country; when the *Roman* and *Gothick* Armies join'd. *Sidonius Apollinaris* extols the Vigilance of *Ferreolus*, who was, that Year, *Præfectus Prætorii Galliarum* (4), and that *Avitus* zealouſly preſs'd the March of the Army at the *Gothick* Court, and their Junction with the *Romans* (5). The *Roman* Army, of itſelf, was not very powerful; but

Ætius

cunctis virtutibus decoratam duceret, Attila rex Hunnorum, omnibus belluis crudelior, habens multas barbaras nationes ſuo ſubjectas dominio, poſtquam Gundicarium Burgundionum regem ſibi occurentem protriverat, ad univerſas deprimendas Gallias ſuæ ſævitiæ relaxavit habenas. Pagius ad A. 435. n. 35. *and* ad A. 436. n. 10. *endeavours, indeed, to prove, that the* Burgundians *were defeated* A. 436. *But by the Relation of* Paulus, *as well as that of* Priſcus, *it ſeems to be better placed here: For* Ætius *had, at that Time, already granted a Peace to the* Burgundians, *and the* Hunns *were in Alliance with the* Romans. *We cannot, therefore, perceive how they could extirpate a Nation, which was in Alliance with the* Romans.

(3) *That they reach'd* Orleans *appears the moſt clearly from the Teſtimony of* Sidonius Apollinaris, *who writes to* Proſper, *L.* 8. *ep.* 15. *p.* 246. Exegeras mihi, ut promitterem tibi, Attilæ bellum ſtylo me poſteris intimaturum: quo videlicet Aurelianenſis urbis obſidio, oppugnatio, irruptio nec direptio, & illa vulgata exauditi cælitus ſacerdotis vaticinatio continetur. Cœperam ſcribere; ſed operis arrepti faſce perſpecto, tæduit inchoaſſe; propter hoc nullis auribus credidi, quod primum me cenſore damnaveram.

(4) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS *ſays, Lib.* 7. *ep.* 12. Prætermiſit, Gallias tibi adminiſtratas tunc, cum maxime incolumes erant. Prætermiſit, Attilam Rheni hoſtem, Thoriſmodum Rhodani hoſpitem, Ætium Ligeris liberatorem ſola te diſpoſitionum ſalubritate toleraſſe: propterque prudentiam tantam, providentiamque, currum tuum provinciales cum plauſuum maximo accenta ſpontaneis ſubiiſſe cervicibus.

(5) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, *carm.* 7, v. 336.

Tandem cunctanti ſedit ſententia, celſum
Exorare virum, collectiſque omnibus una
Principibus, coram ſupplex ſic talibus infit.
Orbis Avite ſalus, cui non nova gloria nunc eſt,
Quod rogat Ætius: voluiſti, & non nocet hoſtis:
Vis? prodeſt. incluſa tenes tot millia nutu,
Et populis Geticis ſola eſt tua gratia limes.
Infenſi ſemper nobis pacem tibi præſtant.
Victrices i prome aquilas. fac, optime, Chunos,
Quorum forte prior fuga nos concuſſerat olim,
Bis victos prodeſſe mihi. ſic fatur, & ille
Pollicitus votum fecit ſpem. Protinus inde
Advolat, & famulas in prœlia concitat iras.

Ibant

Ætius had got together as many foreign Auxiliaries as he possibly could. *Theodoric*, King of the *Wisi-Goths*, commanded his Army in Person, and took *Thorismund* and *Theodoric*, his two elder Sons, with him to the Field (6).

The Battle of *Chalons* on the *Marne*. *Attila*'s Overthrow.

§ XXVIII. *ATTILA* thereupon retreated, and pitch'd his Camp in the Plain near *Chalons sur Marne* (1), where he waited for the united Force of the *Romans* and *Goths*. *Ætius* and *Theodoric* had some Reason to be diffident of *Sangibanus*, King of the *Alani*, who was accused of having intended to betray *Orleans* into the Hands of the *Hunns*. They therefore so disposed the Army, that he was placed in the Midst of the other Troops, of whose Fidelity they were sufficiently assured; and he was thus oblig'd to exert his Valour, whatever his Design may have been. *Attila*, on his Side, so form'd his Order of Battle, that he himself commanded the Center, and the *Goths* and *Gepidæ*, with the other Nations in his Service, made the two Wings. The Battle was not of so long Duration, as it must have been bloody; for we cannot otherwise conceive, how so many Thousands, as it is said, could have destroyed one another, in so short a Time (2). *Theodoric* King of the *Wisi-Goths*, was kill'd at

Ibant pellitæ post classica Romula turmæ,
Ad nomen currente Geta timet ære vocari
Dirutus, opprobrium non damnum barbarus horrens.

6. Jornandes *c.* 36. Producitur itaque a rege Theoderico Vesegotharum innumerabilis multitudo, qui quatuor filiis domi dimissis, id est Friderico, & Eurico, Rotemero, & Himerit, secum tantum Thorismund, & Theodericum, majores natu, participes laboris assumit. Felix procinctus, auxiliantium suave collegium habere, & solatia illorum, quos delectat ipsa etiam simul subire discrimina. A parte vero Romanorum, tanta patricii Ætii providentia fuit, cui tunc innitebatur respublica Hesperiæ plagæ, ut undique bellatoribus congregatis, adversus ferocem & infinitam multitudinem non impar occurreret. His enim adfuere auxiliares Franci, Sarmatæ, Armoritani, Litiani, Burgundiones, Saxones, Riparioli, Ibriones, quondam milites Romani, tunc vero jam in numero auxiliariorum exquisiti, aliæque nonnullæ Celticæ, vel Germanicæ nationes.

§ XXVIII. (1) Jornandes, *c.* 36. Convenitur itaque in campos Catalaunicos, qui & Mauritii [*al. Mauriaci*] vocantur: Gregorius Turonensis, L. 2. c. 5. *names, likewise*, Mauriacus campus. *The Learned differ in their Opinions about the Situation of these* campi Catalaunici, *or* Mauriaci, *which* Hadrianus Valesius *mentions in* Notitia Galliarum, *under the Word* Mauriacum. *And we meet with a particular Dissertation on this Head, written by* Johannes Grangierius, *which* Le Long *takes Notice of in his* Bibliotheque de France, n. 52. *The best Account is given by* Idatius, *in his* Chronicon

at the Beginning of the Battle; notwithſtanding which, his Men fell upon the *Hunns*, with ſuch Fury, that they were brought into Diſorder. Night put an End to the Battle; and *Attila* retreated to his Camp. The Loſs on both Sides was almoſt equal; but the next Day gave the Prize of Victory to the *Romans* and *Goths:* For *Attila* would not venture out of his Intrenchment of Carriages; and, on the other Hand, the Allies found it likewiſe impoſſible, to drive him thence by Force (3). *Thoriſ-*

Chronicon ad A. 28. Valentiniani. Gens Hunnorum, pace rupta deprædatur provincias Galliarum: plurimæ civitates effractæ: in campis Catalaunicis, haud longe de civitate quam effregerant Mettis, Aëtio duci & regi Theodori, quibus erat in pace ſocietas, aperto Marte confligens, divino cæſa ſuperatur auxilio: bellum nox intempeſta diremit. Rex illic Theodores proſtratus occubit: CCC ferme millia hominum, in eo certamine cæſa memorantur, &c. Occiſo Theodore, Thoriſmo filius ejus ſuccedit in regno. Hunni cum rege ſuo Attila relictis Galliis poſt certamen Italiam petunt. Pagius, ad h. A. n. 25, *and other Writers, do therefore ſuppoſe theſe* Campi Catalaunici *to be the large Plain, which begins at the Diſtance of two Miles from* Chalons ſur Marne.

(2) JORNANDES, *c.* 41. In hoc enim famoſiſſimo, & fortiſſimarum gentium bello ab utriſque partibus CLXII millia cæſa referuntur: exceptis XC millibus Gepidarum & Francorum, qui ante congreſſionem publicam, noctu ſibi occurrentes, mutuis concidere vulneribus, Francis pro Romanorum. Gepidis pro Hunnorum parte, pugnantibus. *We read in ſome Copies, inſtead of* XCM, *only* XVM, *and* Pagius, ad h. A. n. 25. *proves the latter Number to be more probable. But it would be almoſt in vain to examine into the Liſt of the Slain given us by the Ancients.* Rodericus Toletanus de rebus Hiſpan. L. 5. c. 3. *entertains his Readers with ſeveral Romantick Circumſtances,* viz. *that the Ghoſts continued to fight three Days after the Battle; and that the Blood of the Slain made ſuch a* CURRENT, *as to carry away the dead Bodies with it. This latter Story is copied from him by* Olahus, in Attila, c. 7.

(3) JORNANDES, *c.* 40. Poſtera die luce orta, cum cadaveribus plenos campos aſpicerent, nec audere Hunnos erumpere, ſuam arbitrantur autem victoriam, ſcienteſque, Attilam non niſi magna clade confuſum bello confugiſſe, cum tamen nihil ageret, vel proſtratus abjectum, ſed ſtrepens armis, tubis canebat, in concuſſionemque minabatur; velut leo venabulis preſſus, ſpeluncæ aditus obambulans, nec audet inſurgere, nec deſinit fremitibus vicina terrere: ſic belli-

coſiſſimus

mond, Prince of the *Goths*, was proclaimed King in the Room of his Father, whom he cauſed to be magnificently interr'd in the Field of Battle. He was impatient for a farther Revenge on the *Hunns*, for his Father's Death: But *Ætius* adviſed him, rather to haſten home, leſt one of his younger Brothers might, in his Abſence, attempt ſomething to his Prejudice. The Hiſtorian accuſes the *Roman* General, of having purpoſely facilitated *Attila*'s Retreat, and ſpared a Nation (4), that could alone balance the Power of the *Goths*, which otherwiſe would have been ſuperior to that of the *Romans*; and, who knows what private Views he may have had, if we reflect on his ancient Intimacy with the *Hunns*?

The Event of the Civil Broils among the *Franks*. Of King *Merovens*.

§ XXIX. THIS Victory ſeems, likewiſe, to have decided the Contention between the Princes of the *Franks*. *Gregorius Turonenſis* relates, that, immediately after the Battle, *Ætius* encouraged the Prince, who had applied to the *Romans* for Aſſiſtance, to make Advantage of the Overthrow of the *Hunns*, by taking Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, in Diſpute

coſiſſimus rex victores ſuos turbabat incluſus. Conveniunt itaque Gothi, Romanique, & quid agerent de ſuperato Attila deliberant. Placet, eum obſidione fatigari, qui annonæ copiam non habebat, quando ab ipſius ſagittariis intra ſepta caſtrorum locatis, crebris ictibus arceretur acceſſus. Fertur autem deſperatis in rebus prædictum regem, adhuc & in ſupremo magnanimem, equinis ſellis conſtruxiſſe pyram, ſeſeque ſi adverſarii irrumperent, flammis injicere voluiſſe, ne aut aliquis ejus vulnere lætaretur, aut in poteſtatem tantorum hoſtium, gentium dominus perveniret.

(4) IDEM, *c.* 41. Cumque diutius exploratum, ut viris fortibus mos eſt inter denſiſſima cadavera reperiſſent, cantibus honoratum, inimicis ſpectantibus abſtulerunt. Videres Gothorum globos diſſonis vocibus confragoſos, adhuc inter bella furentia funeri reddidiſſe culturam. Fundebantur lacrymæ, ſed quæ viris fortibus impendi ſolent: noſtra mors erat, ſed Hunno teſte glorioſa, unde hoſtium putaretur inclinata fore ſuperbia, quando tanti regis efferre cadaver cum ſuis inſignibus inſpiciebant. At Gothi Theodorico adhuc juſta ſolventes, armis inſonantibus regiam deſerunt majeſtatem,

Diſpute (1). Some modern Hiſtorians mention theſe two Princes as the Sons of King *Clodio*, and ſay moreover, that the younger, who now carried the Day, was the ſame *Meroveus*, from whom the ſucceding Kings of the *Franks* deſcended, and obtain'd the Name of *Merovingi* (2): But this is grounded on bare Conjectures; for even *Gregorius Turonenſis* is not poſitive, whether *Meroveus* was deſcended from *Clodio* or not (3)? In ſome *German* Chronicles, we find it related of *Meroveus*, that he built the City of *Erfurt*, or at leaſt a Caſtle in that Neighbourhood (4); in others he is ſaid to have given Riſe to the City of *Northauſen*, and to have encompaſs'd the City of *Merſeburg*, on the *Saal*, with a Wall (5):

tem, fortiſſimuſque Thoriſmund, bene glorioſus ad manes cariſſimi patrie, ut decebat filium, exequias eſt proſecutus. Quod poſtquam peractum eſt, orbitatis dolore commotus, & virtutis impetu, qua valebat, dum inter reliquias Hunnorum, mortem patris vindicare contendit, Aëtium patricium, acſi ſeniorem, prudentiaque maturum, de hac parte conſuluit, quid ſibi eſſet in tempore faciendum. Ille vero metuens, ne Hunnis funditus interemtis, a Gothis Romanorum premeretur imperium, præbat hac ſuaſione conſilium, ut ad ſedes proprias remearet, regnumque quod pater reliquerat arriperet: ne germani ejus, opibus ſumtis paternis, Veſegothorum regnum pervaderent, graviterque dehinc cum ſuis, & quod pejus eſt, miſerabiliter pugnaret. Quo reſponſo non ambigue, ut datum eſt, ſed pro ſua potius utilitate ſuſcepto, relictis Hunnis, redit ad Gallias. Sic humana fragilitas, dum ſuſpicionibus occurrit, magna rerum agendarum occaſione intercipitur. *With this agrees the Relation of* Gregorius Turonenſis, *which is quoted in the following* §. n. 1.

§. XXIX. (1) GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, *L.* 2. *c.* 7. Expletoque bello, ait Aëtius Thoriſmodo: Feſtina velociter redire in patriam, ne inſiſtente Germano, patris regno priveris. Hæc ille audiens cum velocitate diſceſſit, quaſi anticipaturus fratrem, & prior patris cathedram adepturus. Simili & Francorum regem dolo fugavit.

(2) PAGIUS. *See above*, §. 26. n. 3.

(3) *See above*, §. 21. n. 4.

(4) AUTOR *de landgraviis Thuringiæ*, *c.* 4. Merowygus, rex caſtrum conſtruxit in monte, ubi nunc eſt monaſterium S. Petri in Erfordia.

(5) SAGITTARIUS, *in Antiquitatibus Regni Thuringici*, L. 2. c. 4. *mentions theſe Writers, and ſufficiently confutes them.*

But these Accounts are of such a Nature, that they need no farther Confutation.

Whether *Attila* was ever in the present *Thuringia*? Origin of the *Thuringians*.

§ XXX. THE *Thuringian* Chronicles relate that *Attila*, in this Expedition against *Gaul*, came to *Thuringia*. They are very full of a famous Court he held at *Eisenach*; and affirm, as a Certainty, that in the general Consternation, caused by the Approach of the *Huns*, *Erfort* was surrounded with a Wall. Relations of this kind have even formerly been made Use of to corroborate the important Rights and Pretensions of Princes (1): But in ancient Historians, we find no other Vouchers for this, except that, according to *Sidonius*, some *Thuringians* were in the Army which *Attila* led to *Gaul* (2); we have however no certain Account there, whether they served as Subjects, or Allies? It is, moreover, not improbable, that when *Attila* filed off towards the *Rhine*, he may have touch'd on that Part of *Germany*, which has since been famous by the Name of *Thuringia*. As, besides, it has not yet been decided when, and from whence, the *Thuringians* came into this Country, the most probable Conjecture is, that they were the same *Thoringi*, or *Theruingi*, that have been so frequently mentioned above, among the *Goths* (3), who, at the Dispersion of the *Gothick* Nations, retreated from the *Danube* (4), and took the Country of the *Hermunduri*; from whence they extended themselves yet farther, and brought under their Dominion a District, which before had belong'd to the *Catti*. As for the Name, these *Thuringians* were, in History, long named *Thoringi*: And the Letter, which *Theodoric*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*, wrote to their King, contains such Tokens of an ancient and sincere good Understanding, as best suits with Nations of one and the same Ex-

§ XXX. (1) *Conf.* Caspari Sagittarii *antiquitates regni Thuringici*, L. 2. c. 5.

(2) *See above*, § 25.

(3) *See Book* 7. § 13, 16, *& seq.*

(4) *We cannot exactly assign the Year: But if the* Thuringi, *as well as other* Gothick *Nations, were obliged to acknowledge* Attila's *Supremacy, they, together with the other* Germans, *who were in the same Bondage with them, resumed their Freedom after his Death.*

traction

traction (5). To this may be added, that *Sagitturius*, who made the moſt diligent Enquiries into the Origin of the *Thuringians*, acknowledges, that the ancient *Thuringian* Dialect agrees with the *Gothick* (6): Now, if we admit of this Conjecture, ſeveral Paſſages, in the Writers of thoſe Times, may be very aptly reconcil'd thereto: For, that the *Thuringians* dwelt at firſt nearer to the *Danube*, than now, is confirmed by the Geographer of *Ravenna*, who aſſigns, for their Habitation, thoſe Countries, thro' which the Rivers *Nab* and *Regen* flow (7). *Eugippius*, who wrote the Life of St. *Severinus* (which was after *Attila*'s Deceaſe), mentions the Irruptions they made into *Noricum* and *Rætia* (8). And when *Theodoric*, the Son of *Clovis*, in Order to excite the *Franks* againſt the *Thuringians*, repreſents how the latter made Inroads on the Dominions of their Anceſtors (9), that may be beſt applied to their Wars with the *Catti*, who were then comprehended under the Name of *Franks*.

(5) *Vid.* Caſſiodori *variarum*, L. 3. ep. 3. *which Epiſtle was written about the Year*, 507. *Item*, L. 5. ep. 43.

(6) SAGITTARIUS, *l. c. L.* 1. *c.* 4. § 8.

(7) GEOGRAPHUS RAVENNAS, *L.* 4. *c.* 25. Per quam Thuringorum patriam tranſeunt plurima fluvia, inter cætera, quæ dicuntur BAC, & RHEGANUM, quæ in Danubio merguntur. Rhegenus *is the River* Regen. *But it is uncertain what River is meant by the* Bac. Eckard in opere de LL. Salicis, *p.*250. *imagines it to be the* Nab.

(8) EUGIPPIUS *ſays*, c. 27. *that the* Thuringi *demoliſh'd* Paſſau: Sed Batavinis genitale ſolum relinquere dubitantibus, ſic adjecit: quamvis & illud oppidum, quo pergimus, ingruente barbaric, ſit quantocyus relinquendum, hinc tamen nunc pariter diſcedamus. Talia commonentem ſecuti ſunt plurimi, quidam reperti ſunt contumaces, nec defuit contemtoribus gladius inimici. Quicunque enim ibidem contra hominis dei interdictum manſerunt, THURINGIS irruentibus in eadem hebdomade trucidati, &c. *He mentions, moreover*, c. 31. *that the King of the* Rugi *promis'd to protect the People, who were fled to* Lorch. Et rex inquit, hunc populum, pro quo benivolus precator accedis, non patiar Alamannorum aut THURINGORUM iniquorum ſæva deprædatione vaſtari.

(9) GREGORIUS, L. 3. *introduces* Clovis's *Son* Theodoric, *as ſaying*; Thuringos olim ſuper parentes Francorum violenter veniſſe, & multa iis intuliſſe mala.

§ XXXI.

Attila invades *Italy*. Origin of the City of *Venice*.

XXXI. *ATTILA*, by his Retreat, obtain'd this Advantage, that the grand Alliance was thereby dis-united. The ensuing Year, he therefore marched directly towards *Italy* (1), where *Ætius* so little expected him, that he had not even secured the Passes on the *Alps* (2). The *Hunns* took *Aquileia* (3), and dragg'd many of the Inhabitants into Captivity (4). The other

§. XXXI. (1) Prosper, *in Chronico ad A.* 2. Marciani & Valentiniani: Insperata in Galliis clade accepta, furiatus Attila Italiam petit, quam incolæ, metu solo territi, præsidio nudavere.

(2) Prosper, *in chronico apud* Sirmondum *in notis ad* Sidonii, *L.* 1. *epist.* 9. & *apud du* Chesne T. 1. *ad A.* 452. Herculano & Sporatio Coss. *(A.* 452.*)* Attila, redintegratis viribus, quas in Gallia amiserat, Italiam ingredi per Pannonias intendit, nihil duce nostro Ætio secundum prioris belli opera prospiciente: ita, ut nec clausuris Alpium, quibus hostes prohiberi poterant, uteretur, hoc solum suis superesse existimans, si ab omni Italia cum imperatore discederet. Sed cum hoc plenum dedecoris, & periculi videretur, continuit verecundia metum & tot nobilium provinciarum latissima eversione credita est sævitia & cupiditas hostilis explenda: nihilque inter omnia consilia principis ac senatus, populique Romani salubrius visum est, quam ut per legatos pax truculentissimi regis expeteretur. Suscepit hoc negotium cum viro consulari Aviceno, & viro præfectorio Trigetio beatissimus papa Leo, auxilio Dei fretus, quem sciret nunquam piorum laboribus defuisse. Nec aliud secutum est, quam præsumserat fides: nam tota legatione dignanter accepta, ita summi sacerdotis præsentia rex gavisus est, ut & bello abstineri præciperet, & ultra Danubium promissa pace discederet. *This remarkable Passage was publish'd from a* MSS. *by* Sirmondus *and* du Chesne; *but is not met with in the common Editions.* Avienus *was* Consul, A. 450.

(3) Jornandes, *c.* 42. Quid plura? animus suorum rursus ad oppugnandum Aquileiam inflammatur. Qui machinis constructis, omnibus tormentorum generibus adhibitis, nec mora, invadunt civitatem, spoliant, dividunt, vastantque crudeliter, ita ut vix ejus vestigia ut appareant, reliquerint. Ex hinc jam audaciores, & nec dum Romanorum sanguine satiati, per reliquas Venetum civitates Hunni bacchabantur. *The Author of the* Historia Miscella, *L.* 15, p. 424. Attila continuo resumta fiducia cruentus Italiam petit, Aquileiam captam funditus eradit. Ticinum atque Mediolanum, regias urbes, excidit. Inde, vastatis circumquaque locis, cum Romam quoque pararet irrumpere, Leo magnus, papa, missu Valentiniani imperatoris ad eum accessit: eumque adeo mitem reddidit, ut ilico, promissa pace firmissima, ultra Danubium non rediturus abierit. Continuo enim rebus humanis excessit, & humani generis diutinæ vexationi finem aliquando vel mortuus attulit. *What is, in particular, said of* Aquileia, *is illustrated in the following Note.*

(4) *To these Captives, relates the Letter of Pope* Leo, *to* Nicetas, *Bishop of* Aquileia, *written*

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other *Venetian* Cities were thereupon liable to the ſame Fate. In this Danger, according to the unanimous Tradition of Hiſtorians, many People were induced, for Fear of the *Huns*, to retreat into the Neighbouring Iſles of the *Adriatick* Gulph, when, in particular, thoſe who fled from *Padua* built on the Iſland *Rialto*. From theſe Iſlands, aroſe the famous City of *Venice* (5); which, as it owes its Origin to the univerſal Conſternation of *Italy*, has, ſince then, been a conſtant Barrier to the Safety thereof. From thence the Enemy march'd to *Liguria*, where *Milan*, *Pavia*, and the other Cities, were forc'd to open their Gates to him (6). In *Milan*, he happen'd

ten A. 458. *As at that Time many Priſoners returned to their own Country, after* Attila's *Deceaſe,* Nicetas *asked* Leo's *Advice, with Regard to thoſe Women, who, during the Captivity of their Husbands, had married others, how to proceed at the Return of their firſt Husbands; and how to act in Reſpect of thoſe, whom Neceſſity had obliged, during their Impriſonment, to partake of the Sacrifices offered to Idols, or who had been re-baptiz'd by the* Arians. *To theſe Queries* Leo *replies,* ep. 129. Cum ergo per bellicam cladem, & per graviſſimos hoſtilitatis incurſus, ita quædam dicatis diviſa eſſe conjugia, ut abductis in captivitatem viris fœminæ eorum remanſerint deſtitutæ: quæ cum viros proprios, aut interemtos putarent, aut nunquam adominatione crederent liberandos, ad aliorum conjugium, ſolitudine cogente, tranſierint. Cumque nunc, ſtatu rerum, auxiliante domino, in meliora converſo, nonnulli eorum, qui putabantur periiſſe, remeaverint, merito charitas tua videtur ambigere, quid de mulieribus, quæ aliis junctæ ſunt viris, a nobis debeat ordinari, &c.

(5) *This Origin of the City of* Venice *is farther illuſtrated in a Book, entitled,* Dell' origine de, barbari, che diſtruſſero per tutto l' mondo l' imperio di Roma, onde hebbe principio la citta di Venetia, libri undici, in Venetia, per Plinio Pietra ſanta, 1557. 4. Franceſco Marcolini *ſays, in the Preface, that it was written by a* Nobile di Venetia: *But the Author ſeldom names the Sources, from whence he drew his Relation, and we may eaſily perceive, that he has not every where hit on the right. He aſſerts, moreover, that we muſt look for the firſt Origin of* Venice *in the Times, when* Radagaiſus *caus'd an univerſal Conſternation in thoſe Countries. That at* Alaric's *Irruption, eſpecially after he had deſtroy'd* Padua, *more People fled for Refuge to this Cluſter of ſmall Iſlands; and that, at the Approach of the* Hunns, *their Number was yet encreaſed.*

(6) JORNANDES, *l. c.* Mediolanum quoque, Liguriæ metropolim, & quondam regiam urbem, pari tenore devaſtant: nec non & Ticinum æquali ſorte dejiciunt, vicinaque loca ſævientes allidunt, demoliunturque pene totam Italiam. Cumque ad Romam animus ejus fuiſſet attentus accedere, ſui eum, ut Priſcus refert hiſtoricus, removere, non urbi, cui inimici erant, conſulentes; ſed Alarici, quondam Veſegotharum regis, objicientes exemplum, veriti regis ſui fortunam, quia ille poſt fractam Romam diu non ſupervixerat, ſed protinus rebus exceſſit humanis.

happen'd to caſt his Eyes on a Picture, on which the *Roman* Emperor was repreſented, ſitting on a golden Throne, and the Figures of *Scythians*, appearing like Slaves, proſtrate at his Feet. Now, as he was eaſily provok'd, he reſolved not to allow the *Romans* that Preference, even in Painting, with which their Princes, tho' never ſo far from having performed any great Exploits, fed their Vanity; and cauſed another Picture to be painted, on which he was repreſented, ſitting on a Throne, with the *Roman* Emperors ſtanding at his Feet, and emptying their Bags of Gold before him (7).

Valentian enters into a Treaty with Attila.

§ XXXII. THE Conſternation *Rome* was in may eaſily be imagin'd. *Aëtius* himſelf was ſo terrified, that he adviſed the Emperor, to quit *Italy*: But they ſo far recover'd from their firſt Surprize, that they concluded to ſend an Ambaſſy to the King of the *Hunns*, to make a Peace with him, on any Terms. This Ambaſſy conſiſted of *Leo*, Pope of *Rome*, *Avienus*, who was Conſul *A.* 450, and *Frigetius*, who had been *Præfectus Prætorii* (1). They met with *Attila* in the Territories of the *Veneti*. It is uncertain, what Treaties then ſubſiſted between the *Roman Empire* and the *Hunns*, to which the Ambaſſadors could appeal, or what Propoſals

humanis. Igitur, dum ejus animus ancipiti negotio inter ire & non ire fluctuaret, ſecumque deliberans tardaret, placita ei legatio a Roma advenit. Nam Leo papa per ſe ad eum accedit in Acroventu Mamboleio, ubi Mincius amnis commeantium frequentatione tranſitur. Qui mox depoſito exercitus furore, & rediens qua venerat, i. e. ultra Danubium promiſſa pace diſceſſit; illud præ omnibus denuntians, atque interminando diſcernens, graviora ſe in Italiam illaturum, niſi ad ſe Honoriam, Valentiniani principis germanam, filiam Placidiæ auguſtæ, cum portione ſibi regalium opum debita mitteret. Ferebatur enim, quia hæc Honoria, dum propter aulæ decus, ac caſtitatem teneretur nutu fratris incluſa, clandeſtino eunucho miſſo, Attilam invitaſſet, ut contra fratris potentiam ejus patrociniis uteretur; prorſus indignum facinus, ut licentiam libidinis malo publico compararet.

(7) SUIDAS, *T.* 2. *p.* 352, *in voce* Κόφινος: Attila cum Mediolanum, urbem hominum numero abundantem, perveniſſet, & in pictura vidiſſet Romanorum imperatores, in aureis ſoliis ſedentes, Scythas vero eorum genibus advolutos; juſſit ſe depingi in ſolio ſedentem, Romanorum autem imperatores ſaccos humeris portantes, & aurum ante pedes ſuos effundentes. *He repeats this Relation on Occaſion of the Word* Μεδιολάνον.

§ XXXII. (1) *See* not. 2. *of the preceding* Sect.

the

the Emperor made, nor do we know, what Inducements *Attila* could have, rather to accept of the Conditions offer'd, than to penetrate farther into *Italy*. Hiſtory mentions only in general, that *Attila* concluded a Peace, and returned, with a large Booty, over the *Danube*, into his own Country. Pope *Leo* obtain'd great Renown, by undertaking this Ambaſſy: (2) But Cardinal *Baronius*, not ſatisfied with this, relates (3), that

(2) *The Biſhops of the* East *put Pope* Symmachus *in mind of this Circumſtance*, in epiſt. apud Baronium *ad A.* 512. *n.* 48. Si enim, qui præceſſit beatitudinem tuam, inter ſanctos conſtitutus Leo archiepiſcopus, ad Attilam, tunc erronem barbarum, per ſe currere non duxit indignum, ut captivitatem corrigeret corporalem, nec tantum Chriſtianorum, ſed & Judæorum (ut credibile eſt) atque paganorum; quanto magis feſtinare ad ſuam attinet ſanctitatem, non ad corporeæ, quæ bello fit, captivitatis correctionem atque converſionem, ſed animarum quæ captivatæ ſunt, vel quotidie captivantur.

(3) BARONIUS, *ad A. CCCCLII. n.* 57, *ſeq.* Sed & unde immaniſſimo regi tanta de deo ſcientia, ut putaverit, obvianti antiſtiti eſſe cedendum? dicam, quæ prodant Romanæ eccleſiæ vetera monumenta in eccleſiis publice legi, & annis ſingulis repeti conſueta, quæ ſic ſe habent: *Cum Romam ardenti furore Attila raperetur, jamque copias ubi Mincius in Padum influit trajicere pararet, occurrit ei pontifex Leo, malorum Italiæ impendentium miſericordia motus: cujus divina eloquentia perſuaſum eſt Attilæ, ut egrederetur. Qui interrogatus a ſuis, cur præter conſuetudinem inflexus eſſet, atque tam humiliter Romani pontificis imperata faceret, reſpondit, & confeſſus, quod verum eſſet, nimirum ſe vidiſſe, Leone loquente, adſtantem alium quendam, habitu ſacerdotali decoro quid divinum præ ſe ferentem, minantemque mortem, niſi Leonis papæ juſſa capeſſeret.* Alii textus habent, duos viros apparuiſſe; alterum a dextris, a ſiniſtris vero alterum; quorum viſione perterrito, nihil ſibi præterea fuiſſe reliquum, quam quod minaci vultu numen exigeret, ipſe homo quam cito perſolveret; quod non eſſet mortalium facultatis divinitati reſiſtere, vel in ſuperos bellum inferre. Teſtabantur quidem ipſum vera fateri interrupta pavore atque conciſa tremore verba; trucis atque inexorabilis vultus pallor, & robuſti audaciſque animi improviſa dejectio, atque totius ſimul corporis conſternatio. Cæterum non de duobus apoſtolis, ſed de uno tantum, Petro videlicet, qui viſus ſit Attilæ, teſtatur PAULUS DIACONUS in hiſtoria rerum Romanarum, quam poſuit appendicem ad Eutropium, in qua eandem, eodemque modo narrat rei tunc geſtæ ſeriem. *In the ancient Editions of the* Hiſtoria Miſcella, *which is attributed to* Paulus Diaconus, *we meet with no ſuch Circumſtances; as we may ſee, by the Quotation, in the preceding §. not. 3. from the Edition of* Henricus Caniſius: *But* Gruterus *takes Notice, in his Edition, among the* Scriptores Hiſtoriæ Auguſtæ, *that* Attila's *Invaſion into* Italy *is more circumſtantially related in a Manuſcript in the Library at* Heydelberg, *than in any other Book then extant. Theſe Circumſtances run thus:*

Ferunt

when *Attila* was asked why he ſo readily comply'd, he confeſs'd, that an ancient Man, of great Veneration, in a ſacerdotal Habit, ſtood by *Leo*, who threatned him, and caſt ſo great a Terror upon him, that he agreed to whatever was propos'd. Circumſtances like theſe may ſuit well enough for Poets, Painters and other Artiſts; and that excellent Painter, *Raphael* of *Urbino*, and the famous Sculptor *Algarde*, have ſhewn their Skill, by Repreſentations of this Ambaſſy, in St. *Peter's* Church at *Rome* (4); but no one will now-a-Days allow them a Place in a true Hiſtory. *Caſſiodorus*, on the other Hand, without making Mention of *Leo*, takes Notice of another Ambaſſy, perform'd by his Father, and *Carpilius*, the Son of *Ætius*; to which he attributes the Glory of the Peace concluded with the *Hunns*. If therefore we will give Credit to both Relations, we muſt ſuppoſe that two Ambaſſies were ſent to *Attila*. *Caſſiodorus*, or whoever elſe wrote that Letter, is ſo little mindful of the Danger *Italy* was in, that he greatly boaſts, how the former of theſe Ambaſſadors treated *Attila*, as if the *Hunns* had been a Band of *Roman* Penſioners, who at his Command were oblig'd to repaſs the *Danube* (5): Which, among many other Inſtances, cannot

Ferunt itaque, poſt diſceſſum pontificis interrogatum eſſe Attilam a ſuis, cur ultra ſolitum morem tantam reverentiam Romano Papæ exhibuerit: quandoquidem pene ad omnia, quæ ille imperaſſet, obtemperarit. Tum regem reſpondiſſe: non ſe ejus, qui advenerat, perſonam reveritum eſſe, ſed alium ſe virum juxta eum in habitu ſacerdotali adſtantem vidiſſe, forma auguſtiore, canitie venerabilem, eumque evaginato gladio ſibi terribiliter mortem minitantem, ſi non cuncta, quæ ille expetebat, expleſſet. Paſchaſius Queſnel, *in his* Diſſertatio de vita & rebus geſtis S. Leonis Magni, in appendice ad opera Leonis, p. 165. *has taken the Pains, clearly to prove the Invalidity of this Fable.*

(4) *It is repreſented by* Raphael *of* Urbino, *in a Piece of Painting, and by* Algarde *in Marble: Pope* Innocent X, *is ſaid to have paid the latter* 30,000 Scudi's *for his Performance.* Reflexions ſur la peinture & ſur la poëſie, T. 1. ſect. L.

(5) Cassiodorus *variarum, L. 1. ep. 4.* Ad Attilam igitur armorum potentem, cum ſupradicti filio Carpilione legationis eſt officio non irrite deſtinatus. Vidit intrepidus, quem timebat imperium: facies illas terribiles & minaces fretus veritate deſpexit: nec dubitavit ejus altercationibus obviare, qui furore neſcio quo captatus, mundi dominatum videbatur expetere. Invenit regem ſuperbum, ſed reliquit pacatum, & calumnioſas

cannot but make a Reader cautious of giving Credit to partial Writers.

§ XXXIII. THIS ſeems nevertheleſs to have been, among others, a Condition of the Peace, that the *Romans* promiſed the *Hunns*, not to interfere, if they ſhould attack the *German* Nations dwelling in *Gaul*: For *Attila* feign'd at firſt to intend a Rupture with the *Eaſt*, and complain'd of *Marcian*, that the annual Subſidies, which *Theodoſius* had promiſed, were no longer paid; but he turned about ſuddenly to the *Weſt*, and ſurprized the *Alani*, who dwelt in *Gaul*. However, *Thoriſmund*, King of the *Goths*, was better provided than *Attila* expected, and would not wait, 'till, by ſubduing the *Alani*, the Enemy had open'd a Way to the *Wiſi-Goths*, but went out to meet him, with his Army. When it came to a Battle, *Thoriſmund* defeated the *Hunns*, and the *Goths* now acquired, for themſelves, that Glory, which at the Victory, in the Plain of *Chalons*, they were oblig'd to ſhare with the *Romans* *.

Attila makes War with the *Alani*; and is defeated by the *Wiſi-Goths*.

lumnioſas ejus allegationes tanta veritas deſtruxit, ut voluiſſet gratiam quærere, cui expediebat pacem cum regno ditiſſimo non habere. Erigebat conſtantia ſua partes timentes: nec imbecilles ſunt crediti, qui legatis talibus videbantur armari. Pacem retulit deſperatam. Cujus legatio quid profecerit, datur intelligi, quæ tantum eſt gratulanter excepta, quantum & videbatur optata.

§. XXXIII. * JORNANDES *is the only Writer, who gives an Account of this War.* c. 43. Reverſus itaque Attila in ſedes ſuas, & quaſi otii pœnitens, graviterque ferens a bello ceſſare, ad orientis principem Marcianum legatos dirigit, provinciarum teſtans vaſtationem, quod ſibi promiſſa a Theodoſio, quondam imperatore, minime perſolveret, & inhumanior ſolito ſuis hoſtibus appareret. Hæc tamen agens, ut erat, verſutus & callidus, alibi minatus, alibi arma ſua commovit, & quod reſtabat indignationi, faciem in Veſegothas retorſit, ſed non eum, quem de Romanis, reportavit eventum. Nam per diſſimiles anterioribus vias recurrens, Alanorum partem, trans flumen Ligeris confidentem, ſtatuit ſuæ redigere ditioni, quatenus, mutata per ipſos belli facie, terribilior emineret. Igitur ab Dacia, & Pannonia provinciis, in quibus tunc Hunni, cum diverſis ſubditis nationibus inſidebant, egrediens

What occasion'd the *Saxons* going to *Britain.*

§ XXXIV. The *German* Nations, who dwelt on the *Danube*, the *Rhine*, and the *Elb*, as well as thoſe, who had fix'd their Habitations in *Gaul*, were all engag'd in this War, partly on their own Account, and partly in the Service of *Attila* or the *Romans*: Nay even the *Vandals*, tho' ſo remote, had their particular Views in it. But the *Saxons*, who dwelt on the other Side of the *Ebb*, were otherwiſe employed. It would be ſuperfluous here to ſay any thing of the Origin of this Nation, as I have treated of that above, in its proper Place (1). The *Britons* had, in the Time of *Honorius*, recover'd their Freedom (2), or were perhaps abandon'd by the *Romans*, on Account of the Perplexities the *Roman* Empire then labour'd under: But that Nation was not happy in the Enjoyment of a Liberty they had been ſo little accuſtom'd to: They were not able to withſtand the *Picts*, who dwelt in the *Northern* Parts of the Iſle, nor the *Scots*, who invaded them from *Ireland*. Their own Soldiers were, probably, in Part exhauſted in the latter Times, by the Levies the *Romans* made, and partly not experienc'd in the Art of War: And the *Romans* were not in a Condition to aſſiſt them (3). *Vortigern*, their King, reſolved

egrediens Attila, in Alanos movit procinctum. Sed Toriſmund, rex Veſegotharum, fraudem Attilæ non impari ſubtilitate præſentiens, ad Alanos tota velocitate prius advenit, ibique ſupervenientis jam Attilæ motibus præparatus, accurrit, conſertoque prœlio, pene ſimili eum terrore, ut prius in campis Catalaunicis, a ſpe removit victoriæ, fugatumque a partibus ſuis ſine triumpho remittens, in ſedes proprias fugere compulit. Sic Attila famoſus, & multarum victoriarum dominus, cum quærit famam perditoris abjicere, & quod prius a Veſegothis pertulerat, abolere, geminatam ſuſtinuit, inglorioſque receſſit. Thoriſmund vero repulſis ab Alanis Hunnorum catervis, ſine aliqua ſuorum læſione Tholoſam migravit, ſuorumq; quieta pace compoſita, tertio anno regni ſui ægrotans, dum ſanguinem tollit de vena, ab Aſcalervo cliente inimicos nuntiante, armis ſubtractis, peremptus eſt. Una tamen manu, quam liberam habebat, ſcabellum tenens, ſanguinis ſui exiſtit ultor, aliquantos inſidiantes ſibi extinguens.

§. XXXIV. (1) *See Book* 6. §. 2.

(2) *See Book* 8. § 43.

(3) Beda, *H. Eccl. L.* 1. *c.* 13. Anno autem regni ejus vigeſimo tertio, Boëtius vir illuſtris, qui & patricius fuit, tertium cum Symmacho geſſit conſulatum. Ad hunc pauperculæ Britonum reliquiæ mittunt epiſtolam, cujus hoc principium eſt: *Boëtio, ter conſuli,*

reſolved therefore to apply for Succour to the *Saxons*, whoſe Valour thoſe Coaſts had before ſo frequently experienc'd, to their great Prejudice (4). The preſſing Neceſſity of the *Britons* made them not apprehenſive what the Conſequences of calling in thoſe Auxiliaries might be; they conſider'd only the preſent Services they might hope from the *Saxons*. Hiſtorians agree in this, that at firſt, about the Year 449 †, only a Party of *Saxons* came, in three Ships, to *Britain* (5): But they differ in their Accounts, whether *Vortigern* ſent an expreſs Ambaſſy, to implore their Aſſiſtance, or whether the two *Saxon* Heroes came, by Chance, to *Britain*, and offer'd their Services to the King (6). Their Leaders were *Hengiſt*, and *Horſa*,

conſuli, gemitus Britannorum. Et in proceſſu epiſtolæ ita ſuas calamitates explicant: *Repellunt barbari ad mare, repellit mare ad barbaros; inter hæc oriuntur duo genera funerum; aut jugulamur, aut mergimur.* Neque hæc tamen agentes, quicquam ab illo auxilii impetrare quiverunt, utpote, qui graviſſimis eo tempore bellis cum Bleda & Attila, regibus Hunnorum erat occupatus, &c. *Inſtead of* Boetius *we muſt read* Ætius.

(4) BEDA, *L. 1. hiſt. eccleſiaſt. c. 14.* Initum eſt conſilium, quid agendum, ubi quærendum eſſet præſidium ad evitandas vel repellandas tam feras, tamque creberrimas gentium Aquilonariarum irruptiones: placuitque omnibus cum ſuo rege Vortigerno, ut Saxonum gentem de tranſmarinis partibus in auxilium vocarent, quod domini nutu diſpoſitum eſſe conſtat, ut veniret contra improbos malum, ſicut evidentius rerum exitus probavit.

† *See Note 5.*

(5) GILDAS, *c. 23.* Tum crumpens grex catulorum cubili leænæ barbariæ, tribus, ut *lingua ejus* exprimitur, CYULIS, ut *noſtra lingua* exprimitur, longis-navibus. *Veſſels of that Kind are, to this Day, call'd by the* Engliſh, Keyle. Nennius's *Teſtimony may be ſeen in the following Note.* Beda, *likewiſe, aſſigns the Time, L. 1. c. 5.* Anno ab incarnatione domini CCCCIX. Marcianus cum Valentiniano, XLVI; ab auguſto regnum adeptus, ſeptem annis tenuit. Tunc Anglorum ſive Saxonum gens, invitata a rege præfato [*Wortigerno*] in Britanniam tribus longis navibus advehitur, & in orientali parte inſulæ, jubente eodem rege, locum manendi quaſi pro patria pugnatura, re autem vera hanc expugnatura, ſuſcepit. Inito ergo certamine cum hoſtibus, qui ab Aquilone ad aciem venerant, victoriam ſumere Saxones. Pagius, ad A. 449. n. 21. *proves, that inſtead of* CCCCIX, *we muſt read* CCCCXLIX. Camden, *in his* Britannia, p. 161. *likewiſe confutes this Computation.*

(6) BEDA *ſays, that their Aſſiſtance was deſired by the* Britons. Videchindus *even adds a Speech*

two Brothers (7) of a noble Family, which was derived from *Wodan*, or *Odinus* (8), one of the greateſt *Northern* Heroes. Theſe Adventurers were at firſt admitted into the Iſle of *Thanet*, near to the *Eaſtern* Coaſt of *Kent*; and ſoon after a certain Diſtrict, on the Iſland of *Britain*, was allotted them (9), where *Hengiſt* firſt eſtabliſhed himſelf: *Nennius* adds, that *Hengiſt* married his Daughter to *Vortigern*, and, that the King of the *Britons* aſſigned *Kent* to the *Saxons* (10). Which Circumſtance ſome modern Hiſtorians have improved to the Invention of a formal Story of their Loves, and will even pretend to aſſign the Time, when *Vortigern* gave the firſt Kiſs to the beautiful *Rhonice*.

§ XXXV.

a Speech ſpoken by the Britiſh *Ambaſſadors to* Viſegiſt, *the* Saxon *Prince, the Father of* Hengiſt *and* Horſa: *But* Nennius, *who lived before* Beda, *relates, that the two* Saxon *Princes were expelled their Country in their Civil Wars, and obliged to go abroad, to ſeek their Fortunes, which led them to* Britain.

(7) NENNIUS, *c.* 28. Interea venerunt tres CHIULÆ, a Germania in exilium pulſæ, in quibus erant HORST & HENGIST, qui ipſi fratres erant.

(8) BEDA, *l. c. c.* 15. Duces fuiſſe perhibentur eorum primi duo fratres, HENGISTUS & HORSUS, e quibus HORSUS poſtea occiſus in bello a Britonibus, haſtenus in orientalibus Cantii partibus MONUMENTUM habet SUO NOMINE INSIGNE: Erant autem ut filii WETGISSI, cujus pater VECTA, cujus pater VODEN: de cujus ſtirpe multarum provinciarum regium genus originem duxit.

(9) *The Story, that he only deſired a Spot of Ground as large as the Circumference of a Bullock's Hide, which he cauſed afterwards to be cut into Throngs, and by this Means obtained the Tract of Land, where he built his firſt Fort, appears ſo ridiculous, that it muſt undoubtedly have been invented long afterwards.*

(10) NENNIUS, *c.* 36. *p.* 107. In una Chiula venit PUELLA PULCHRA VALDE atque DECORA, hæc erat FILIA HENGISTI. Poſtquam veniſſent Chiulæ, fecit convivium Hengiſtus GUORTHIGIRNO regi, & militibus ſuis, & INTERPRETI SUO, qui vocabatur CERDIESELMET—— Hengiſtus itaque puellam juſſit miniſtrare illis vinum & ſiceram, qui inebrietati ſunt nimis & ſaturati. Illis bibentibus, intravit Sathanas in corde GUORTHIGERNI, ut adamaret puellam, & poſtulavit eam a patre ſuo per interpretem ſuum, & dixit, omne quod a me poſtulas, impetrabis, licet dimidium regni mei. Et HENGISTUS inito conſilio cum ſuis ſenioribus, qui ſecum venerant de inſula OGHGUL, quid peterent regi pro puella, unum conſilium illis omnibus fuit, ut peterent regionem, quæ in lingua eorum vocatur

§ XXXV. A RUPTURE happen'd afterwards between the *Britons* and the *Saxons*, and occaſioned bloody Wars, in which the former were overcome, inſomuch, that many of the ancient Natives were oblig'd to quit their Country; and the Reſt to retire into the *Weſtern* Parts, now call'd *Wales* (1). To give a periodical Account of theſe Wars here would carry me too far. The *Saxons*, as Opportunity ſerv'd, drew more and more of their Country-Men over to *Britain* (2); one Party of whom even ravaged as far as the Iſlands call'd the *Orcades* (3). *Beda* mentions three *German* Nations, who came to Britain, the *Saxons*, *Angles* and *Jutes*, of whom the *Saxons* peopled *Weſſex*, *Eſſex*, and *Suſſex*; the *Angles*, *Mercia* and *Northumberland*, and the *Jutes* the *Iſle of Wight*, and *Kent* (4). But many other People from the Coaſt, along the *North-Sea*, Foundation of the *Saxon* Kingdoms in that Iſland.

tur CANTHGUARALAND, in noſtra autem lingua CHENT, & dedit illis.

§ XXXV. (1) GILDAS, *c.* 28. Itaque nonnulli miſerarum reliquiarum in montibus deprehenſi, acervatim jugulabantur: alii fame confecti occidentes, manus hoſtibus dabant in ævum ſervituti, ſi tamen non continuo trucidarentur, quod altiſſimæ gratiæ ſtabat in loco: alii tranſmarinas petebant regiones, cum ululatu magno ceu celeuſmatis vice, hoc modo ſub velorum ſinibus cantantes: *Dediſti nos tanquam oves eſcarum, & in gentibus diſperſiſti nos deus*: alii a montanis collibus, minacibus præruptis vallati, & denſiſſimis ſaltibus, mariniſque rupibus vitam, ſuſpecta ſemper mente credentes, in patria licet trepidi perſtabant.

(2) NENNIUS, *c.* 64. Ipſi vero barbari, dum in omnibus bellis proſternerentur, auxilium a Germania petebant, & augebantur multipliciter ſine intermiſſione: & REGES A GERMANIA DEDUCEBANT, ut regnarent ſuper eos in Britannia.

(3) IDEM, *c.* 37. At ipſi cum navigarunt circa Pictos, vaſtaverunt Orchades inſulas.

(4) BEDA, *L.* 1. *c.* 15. Advenerant autem de tribus Germaniæ populis fortioribus, id eſt, Saxonibus, Anglis, Vitis. De VITARUM origine ſunt CANTUARII & VECTUARII, hoc eſt, ea gens, quæ Vectam tenet inſulam, & ea, quæ uſque hodie in provincia occidentalium Saxonum, VITARUM natio nominatur, poſita contra ipſam inſulam Vectam. De SAXONIBUS, id eſt, ea regione, quæ nunc ANTIQUORUM SAXONUM cognominatur, venere ORIENTALES SAXONES, MERIDIANI SAXONES, OCCIDUI SAXONES. Porro de ANGLIS, hoc eſt, de illa patria, quæ Anglia dicitur, & ab eo tempore uſque hodie

undoubtedly came over in Shoals with them, and were comprehended under thoſe three Names. Theſe ſeveral Colonies occaſion'd the Foundation of different Kingdoms, which were at laſt united, and formed that illuſtrious People, who to this Day, notwithſtanding the many Revolutions that have ſince happened, retain no leſs Traces of their *German* Origin, in their Liberties, Laws and Cuſtoms, than in their Language.

hodie manere deſerta intra provincias Vitarum & Saxonum perhibetur, ORIENTALES ANGLI, MEDITERRANEI ANGLI, MERCII, tota NORD-HUMBRORUM progenies, id eſt, illarum gentium, quæ ad Boream TUMBRI fluminis inhabitant, cæterique ANGLORUM POPULI, ſunt orti.

THE

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ANCIENT GERMANS.

BOOK X.

The Hiſtory of the GERMANS, to the Beginning of CLOVIS's Reign, in GAUL.

SECT. I. *AFTER* Valentinian's *Death, the* Franks, Alemanni *and* Saxons *infeſt* Gaul. II. Avitus *concludes a Peace with them. His Embaſſy to the King of the* Wiſi-Goths. III. Genſeric *breaks the Peace, and ſacks* Rome. IV. Avitus, *aſſiſted by the* Goths, *aſſumes the Imperial Dignity in* Gaul. V. *His Treaties with the* Vandals: Ricimer *defeats them in* Sardinia. *They infeſt the Coaſts of the* Oriental Empire. VI. *The Power of the* Huns *decays after* Attila's *Death. The* Gepidæ *recover their Liberty.* VII. *The* Oſtro-Goths *eſtabliſh themſelves in* Pannonia: VIII. *And maintain their Freedom againſt the Sons of* Attila. IX. *Their Differences with the Emperor* Leo X; *and with the* Swabians, Scyrri, &c. XI. *The State of the Kingdom of the* Suevi. *A Rupture between* Rechiarius *and the* Romans. XII. Theodoric II, *King of the* Wiſi-Goths, *aſſiſted by the* Burgundians, *ſubdues* Rechiarius. XIII. *The Character of this* Theodoric, *from* Sidonius Apollinaris. XIV. Ricimer *obliges* Avitus *to reſign his Dignity.* Majorianus *is choſen Emperor: Beats the* Vandals *near* Sinueſſa. XV. Majorianus *goes to* Gaul. German *Na-*

tions in his Army. XVI. *His Expedition to* Spain. *He is obliged to make a Peace with the* Vandals. XVII. Genſeric *breaks the Peace after the Death of* Majorianus. XVIII. Ricimer *defeats an Army of* Alani. XIX. Ricimer *governs the* Roman Empire *in the* Weſt. Anthemius *is choſen Emperor.* XX. Genſeric *concludes a Peace with the* Roman Empire. XXI. *Wars between* Anthemius *and* Ricimer. Olybrius *attains to the Imperial Dignity.* XXII. *And nominates* Gundobald, *King of the* Burgundians, Patricius. *Continuation of the Hiſtory of the* Burgundians. XXIII. Glycericus *makes himſelf Maſter of the Empire; is depoſed.* Julius Nepos *is made Emperor.* XXIV. *The* Suevi *recover themſelves: Become Proſelytes to* Arianiſm. XXV. Euricus, *King of the* Wiſi-Goths, *conquers Part of* Spain. XXVI. *Extends his Dominion in* Gaul, *as far as the* Rhône *and the* Loire. XXVII. *Tranſactions between him and the* Franks. *Differences with the* Saxons. XXVIII. *He cauſes the Laws of the* Wiſi-Goths *to be reduced into Order. Of his Court. His Zeal for his Religion.* XXIX. *The Emperor* Leo's *Differences with the* Goths *in* Thrace. XXX. *The* Oſtro-Goths *raiſe Commotions in* Pannonia. Videmir *invades* Italy. *His People incorporate with the* Wiſi-Goths. XXXI. Theodomir *invades* Illyricum. *State of the* Eaſtern *Empire.* Zeno *gives up a Part of* Thrace *to the* Oſtro-Goths. XXXII. Oreſtes *makes his Son* Romulus *Emperor.* XXXIII. Odoacer, *Prince of the* Rugi, *makes himſelf Maſter of* Italy; *and dethrones* Romulus. XXXIV. Zeno *is dethron'd; but, by the Aſſiſtance of* Theodoric, *Prince of the* Oſtro-Goths, *recovers his Throne.* XXXV. Genſeric *dies. State of the Kingdom of the* Vandals. XXXVI. Hunderic *renews the Peace with the* Roman *Empire.* Theodoric, *Prince of the* Oſtro-Goths, *is made* Patricius. XXXVII. Zeno *endeavours to relieve the* Weſtern *Empire. Motions of* Julius Nepos. Odoacer *obtains the Title of* Patricius. XXXVIII. *His Government. Extinction of the* Imperial *Title in the* Weſt. XXXIX. *Continuation of the Hiſtory of the* Franks. *Of King* Childeric. *Beginning of* Clovis's *Reign.* XL. *State of the* German *Nations at the Concluſion of this Period.* XLI. *Reflections on the Foundation of the* German *Kingdoms in the* Roman *Provinces:* XLII. *And of the Revolutions, thereby occaſion'd in* Europe.

The *Franks*, *Alemanni* and *Saxons* infeſt *Gaul.*

§. I. THE *Weſtern* Empire, tho' it had been obliged to give up ſuch conſiderable Countries to the *Germans*, had nevertheleſs hitherto been able to maintain its Reputation, in thoſe it ſtill poſſeſs'd; and knew frequently how to make an advantageous Uſe of thoſe very Forces, the Valour of which it had, not long before, experienc'd greatly to its Prejudice. This Book leads us, at Length, to the Time, when the Balance begun

begun to be evidently on the Side of the *Germans*; and when the very Name of an Empire in *Italy*, and the other *Weſtern* Countries, ceas'd. *Valentinian*, on Occaſion of various Suſpicions, became, in the Year 454, ſo enrag'd againſt *Ætius*, that he himſelf laid violent Hands on him, and being aſſiſted by thoſe who were preſent, ſlew him, together with the *Præfectus Prætorii*, on the Spot (1): But in him he loſt the only Support of his Empire: and it was then ſaid, that the Emperor had made Uſe of one Hand, to cut off the other. He was kill'd himſelf the enſuing Year, and *Maximus Petronius*, a *Roman*, advanced to the Imperial Dignity in his Room (2). As *Valentinian*'s Death, in the

§. I. (1) PROSPER *in chronico a Pithœo edito ad A.* IV. MARCIANI & VALENTINIANI. Inter Valentinianum auguſtum & Ætium patricium, poſt promiſſæ invicem fidei ſacramenta, poſt pactum de conjunctione filiorum, diræ inimicitiæ convaluerunt; & unde fuit gratia charitatis augenda, inde exarſit fomes odiorum, incentore (ut creditum eſt) Heraclio ſpadone, qui ita ſibi imperatoris animum inſincero famulatu adſtrinxerat, ut eum facile, in quæ vellet, impelleret. Cum ergo Ætius placita inſtantius repetit, & cauſam filii cominus agit, imperatoris manu, & circumſtantium gladiis crudeliter confectus eſt, Boëtio præfecto prætorio ſimul peremto, qui ei multa amicitia copulatus erat. IDATIUS *in chronico ad A.* III. MARCIANI. Ætius dux & patricius fraudulenter ſingularis accitus intra palatium, manu ipſius imperatoris Valentiniani occiditur. Et cum ipſo, per Spatarium ejus, aliqui ſingulariter intromiſſi jugulantur honorati. His geſtis, legatos Valentinianus mittit ad gentes: ex quibus ad Suevos venit Juſtinianus. MARCELLINUS *in chron. ÆTIO & STUDIO Coss. (A.* 454) Ætius patricius, magna occidentalis reipublicæ ſalus, & regis Attilæ terror, a Valentiniano imperatore, cum Boëtio amico, in palatio trucidatur, atque cum ipſo Heſperium cecidit regnum, nec hactenus valuit relevari.

(2) PROSPER *c. l.* Mortem Ætii mors Valentiniani non longo poſt tempore conſecuta eſt. Tam imprudenter enim declinata, ut interfecti Ætii amicos armigeroſque ejus ſib imetſociaret, qui concepti facinoris opportunitatem diſſimulanter aucupantes, egreſſum extra urbem principem, & ludo geſtationis intentum, inopinatis ictibus confoderunt. Heraeleo ſimul, ut erat proximus, interemto, & nullo ex multitudine regia ad ultionem tanti ſceleris accenſo. Ut autem hoc parricidium perpetratum eſt, Maximus, vir gemini conſulatus & patriciæ dignitatis, ſumpſit imperium. Qui cum periclitanti reipublicæ profuturus per omnia crederetur, non ſero documento, quid animi haberet, probavit: ſic quidem, ut interfectores Valentiniani non ſolum non plecteret, ſed etiam in amicitiam reciperet: uxoremque ejus auguſti, amiſſionem viri lugere prohibitam, intra pauciſſimos dies in conjugium ſuum tranſire coget. IDATIUS *l. c.* Quarto regni anno principis Marciani per duos barbaros, Ætii familiares, Valentinianus Romæ imperator occiditur in campo, exercitu circumſtante, anno ætatis ſuæ XXXVI. & regni XXXI. Poſt quem mox Maximus, ex conſulibus XLIII. Romæ auguſtus appellatur, qui cum imperator factus, relictam Valentiniani ſibi duxiſſet uxorem, & filio ſuo ex priore conjuge Palladio, quem cæſarem fecerat, Valentiniani filiam in conjugium tradidiſſet, magnorum motuum, quos verebatur; perturbatione diſtortus, & quia in occiſorum per Valentinianum, & in ipſius interitum Valentiniani, ambitu regni conſilia ſceleſta patrata contulerat, cum imperium deferere vellet, & Romam, vix quatuor regni ſui menſibus expletis, in ipſa urbe tumultu populi, & ſeditione occiditur militari. MARCELLINUS *in chronico*, VALENTINIANO VIII. & AN-

Series of the *Roman* Emperors, was remarkable, becauſe in him, the Male Line of *Theodoſius*'s Houſe, and the ſmall Remains of Reputation in the *Roman Weſtern* Empire, became extinct, ſo it gave Occaſion to freſh Commotions among the *German* Nations. The *Franks* and *Alemanni* broke looſe at once; and the *Aremorici* had Recourſe to the Aſſiſtance of the *Saxons*, the better to maintain, againſt the *Romans*, the Liberty they had ſo lately recovered (3).

Avitus concludes a Peace with them.

§. II. *MAXIMUS* immediately obliged the Empreſs Dowager, *Eudoxia*, to marry him, and intended for his Son *Palladius*, whom he dignified with the Title of *Cæſar*, one of *Valentinian*'s Daughters (1). *Avitus*, whoſe eminent Services in *Gaul* have already been more than once taken taken Notice of, was promoted to the Dignity of *Magiſter Militum*. *Sidonius* ſays, that, by his Care and Prudence, Tranquility was ſoon reſtor'd to *Gaul*; that the *Alemanni* ſued for Peace; and that the *Saxons*, as well as the *Chatti*, which Nation was comprehended under the Name of *Franks*, ceas'd their Incurſions (2). He went himſelf to the *Gothick* Court, at *Tholouſe*, to renew the Peace with King *Theodoric* II;

& ANTHEMIO Coss. (*A.* 455.) Valentinianus dolo Maximi patricii, cujus etiam fraude Ætius perierat, in campo Martio, per Optilam & Thraustilam, Ætii ſatellites, jam percuſſo Heraclio ſpadone, truncatus eſt. Idem Maximus invaſit imperium, tertioque tyrannidis ſuæ menſe, membratim Romæ a Romanis tractus diſcerptuſque eſt.

(3) SIDONIUS APPOLLINARIS *carm.* VII. v. 359-375.

Aëtium Placidus mactavit ſemivir amens,
Vixque tuo impoſitum capiti diadema Petroni:
Illico barbaries, nec non ſibi capta videri
Roma Getis, telluſque ſuo ceſſura furori.
Raptores ceu forte lupi, quîs nare ſagaci
Monſtrat odor pinguem clauſis ab ovilibus auram,
Irritant, acuuntque famem, portantque rapinæ
In vultu ſpeciem, patulo jejunia rictu
Fallentes: jamjamque tener ſpe frangitur agnus,
Atque abſens avido crepitat jam præda palato.
Quin & Aremoricus piratum Saxona tractus
Sperabat, cui pelle ſalum ſulcare Britannum
Ludus, & aſſuto glaucum mare findere lembo.
Francus Germanum primum, Belgamque ſecundum
Sternebat, Rhenumque ferox Alamanne bibebas
Romanis ripis, & utroque ſuperbus in agro
Vel civis, vel victor eras.

§. II. (1) *See the Quotation from* IDATIUS *in the precceding* § *Note* 2.

(2) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS *v.* 388.
Ut primum ingeſti pondus ſuſcepit honoris,
Legas, qui veniam poſcant Alamanne furoris.
Saxonis incurſus ceſſat, Chattumque paluſtri
Alligat Albis aqua. vixque hoc ter menſtrua totum
Luna videt.

and

and to eſtabliſh ſuch a good Underſtandirg with that Court (3), as might be highly advantageous to the new Government. He had a great Influence over the Father of *Theodoric*, and was much eſteemed by the whole *Gothick* Nation (4); the new Emperor had, on that Account, therefore, the greater Advantage to hope from his Negociation. He was received with the utmoſt Tokens of Honour: The King and his Brother went themſelves to meet him, and he made his Entrance into *Tholouſe* between them (5): But Matters took ſo ſtrange a Turn, that the Event proved very different from what he was to have negotiated.

§. III. *VALENTINIAN*'s Death occaſioned likewiſe a Breach of the Peace with the *Vandals*. According to the Accounts of *Procopius* (1) and *Marcellinus* (2), the Empreſs *Eudoxia* herſelf excited *Genſeric* to *Genſeric* breaks the Peace, and ſacks *Rome*.

(3) *Idem*, v. 392.

Jamque ad populos & rura feroci
Tenta Getæ protendit iter, qua pulſus ab æſtu
Oceanus, refluum ſpargit per culta Garumnam
In flumen currente mari; tranſcendit amarus
Blanda fluenta latex, fluviique impacta per alveum
Salſa peregrinum ſibi navigat unda profundum.
Hic jam diſpoſito laxantes fræna duello
Veſorum proceres raptim ſuſpendit ab ira
Rumor, ſuccincto referens diplomate Avitum
Jam Geticas intrare domos, poſitaque parumper
Mole magiſterii legati jura ſubiſſe.
Obſtupuere duces pariter Scythicuſque ſenatus,
Et timuere, ſuam pacem ne forte negaret.

(4) SIDONIUS *carm.* 7. *v.* 469--484.

Fœdera priſca precor, quæ nunc meus ille teneret,
Juſſiſſem ſi forte, ſenex, cui ſemper Avitum
Sectari creviſſe fuit. tractare ſolebam
Res Geticas olim: ſcis te neſciſſe frequenter
Quæ ſuaſi, niſi facta. Tamen fortuna priorem
Abripuit genium. periit quodcunque merebar,
Cum genitore tuo. Narbonem tabe ſolutum
Ambierat, (tu parvus eras) trepidantia cingens
Millia, in infames jam jamque coëgerat eſcas:
Jam triſtis propriæ credebat defore prædæ,
Si clauſus fortaſſe perit: cum noſtra probavit
Conſilia, & refugo laxavit mœnia bello.
Teque ipſum (ſunt ecce ſenes) hoc pectore fotum
Hæ flentem tenuere manus, ſi forſitan altrix
Te mihi, cum nolles lactandum tolleret. Ecce
Advenio, & priſci repeto modo pignus amoris.

(5) *Ibidem*, *v.* 432.

——————— Rex atque magiſter
Propter conſtiterant. hic vultu erectus, at ille
Lætitia erubuit, veniamque rubore popoſcit.
Poſt hinc Germano regis, hinc rege retento,
Palladiam implicitis manibus ſubiere Toloſam.
Haud ſecus inſertis ad pulvinaria palmis
Romulus & Tatius fœdus jecere, parentum
Cum ferro, & rabidis cognato in Marte maritis
Herſilia inſervit Pallantis colle Sabinas.

§. III. (1) PROCOPIUS *de bello Vandal. L.* 1. *c.* 4. *p.* 188. Deinde Maximus nullo negotio imperatorem occidit; invaſit tyrannidem, & uxore non ita pridem mortua, rem cum Eudoxia pervim habuit: cui aliquando in toro dixit, nihil ſe niſi ipſius amore impulſum feciſſe. His dictis Eudoxiæ, quæ jam ante ſatis erat offenſa Maximo, & ab ipſo patratum in Valentinianum ſcelus ulciſci percupiebat, acrius in eum bilis intumuit, & ad conſilium perdendi hominis tum maxime inarſit animus, cum ſui cauſa allatum merito interitum ex ore Maximi didicit. Ut illuxit, ſtatim mittit Carthaginem, rogatque Gizericum, ne Valentinianum, contra ſuam & imperii dig[illegible]em ab

to revenge *Valentinian*'s Death on *Maximus*: And he indeed fitted out a Fleet for *Italy*, the very Fame of which, put *Rome* under the moſt frightful Apprehenſions. *Maximus* was in no Condition to withſtand him: All the Preparations he made, was to allow every one the Liberty of flying whither he would. He was himſelf juſt about to take the ſame Courſe, when he was cut to Pieces, and thrown into the *Tyber* (3). Thus had *Rome* been expoſed to the Fury of the *Vandals*, had not Pope *Leo* gone out to meet *Genſeric*; and as he had formerly ſucceeded, on the ſame Account, with *Attila*; ſo now he prevailed on the King of the *Vandals*, to ſpare the City from Fire and Sword (4): But for Plunder, he could not prevent it, except, perhaps, in ſome of the Churches (5). The *Vandals* made a Fortnight's Stay in the City †, and whoever reads what Booty they made, would hardly ever imagine, that the *Goths* had been in *Rome* before them. *Procopius* relates that a Ship was laden with

ab homine impio peremtum, jacere inultum ſinat, ipſamque infandis modis a tyranno habitam vindicet; neque omittit amicitiæ & ſocietatis nomine urgere, religionem incutiens, ſi commiſſum in auguſti domum tale facinus punire nolit.

(2) MARCELLINUS *in chron. l. c.* Genſericus, rex Wandalorum, ab Eudoxia Valentiniani uxore epiſtolis invitatus, ex Africa Romam ingreſſus eſt, eaque urbe rebus omnibus ſpoliata, eandem Eudoxiam cum duabus filiabus ſecum redíens abduxit.

(3) PROSPER *in chron Pithœan. c. l* Sed hac incontinentia non diu potitus eſt. Nam poſt alterum menſem, nunciato ex Africa Genſerici regis adventu, multiſque nobilibus ac popularibus ex urbe fugientibus, quum ipſe quoque, data cunctis abeundi licentia, trepide vellet abſcedere, a famulis reginæ dilaniatus & membratim dejectus in Tiberim, ſepultura quoque caruit. Poſt hunc Maximi exitum, confeſtim ſecuta eſt multis digna lacrimis Romana captivitas, & urbem omni præſidio vacuam Genſericus obtinuit, occurrente ſibi extra portas ſancto Leone epiſcopo: cujus ſupplicatio ita eum, deo agente, lenivit, ut quum omnia in poteſtate ejus eſſent, tradita ſibi civitate, ab igne tamen & cæde atque ſuppliciis abſtineret. Per quatuordecim igitur dies ſecura & libera ſcrutatione omnibus opibus ſuis Roma vacuata eſt; multaque millia captivorum, prout quique aut ætate, aut arte placuerunt, cum regina & filiabus ejus Carthaginem abducti ſunt.

(4) *See* PROSPER's *Words in the foregoing Note*: HISTORIA MISCELLA *L.* 15. *p.* 425. Genſericus continuo vacuam præſidio civitatem capit, & occurſu Leonis papæ mitigatus ab incendio, cædibus atque ſuppliciis urbem immunem ſervavit: omnibus tamen opibus ablatis, multa inde captivorum millia cum auguſta Eudoxia, & ejus filiabus Carthaginem revexit.

(5) PASCHASIUS QUESNEL *in diſſ. de vita & rebus geſtis S. Leonis Magni, p.* 176. and F. RUYNART *in hiſtoria perſecutionis Vandalicæ, cap.* 6. §. 10. endeavour to prove, from a Paſſage of the *Liber Pontificalis*, that the three principal Churches were exempted from the Depredation.

† *According to the Chronology publiſh'd by* CUSPINIAN, *the City was ſack'd in the Month of* June. Poſt interitum Valentiniani imperatoris levatus eſt Maximus imperator XVI. Kal. Aprilis & occiſus eſt pridie idus Junias, & intravit Genſericus Romam, & prædavit eam dies XIV. & levatus eſt imperator in Galliis Avitus VI idus Julias.

Statues

Statues only; but ſhe ſunk on her Return (6). The whole *Imperial* Treaſure (7), and all the Riches with which the Triumphs of the ancient *Romans* were uſed to be embelliſhed, fell into their Hands. Among the Reſt, were the Veſſels of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, which *Titus Veſpaſian*, after the Deſtruction of that City, had brought to *Rome*; which, together with the Imperial *Regalia*, when *Juſtinian* afterwards overthrew the Kingdom of the *Vandals*, were brought back to *Conſtantinople* (8). So ſtrange a Turn did the Courſe of Human Affairs then take, that *German* Nations went from the *Danube* to *Africa*, to lead the Inhabitants of that Country againſt *Italy*, and, as it were, to revenge

(6) PROCOPIUS *de bello Vandal. L* 1. *c*, 5. Gizericus non officio, ſed ſpe divite inductus, cum claſſe ingenti Italiam petit, ac Romam ingreſſus, obſtante nemine regiam occupat. Romani fugientem Maximum lapidum ictibus conficiunt, abſciſſumque illius caput & diſſecta membra inter ſe partiuntur. Eudoxia cum Eudoxia ac Placidia, quas Valentinianus ex ipſa procreaverat, captiva in Gizerici poteſtatem venit: qui magna auri argentique vi & imperatoria ſuppellectili in naves impoſita, Carthaginem vela fecit; eum in aula nec ahenis, nec re demum ulla manum abſtinuiſſet. Jovis quoque Capitolini templum diripuit, ac mediam partem abſtulit tecti: quod ex ære optimo ductum erat, multoque auro illito magnificentiſſimum, & ſingulari dignum admiratione videbatur. E navibus Gizerici unam, qua ſimulacra vehebantur, periiſſe ferunt: reliquis Vandali in portum Carthaginis delati ſunt. Eudoxiam Gizericus matrimonio junxit cum Honorico filiorum majori natu: alteram Valentiniani filiam Olybrio, ſenatorum Romæ ſpectatiſſimo nuptam, Byzantium cum matre Eudoxia, imperatoris poſtulatu miſit. Tunc penes Leonem erat imperium orientis, factione Aſparis ipſi traditum, poſt obitum Marciani.

(7) JUSTINIANUS *in l.* 1. *pr. C. de officio præfecti prætorio Africæ.* Quo ergo ſermone, aut quibus operibus dignas deo gratias agere valeamus, qui per nos, unum ſervum ſuum, eccleſiæ ſuæ injuriam vindicare dignatus eſt, et tantarum provinciarum populos a jugo ſervitutis eripere. Quod beneficium dei anteceſſores noſtri non meruerunt: quibus non ſolum Africam liberare non licuit, ſed & ipſam Romam viderunt ab eiſdem Vandalis captam, & omnia imperialia ornamenta in Africam exinde tranſlata: Nunc vero deus per ſuam miſericordiam non ſolum Africam, & omnes ejus provincias nobis tradidit, ſed & ipſa imperialia ornamenta, quæ capta Roma fuerant ablata, nobis reſtituit.

(8) PROCOPIUS, L. II. c. 9. p. 255. B. *gives an Account of the Booty, which was carried about* Conſtantinople *in Triumph, after* Julian *had deſtroyed the Kingdom of the* Vandals. In ſpoliis videre erat quæcunque regiis uſibus addici ſolent: ſellas aureas, vehicula uxoris principis, mundi gemmei ingentem vim, pocula ex auro, epularem omnem ſupellectilem regis, talentorum argenti multas myriadas, & magnam regiorum vaſorum copiam: quæ Gizericus, uti ſupra memoravimus, in Romano palatio compilaverat. In his, vaſa Judæorum erant, quæ Titus Veſpaſiani filius, poſt Hieroſolymorum excidium, Romam cum aliis aſportarat. Ea conſpicatus Judæus quidam, unum ex auguſti familiaribus adiit, itaque monuit: *Non expedit, mea quidem ſententia, aurum hoc in palatium Byzantium inferri. Nuſquam enim ſervari poteſt, niſi ubi principio repoſitum fuit a Salomone, Judæorum rege. Quæ cauſa extitit, cur & Romanam olim regiam Gizericus, & Vandalicam Rom. exercitus modo ceperet.* Hæc imperatori renuntiata, metum incuſſere, ita, ut totum id, quidquid erat, in Hieroſolymitana Chriſtianorum templa deferri juſſerit.

the

the Fate of ancient *Carthage* on *Rome* (9): And *Marius* is not ſo remarkable, in ancient Hiſtory, when repreſented, as bemoaning his own Fate, on the Ruins of *Carthage* (10), as *Genſeric*, when dividing the Treaſures of the *Capitol.* He took the Empreſs, *Eudoxia*, with her two Daughters, *Placidia* and *Eudoxia*, with him to *Africa* (11): *Placidia* was already betrothed to *Olybrius* (12), to whom ſhe was afterwards married: And *Genſeric* gave *Eudoxia* in Marriage to *Huneric*, his eldeſt Son, and thereby allied his Family to *Theodoſius*'s Houſe. The greater this Calamity of the City of *Rome* is deſcribed to have been, the more ſurpriſing it is, that the *Romans* ſo ſoon forgot it. *S. Leo* exclaims againſt them (13), that, on the Day, when the Memory of that Deſtruction, was celebrated, the Churches were ſo little frequented, when, on the contrary, they ran in Shoals to the *Ludi Circenſes* (14).

§. VI. When

(9) Sidonius Apollinaris *has almoſt the ſame Thoughts:* carmine VII. v. 441.

Interea incautam furtivis Vandalus armis
Te capit, infidoque tibi Burgundio ductu,
Extorquet trepidas mactandi principis iras.
Heu facinus! in bella iterum, quartoſque labores
Perfida Eliſſeæ crudeſcunt claſſica Byrſæ.
Nutritis quod fata malum? Conſcenderat arces
Evandri Maſſyla phalanx, monteſque Quirini
Marmarici preſſere pedes, rurſuſque revexit
Quæ captiva dedit quondam ſtipendia Barche.
Exilium patrum, plebis mala, principe cæſo
Captivum imperium, ad Geticas rumor tulit aures.

(10) Plutarchus *in Mario p.* 428. *E.* Commodum erat paucis Marius in terram egreſſus, quum occurrit ei lictor, qui ei, interdicit tibi, inquit, Sextilius prætor, Mari, Africam attingere: ſi non parebis, ait ſe in te, ut in populi Romani hoſtem, ex ſenatus decreto conſulturum. His nunciatis, obmutuit Marius præ dolore & indignatione, lictoremque intuens horride diu conticuit. Qui quum rogaret quid reſponſum renuntiaret prætori, reſpondit cum ingenti gemitu: Age, nuntia, C. Marium te in Carthaginis ruinis exulem conſpexiſſe ſedentem. Appoſite ſimul & urbis illius fortunam, & rerum converſionem pro exemplo propoſuit prætori. *Adde* Velleium Paterculum *L.* II. *c.* 19.

(11) *See the Paſſages before-quoted from* Prosper, Marcellinus *and* Procopius.

(12) *See* Procopius's *Words,* not. 6, *and the Comment of* Pagius ad *A.* 455. n. 9.

(13) S. Leo ſermone VIII. Quesnel *in an Annotation on this Sermon, demonſtrates, that this is not to be underſtood of* Attila's *Irruptions, as Cardinal* Baronius *imagines, but of* Genſeric's *Depredations.*

(14) S. Leo *in the afore-cited Place, upbraids the* Romans *for their Indifference in this Point.* Religioſam devotionem, dilectiſſimi, qua ob diem caſtigationis & liberationis noſtræ cunctas fidelium populus ad agendas deo gratias confluebat, pene ab omnibus proxime fuiſſe neglectam, ipſa paucorum, qui adfuerunt raritas demonſtravit. *He exclaims moreover againſt their eager Purſuit after publick Shews.* Pudet dicere, ſed neceſſe eſt non tacere: plus impenditur dæmoniis, quam apoſtolis, & majorem obtinent frequentiam inſana ſpectacula, quam beata martyria. Quis hanc urbem reformavit ſaluti? quis a captivitate eruit? quis a cæde defendit? ludus circenſium, an cura ſanctorum? quorum utique precibus divinæ cenſuræ flexa ſententia eſt,

§. IV. WHEN theſe Advices were brought to the Court of *Tholouſe*, King *Theodoric* encouraged *Avitus*, to aſſume the *Imperial* Title himſelf, and offered him the Aſſiſtance of all his Forces. *Avitus* did not want much Invitation; and tho' his Son-in-Law, *Sidonius Apollinaris*, ſays in his Favour, that the Propoſal was made by the *Goths* (1); yet it appears, on the contrary, with a greater Appearance of Truth, from *Gregorius Turonenſis*, that *Avitus* rather ſought for Aſſiſtance from the *Goths* (2): Certain it is however, that this Revolution was firſt form'd at *Tholouſe*. *Avitus* now concluded, in his own Name, with King *Theodoric* and his Brother (3), that Treaty, which he, at firſt, ſought for *Maximus*. The *Gauls*, who had ſuffer'd ſo much under *Theodoſius*'s Succeſſors, that they were quite weary of the preſent Government, look'd upon this as a favourable Opportunity, to bring the Empire into their Nation, or at leaſt to manage Matters ſo, that their Country might be no longer a Dependency on *Italy* (4). A Convention was, therefore, appointed

Avitus, aſſiſted by the *Goths*, aſſumes the Imperial Dignity in *Gaul*.

eſt, ut, qui merebamur iram, ſervaremur ad veniam. *He concludes with reproving the Impiety of thoſe, who aſcribed it to the Stars, that the Enemy was mov'd to compaſſion.* Ne ergo iſta ingratorum nota etiam vobis, dilectiſſimi, poſſit adſcribi, revertimini ad dominum, intelligentes mirabilia, quæ in nobis dignatus eſt operari, & liberationem noſtram, non ſicut opinantur impii, ſtellarum effectibus, ſed ineffabili omnipotentis dei miſericordiæ deputantes, qui corda furentium barbarorum mitigare dignatus eſt.

§. IV. (1) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS *in* Panegyrico *in Avitum*, (carmine VII.) *relates the Affair thus, and introduces* THEODORIC *as ſaying*: v. 501.

Teſtor, Roma, tuum nobis venerabile numen
Et ſocium de Marte genus, vel quicquid ab ævo,
(Nil te mundus habet melius, nil ipſa ſenatu)
Me pacem ſervare tibi. Vel velle abolere
Quæ noſter peccavit avus: quem ſuſcat id unum,
Quod te, Roma, capit. Sed dii, ſi vota ſecundant,
Excidii veteris crimen purgare valebit
Ultio præſentis: ſi tu, dux inclyte, ſolum
Auguſti ſubeas nomen. Quid lumina flectis?
Invitum plus eſſe decet, non cogimus iſtud
Sed conteſtamur. Romæ ſum te duce amicus,
Principe te miles.

(2) GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, *Lib.* II. *c.* XI. *p.* 280. Avitus enim unus ex ſenatoribus, & ut valde manifeſtum eſt, civis Arvernus, cum Romanum ambiſſet imperium, luxurioſe agere volens, a ſenatoribus ejectus, apud Placentiam urbem epiſcopus ordinatur. Comperto autem, quod adhuc indignans ſenatus, vita cum privare vellet, baſilicam ſancti Juliani, Arverni martyris, cum multis muneribus expetivit: ſed impleto in itinere vitæ curſu obiit, delatuſque ad Brivatenſem vicum, ad pedes antedicti martyris eſt ſepultus.

(3) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS *ſays* l. c. *v.* 518, *of* THEODORIC:

- - Dixit, pariterque in verba petita
Dat ſanctam cum fratre fidem.

4. SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS *intimates, that theſe were the Deſigns of the* GAULS, *when he repreſents a Perſon of the firſt Rank among them, as ſpeaking thus at the Convention of* ARLES: l. c. 538. *ſeqq.*

appointed to be held at *Arles*, where all the Grandees, who aſſiſted at it, declared for *Avitus* (5). *Italy*, likewiſe, in the Confuſion they were in, readily ſubmitted to him, and the Senat of *Rome* immediately ſent him the *Inſignia Conſulatus* (6). *Marcian* himſelf, not being able to maintain *Italy*, could do no better, than acknowledge him his Partner in the Empire (7).

His and *Marcian's* Treaties with the *Vandals*.

§. V. *MARCIAN* (1), as well as *Avitus* (2), ſent Ambaſſadors to ſeek the Friendſhip of the *Vandals*; and *Marcian*, in particular, deſired,

- - - Sed dum per verba parentum
Ingenuas colimus leges, ſanctumque putamus
Rem veterem per damna ſequi, portavimus umbram
Imperii, generis contenti ferre vetuſti
Et vitia, ac ſolitam veſtiri murice gentem
More magis quam jure pati. promptiſſima nuper
Fulſit conditio, proprias qua Gallia vires
Exereret, trepidam dum Maximus occupat urbem.
Imo orbem potuit, ſi te ſibi tota magiſtro
Regna reformaſſet. Quis noſtrum Belgica rura,
Littus Aremorici, Geticas quis moverit iras,
Non latet. his tantis tibi ceſſimus, inclyte, bellis.
Nunc jam ſumma vocant.

(5) IDATIUS *ad* A. IV. MARCIANI. Ipſo anno in Galliis Avitus, Gallus civis, ab exercitu Gallicano, & ab honoratis primum Toloſæ, dehinc apud Arelatum auguſtus appellatus, Romam pergit, & ſuſcipitur. SIDONIUS *deſcribes this Convention at* ARLES l. c. v. 524.

- - Utque ſatis ſibimet numeroſa coiſſe
Nobilitas viſa eſt, quam ſaxa nivalia Cotti
Deſpectant, variis nec non quam partibus ambit
Tyrrheni, Rhenique liquor, vel longa Pyrenei
Quam juga ab Hiſpano ſeclufum jure coërcent,
Aggreditur nimio curarum pondere triſtem
Gaudens turba virum.

(6). SIDONIUS, l. c. v. 8.

- - Nempe, patres, collatos cernere faſces
Vos juvat, & ſociam ſceptris mandaſſe curulem.

(7) IDATIUS, *l. c.* Per Avitum, qui a Romanis & evocatus & ſuſceptus fuerat imperator, legati ad Marcianum pro unanimitate mittuntur imperii. *And moreover:* Marcianus & Avitus concordes principatu Romani utuntur imperii.

§. V. (1) PRISCUS *p.* 73. Marcianus, Romanorum orientalium imperator, ad Genſericum poſt Romam ab eo, Avito imperante, dirutam, legatos miſit, qui juberent ab Italiæ vaſtitate abſtinere, & uxorem Valentiniani & ejus filias in captivitatem abductas libertati reſtituere. Sed legati re infecta in orientem reverſi ſunt, neque quicquam eorum, quæ a Marciano imperata fuerant, facere, aut liberare mulieres voluit. Quamobrem Marcianus [illegible]rum literas ad Genſericum ſcripſit per Bledam legatum. Erat autem Bleda epiſcopus hæreſeos Genſerici. Vandali enim Chriſtianorum cultum & religionem amplexi fuerant. Hic, ubi ad Genſericum acceſſit, atque alienum a ſua legatione perſpexit, in verba ſuperbiora erupit. Non bene ceſſurum, licet illi ſecundæ res animos facerent, ſi bellum cum Romanorum imperatore contraheret. Sed neque ulla verborum lenitas, quantumvis a legato uſurpata, neque incuſſus timor illum ad ullam animi æquitatem, aut moderationem, ut mulieres redderet, pertrahere potuerunt. Bledam enim irrita legatione remiſit, & rurſus in Siciliam & proxima Italiæ loca exercitum immittens, omnem regionem vaſtavit.

(2) IDEM IBIDEM. Avitus quoque, Romanorum occidentalium imperator, ad

cum

fired, that the Empreſs Dowager and her Daughters might be ſent back: (3) But both their Endeavours were fruitleſs; *Avitus* was, indeed, ſo fortunate, that *Ricimer* defeated ſome Troops of the *Vandals*, who had landed in *Corſica:* But *Genſeric* not only continued to infeſt the Coaſts of *Italy*, but begun likewiſe afterwards to commit Hoſtilities againſt thoſe Countries, which belonged to the *Eaſt* (4).

§ VI. THE Power of the *Hunns* begun, about this Time, to decay. *Attila* died *A.* 453. The Circumſtances of his Death are differently related. Some ſay, that he died ſuddenly, of an Hemorrhage, the very Night, he had married a new Wife (1): Others accuſe a Miſtreſs of having ſhortned his Day (2). The *Hunns* interr'd him very pompouſly, and

The Power of the *Hunns* decays after *Attila*'s Death. The *Gepidæ* recover their Liberty.

eum legatos miſit, qui monerent, ut fœderum pridem cum illo initorum meminiſſet, ut & ea ſibi obſervanda ſtatueret, ſin minus ſe & domeſtico exercitu & auxiliariis copiis fretum, bellum apparaturum.

(3) IDATIUS *ad A. V.* MARGIANI. Iiſdem diebus, Rechimeris comitis circumventione, magna multitudo Vandalorum, quæ de Carthagine cum LX. navibus ad Gallias vel ad Italiam moverat, regi Theuderico nunciatur occiſa per Avitum. *And farther:* Heſichius tribunus, legatus ad Theudoricum cum ſacris muneribus miſſus, ad Gallæciam venit, nuncians ei id quod ſupra, in Corſica cæſam multitudinem Vandalorum, & Avitum de Italia ad Gallias Arelate ſucceſſiſſe.

(4) PROCOPIUS de bello Vandalico, *L.* I. *c.* 5. *p.* 190. C. Porro in unum Vandalorum nomen Alani cæterique barbari ſua vocabula confuderunt, exceptis Mauris, quorum adeptus obſequia Gizericus a morte Valentiniani, in Siciliam atque Italiam quotannis vere novo ſe invehebat. Ibi urbibus partim miſſis in ſervitutem, partim ſolo æquatis, cum & omnia rapuiſſet, ac regione non modo pecuniis exhauſiſſet, verum etiam incolis; in ditionem imperatoris orientis irrupit. Illyricum, Peloponeſi item & Græciæ partem maximam, nec non adjacentes inſulas populatus, in Siciliam denuo atque Italiam exſcenſu facto, omnes in orbem oras incurſans, agebat omnia ferebatque.

§. VI. (1) JORNANDES, *c.* 49. Attila, ut Priſcus hiſtoricus refert, extinctionis ſuæ tempore, puellam Ildico nomine, decoram valde, ſibi in matrimonium, poſt innumerabiles uxores, ut mos erat gentis illius, ſocians: ejuſque in nuptiis magna hilaritate reſolutus, vino ſomnoque granatus, reſupinus jacebat, redundanſque ſanguis, qui ei ſolite de naribus effluebat, dum conſuetis meatibus impeditur, itinere ferali faucibus elapſus eum extinxit. Ita glorioſo per bella regi temulentia pudendum exitum dedit. Sequenti vero luce, cum magna pars diei fuiſſet exempta, miniſtri regii triſte aliquid ſuſpicantes, poſt clamores maximos fores effringunt, inveniuntque Attilæ ſine vulnere necem, ſanguinis effuſione peractam, puellamque demiſſo vultu ſub velamine lachrymantem. Tunc, ut illius gentis mos eſt, crinium parte truncata, informes facies cavis turpavere vulneribus, ut præliator eximius non femineis lamentationibus & lachrymis, ſed ſanguine lugeretur virili. De quo id acceſſit mirabile, ut Marciano principi orientis de tam feroci hoſte ſollicito, in ſomnis divinitas adſiſtens, arcum Attilæ in eadem nocte fractum oſtenderet, quaſi quod gens ipſa eo telo multa præſumat. Hoc Priſcus hiſtoricus vera ſe dicit adteſtatione probare. Nam in tantum magnis imperiis Attila terribilis habitus eſt, ut ejus mortem in locum muneris ſuperna regnantibus indicarent.

(2) MARCELLINUS ÆTIO & STUDIO Coss. Attila rex Hunnorum, Aëtii hortatu, noctu, Provinciæ mulieris manu, cultroque

and with him the Splendor and Renown of their Nation (3): For, as it frequently happens, in great and new-erected States, where Death carries off the Prince, before he can eſtabliſh a Form of Government; ſo the Monarchy, he had founded, was now ſubverted. He left, by different Wives, ſeveral Sons, who could not agree among themſelves, about the Succeſſion (4). Theſe Diviſions put the *German* Nations, whom he had conquer'd, upon endeavouring to recover their Liberty. *Ardaric*, King of the *Gepidæ*, was the firſt who appeared in Arms, and when *Attila*'s Sons march'd againſt him, he defeated them, in a bloody Battle, in *Pannonia*, on which Occaſion, the eldeſt Prince loſt his Life (5). This ſucceſsful Beginning encourag'd the others to make the like Attempt; and himſelf to purſue the fugitive *Hunns*, who retreated as far as the *Black Sea*, to a Country belonging to the *Goths*, where *Dengezic*, *Attila*'s

confoditur. Quidam vero ſanguinis rejectione eum necatum perhibent. CHRONICON ALEXANDRINUM, *p.* 318. Attila, ſanguine ex naribus prorumpente, extinctus eſt: noctuque cum pellice Hunna (quæ puella de nece ejus ſuſpecta fuit) dormiens: in tabernaculum delatus eſt.

(3) JORNANDES, c. 49. Nam de tota gente Hunnorum electiſſimi equites in eo loco, quo erat poſitus, in modum circenſium curſibus ambientes, facta ejus, cantu funereo, tali ordine referebant. Præcipuus Hunnorum rex Attila, patre genitus Mundzacco, fortiſſimarum gentium dominus, qui inaudita ante ſe potentia ſolus Scythica & Germanica regna poſſedit, nec non utraque Romanæ urbis imperia captis civitatibus terruit, & ne prædæ reliqua ſubderent, placatus precibus, annuum vectigal accepit. Cumque hæc omnia proventu felicitatis egerit, non vulnere hoſtium, non fraude ſuorum, ſed gente incolumi, inter gaudia, lætus ſine ſenſu doloris occubuit. Quis ergo hunc dicat exitum, quem nullus æſtimat vindicandum? Poſtquam talibus lamentis eſt defletus, STRAVAM ſuper tumulum ejus, quam appellant ipſi, ingenti commeſſatione concelebrant, & contraria invicem ſibi copulantes, luctum funereum mixto gaudio explicabant, noctuque ſecreto cadaver eſt terra reconditum. Cujus ſercula primum auro, ſecundum argento, tertium ferri rigore communiunt, ſignificantes, tali argumento potentiſſimo regi omnia conveniſſe: Ferrum, quo gentes edomuit: aurum & argentum, quod ornatum reipublicæ utriuſque acceperit. Addunt arma hoſtium cædibus acquiſita, phaleras vario gemmarum fulgore pretioſas, & diverſi generis inſignia, quibus colitur aulicum decus. Et ut tot & tantis divitiis humana curioſitas arceretur, operi deputatos deteſtabili mercede trucidarunt, emerſitque momentanea mors ſepelientibus eum ſepulto.

(4) EUGIPPIUS in vita *S. Severini*, *cap.* 1. Tempore, quo Attila rex Hunnorum defunctus eſt, utraque confinia Danubii rebus turbabantur ambiguis: ac primum inter filios ejus de obtinendo regno magna ſunt exorta certamina, qui morbo iniquæ dominationis inflati, materiam ſui ſceleris accepere patris interitum. *This paſſage may be illuſtrated by the Quotations below, from* JORNANDES.

(5) JORNANDES *relates this Battle*, l. c. which *is the more remarkable, as, beſides the* Hunns *and* Gepidæ, *the* Swabians, Heruli *and* Alani *were engaged.* Quod dum Gepidarum rex comperit Ardaricus, de tot gentibus indignatus, velut viliſſimorum mancipiorum conditione tractari, contra filios Attilæ primus inſurgit, illatumque ſerviendi pudorem ſecuta felicitate deterſit: nec ſolum ſuam gentem, ſed

Attila's Son, had founded a Kingdom (6). *Ardaric* remained Maſter of ancient *Dacia*; and made a League with the Emperor *Marcian*, the better to maintain his Ground. The *Gepidæ* have already been more than once mention'd, among the *German* Nations, and will appear more frequently in the Sequel of this Hiſtory. *Procopius* expreſsly avers, that they had the ſame Origin and Language, with the *Goths*, and differed from them only in Name (7). This *Ardaric* was probably the ſame King, whoſe Gold-Coins, as appears from the *Burgundian*

ſed & cæteras, quæ pariter premebantur, ſua diſceſſione abſolvit: quia facile omnes appetunt, quæ pro cunctorum utilitate tentantur. In mutuum igitur armantur exitium, bellumque committitur in Pannonia juxta flumen, cui nomen eſt Netad. Illic concurſus factus eſt gentium variarum, quas Attila in ſua tenuerat ditione, dividuntur regna cum populis, fiuntque ex uno corpore membra diverſa, nec quæ unius paſſioni compatierentur, ſed quæ exciſo capite invicem inſanirent. Quæ nunquam contra ſe pares invenerant, niſi ipſæ mutuis ſe vulneribus fauciantes, ſe ipſas diſcerperent, fortiſſimæ nationes. Nam ibi admirandum reor fuiſſe ſpectaculum, ubi cernere erat cunctis pugnantem Gothum eſſe furentem, Gepidam in vulnere ſuorum cuncta tela frangentem, Suevum pede, Hunnum ſagitta præſumere, Alanum gravi, Herulum levi armatura aciem inſtruere. Poſt multos ergo graveſque conflictus favit Gepidis inopinata victoria. Nam triginta fere millia tam Hunnorum, quam aliarum gentium, quæ Hunnis ferebant auxilium, Ardarici gladius conſpiratorumque peremit. In quo prælio filius Attilæ major natu, nomine Ellac occiditur, quem tantum pater ſuper cæteros amaſſe perhibebatur, ut eum cunctis diverſiſque filiis ſuis in regno præferret. Sed non fuit voto patris fortuna conſentiens. Nam poſt multas hoſtium cædes ſic viriliter cum conſtat peremtum, ut tam glorioſum ſuperſtes pater optaſſet interitum. Reliqui vero germani ejus eo occiſo fugantur juxta litus Pontici maris, ubi prius Gothos ſediſſe deſcripſimus.

(6) *See the Concluſion of the foregoing Note.*

(7) PROCOPIUS de bello Vandalico, *L. I. cap.* 2. *p.* 178. *A.* Plurima quidem ſuperioribus fuere temporibus, hodieque ſunt nationes Gothicæ; ſed inter illas Gothi, Vandali, Viſigothi & Gepædes cum numero, tum dignitate præſtant. Olim Sauromatæ dicebantur ac Melanchlæni: quidam etiam Getarum nomen ipſis tribuerunt. Vocabulis quidem omnes, ut dictum eſt: nulla vero re præterea inter ſe differunt. Cutis omnibus candida, flava cæſaries, corpus procerum, facies liberalis, eædem leges, eadem ſacra, Ariana ſcilicet, una demum lingua, quam Gothicam vocamus: ita ut ad unam univerſos gentem pertinuiſſe quondam, ac ſuorum deinde ducum nominibus diſcretos fuiſſe, exiſtimem. Antiquæ eorum ſedes trans flumen Iſtrum. Exin Gepædes Singedonem ac Sirmium cum vicino tractu, qua cis, qua ultra fluvium Iſtrum, ubi etiamnum habitant, occuparunt. *The Author of the* Hiſtoria Miſcella *had this Paſſage in View, to which he adds, that the* Longobards *were at firſt comprehended under this Name:* L. XIV. p. 408. Eodem tempore erant Gothi & aliæ gentes multæ ac maximæ trans Danubium in Hyperboreis locis habitantes: ex quibus rationabiliores quatuor ſunt, Gothi ſcilicet, Hypo-Gothi, Gepides & Vandali, nomen tantum & nihil aliud mutantes, unaque lingua utentes: omnes autem fidei erant Arianæ malignitatis. Iſti ſub Arcadio & Honorio Danubium tranſeuntes, locati ſunt in terra Romanorum. Et Gepides quidem, ex quibus poſtmodum diviſi ſunt Langobardi & Avares, villas quæ ſunt circa Singidonem & Sirmium habitavere. Hypo-Gothi vero poſt Alaricum Romam

gundian Laws, were long current in Trade (8). Tho' the *Gepidæ* remained now Masters of *Dacia*, yet some *Hunns* may perhaps, here and there, have kept their Ground in that Country: For the *Zeckelers*, in *Transylvania*, are look'd upon to be a Remnant of *Attila*'s Army (9).

The *Goths* retire into the *Roman* Provinces

§. VII. WHEN, therefore, the *Ostro-Goths* saw, that their ancient Habitation on the *Black-Sea* was filled with *Hunns*, and the *Gepidæ* were Masters of *Dacia*, they went, together with the *Scyrri*, and a Body of *Rugi* and *Alani*, over the *Danube*, and enter'd likewise into Treaty with the *Roman* Empire. The *Goths* were the more readily allow'd to settle in *Pannonia*, as all the Countries, from the *Sau* to the *Novi*, in *Thrace*, had been under the Dominion of *Attila*, and were now consequently open to every one (1). *Jornandes* fixes the Confines of this their new Habitation, from *Sirmium* to *Vienna*; according to which Description, the present *Lower Hungary* and *Sclavonia*, at that Time, harbour'd the *Goths*. The three Brothers, *Valemir*, *Theodemir* and *Widemir*, in whom the ancient Royal Line of the *Amali* was preserved, shared indeed the Country, but enter'd into Obligations of being mutually assistant to each other (2). These *Ostro-Goths* must be distinguish'd from another

Romam depopulantes in Gallias abierunt & quæ ibidem sunt, obtinuere: deinde decimo octavo anno Theodosii imperatoris junioris, Thraciæ villas habitaverunt: & per annos 58. in Thrace morantes occidentis quoque obtinuerunt imperium.

(8) V. additamentum II. ad leges Burgundionum n. VI. De monetis solidorum præcipimus custodire, ut omne aurum, quodcunque pensaverit, accipiatur, præter quatuor tantum monetas, Valentiniani, Genavensis, & Gothium, qui à tempore regis Alarici adærati sunt & Ardaricos: quodsi quiscunque præter istas quatuor monetas aurum pensatum non acceperit, quod vendere volebat non acceperit, quod vendere volebat non accepto prætio pendat.

(9) *The Name is derived from the* Hunnick *Word* Szekhely. *This their Origin is farther illustrated by* OTROKOCSI in originibus Hungar. P. I. *p.* 454. *and* TOPPELTINUS origin. Transylv. *p.* 46.

§. VII. (1) JORNANDES, *c.* 50. Hæc causa Ardarici regis Gepidarum felix adfuit diversis nationibus, qui Hunnorum regimini inviti famulabantur, eorumque diu mœstissimos animos ad hilaritatem libertatis votivam erexit. Venientesque multi per legatos suos ad solum Romanorum, & a principe tunc Marciano gratissime suscepti, distributas sedes, quas incolerent, accepere. Nam Gepidæ Hunnorum sibi sedes viribus vendicantes, totius Daciæ fines, velut victores, potiti, nihil aliud a Romano imperio, nisi pacem & annua solennia, ut strenui viri amica pactione postulavere. Quod & libens tunc annuit imperator, & usque nunc consuetum donum est. Nam gens ipsa a Romano suscipit principe. Gothi vero cernentes, Gepidas Hunnorum sedes sibi defendere, Hunnorumque populum suas antiquas sedes occupare, maluerunt a Romano regno terras petere, quam cum discrimine suo invadere alienas: accipientes Pannoniam, quæ in longa porrecta planicie habet ab oriente Moesiam superiorem, a meridie Dalmatiam, ab occasu Noricum, a septentrione Danubium. Ornata patria civitatibus plurimis, quarum prima Sirmis, extrema Vindomina.

(2) JORNANDES, *c.* 52. Plerique ergo, ut ad gentem, unde agitur, revertamur, [*i. e. Ostrogothorum.*] qui in Pannonia sub rege Walemir

another Swarm of *Goths*, who had long dwelt in *Thrace* (3), and whoſe Prince, *Theodoric*, was frequently at Variance with the Emperors *Leo* and *Zeno*. The *Alani* fix'd their Habitation in *Scythia Minor*, and the *Rugi* likewiſe got Poſſeſſion of a ſeparate Diſtrict (4): But we find, in the Life of *S. Severin*, other *Rugi*, who were Neighbours of the *Gepidæ*, and dwelt on the left Banks of the *Danube*, about where the *Moraw* falls into that River (5). Some *Sarmatians* and *Hunns*, likewiſe, paſs'd the *Danube*: A Part of the former ſettled near *Martena* in *Illyricum*. (6). Among the Princes of the *Hunns*, *Hernac*, one of *Attila*'s younger Sons, laid Claim to the extream Parts of *Scythia Minor*, from whence he was enabled to keep up a good Neighbourhood and Underſtanding with his Brother *Denzices*, on the *Black-Sea*. Some other Princes of the *Hunns* placed themſelves, here and there, on the *Danube*, in *Dacia Ripenſis* (7), where

Walemir ejuſque Germanis, Theodemir & Widemir, inorabantur, quamvis diviſa loca, conſilia tamen habuere unita. Nam Walemir inter Scarniungam & Aquam Nigram fluvios, Theodemir juxta lacum Pelſodis, Widemir inter utroſque, manebat.

(3) JORNANDES, *c.* 51. Erant ſiquidem & alii Gothi, qui dicuntur minores, populus immenſus, cum ſuo pontifice ipſoque primate Vulfila, qui eos dicitur & literis inſtituiſſe, hodieque ſunt in Mœſia, regionem incolentes Eucropolitanam. Ad pedes enim montis gens multa ſedit pauper, & imbelli, nihil abundans, nili armento diverſi generis pecorum, & paſcuis, ſylvaque lignorum, parum habens tritici; cæterarum ſpecierum eſt terra fœcunda. Vineas vero nec ſi ſunt alibi, certi eorum cognoſcent, ex vicinis locis ſibi negotiantes: nam lacte aluntur.

(4) JORN. *l. c.* Rugi vero, aliæque nationes nonnullæ *Giozimetas*, *Scandiopolin*, ut incolerent, petivere. *But this paſſage is ſo corrupted, that it is quite unintelligible. In ſome other* MSS. *we read* Brizim *and* Archiadropolim.

(5) EUGIPPIUS in vita S. Severini, capite 5. 8. 33. *This deſcription is confirmed by* PAULUS DIACONUS, *who ſays* L. I. de rebus Langob. *c.* 19. His temporibus inter Odoachar, qui in Italia per aliquot jam annos regnabat, & Feletheum, qui & Feva dictus eſt, Rugorum regem, magnarum inimicitiarum fomes exarſit. Qui Feletheus illis diebus ulteriorem Danubii ripam incolebat, quam a Norici finibus idem Danubius ſeparat. *Immediately after he calls the ſame Country* Rugiland.

(6) JORN. *c.* 50. Sauromatæ vero, quos Sarmatas diximus, & Cemandiri, & quidam ex Hunnis in parte Illyrici ad caſtrum Martenam ſedes ſibi datas coluere. Ex quo genere fuit Polivitas [al. Blivitas] dux Pentapolitanus, ejusque germanus Froilas, & noſtri temporis Beſſa patricius. Sciri vero, & Satagarii, & cæteri Alanorum, cum duce ſuo, nomine Candax, Scythiam minorem, inferioremque Mœſiam accepere. Cujus Candacis, Alanowamuthis patris mei genitor; Peria, id eſt, meus avus, notarius, quouſque Candax ipſe viveret, fuit: ejuſque germanæ filius Gunthigis, qui & Baza dicebatur, magiſter militum, filius Andagis, filii Andalæ, de proſapia Amalorum deſcendens. Ego item, quamvis agrammatus, Jornandes ante converſionem meam notarius fui. *However corrupted this Paſſage is, yet it cannot but be agreable to thoſe, who read the* Gothick *Hiſtory, by Reaſon of the Account it contains of* JORNANDES's *Perſon. As for this* CASTRUM MARTENA *it is ſuppos'd by ſome to be the preſent* Marckburg, *in* Stiria.

(7) IDEM l. c. Hernac quoque, junior Attilæ

where afterwards the *Bulgarians*, likewiſe a *Hunnick* Nation, founded a Kingdom of their own. Thus was *Attila*'s Kingdom now divided, and may ſerve for a freſh Proof, how fruitleſs a Work it is, to ſubdue many Countries, if they are not well united, and ſo eſtabliſh'd by prudent Laws, that the Succeſſion is ſecure, and the ſeveral Nations may neither have Cauſe to wiſh for a Revolution, nor Opportunity, to attempt it.

The *Oſtro-Goths* maintain their Freedom againſt the Sons of *Attila*.

§. VIII. THE *Oſtro-Goths* were obliged, Sword in Hand, to defend their new acquired Liberty. *Attila*'s Sons aimed at reducing thoſe Nations, who had been ſubject to their Father, eſpecially the *Goths*, to their Dominion, and fell upon *Valamir*; but met with a vigorous Repulſe (1). They had, ſome Years after, again to do with *Dengizic*, whom they defeated before *Baſiana*, (at preſent *Pogeda* in *Sclavonia*) and oblig'd him to retreat: After which the *Hunns* did not venture to moleſt them any farther (2). Divers and more conſiderable were the Differences, which

Attilæ filius, cum ſuis in extremo minoris Scythiæ ſedes delegit: Emnedzar, & Uzindur conſanguinei ejus, in Dacia ripenſi. Uto & Iſcalmus, qui ea potiti ſunt, multique Hunnorum paſſim, proruentes tunc ſe in Romaniam dederunt. E quibus nunc uſque Sacromontiſii, & Foſatiſii dicuntur.

§. VIII. (1) JORNANDES, *c.* 54. Contigit ergo, ut Attilæ filii contra Gothos, quaſi deſertores dominationis ſuæ, velut fugacia mancipia requirentes venirent; ignariſque aliis fratribus ſuper Walemir ſolum irruerent. Quos tamen ille, quamvis cum paucis, excepit; diuque fatigatos ita proſtravit, ut vix pars aliqua hoſtium remaneret, quæ in fugam verſa, eas partes Scythiæ peteret, quas Danubii amnis fluenta prætermeant, quæ lingua ſua *HUNNIVAR* appellant. *Some learned* Hungarians *have taken Pains to deſcribe the Country here call'd* Hunnwar. BELIUS's *Conjecture on this Head may, at the ſame Time, ſerve to give us ſome Light into the Extent of that Part of the Country, which belong'd to* Valamir. *He ſays, in* prodromo Hungariæ, libro II. ſect. I. cap. I. §. 24. Tenuiſſe nimirum Walemirum oportuit, eam partem inferioris Pannoniæ, ubi nunc comitatus Albenſis, Sumogienſis, Tolnenſis & Baranenſis eſt. In his ergo tractibus, cum ſæpe iterumque manus conſeruiſſent, bello tandem inferiores filii Attilæ, ceſſerunt Gothis. Neque vero tunc Danaprum, ſed Danubium, atque inde Batiſſum, habuere objectum. Quibus ſuperatis, in ſuum illud perfugium ſe receperunt, quod illi Hunni-vár appellarunt, non jam in Sarmatia, ſed in Dacia mediterranea, ſive conſulari, quærendum, ubi hodienum ejuſdem nominis eſt, comitatus Hunyadienſis, vulgo Hunnyad-vármegye; has enim oras diutius retinuiſſe Hunnos, Székelyjorum natio, quæ conſtantes hic ſedes habuit, docet. Eſt & in Hungaria ſuperiore comitatus Ung. ſive Unguármegye, a fluvio cognomine aliis, aliis ab arce Unguár, dictus. BONFINIUS id nominis ab Hunnis derivatum putat. quod ſi eſt, ſicuti poteſt omnino, erit ipſiſſimum Jornandis Hunnivar, ex quo modica flexione factum eſt Unguár. Quamcunque ſequaris conjectationem, perinde eſt. Quod vero tractus, quos petierunt Hunni, Scythiam appellat JORNANDES, in eo oppido lapſus eſt, ſicut plerumque, quum ſitus terrarum deſcribit.

(2) JORNANDES, *cap.* 53. Poſtquam ergo firma pax Gothorum cum Romanis effecta eſt, videntes Gothi, non ſibi ſufficere ea,

which *Dengizic* and *Irnac* had with the Imperial Court of *Conſtantinople* (3); and the former, in the Year 469. was put to Death in *Thrace*, by *Anagaſtus*, the Imperial General. His Head was placed in publick View, at *Conſtantinople*; and the Concourſe of the People, to ſee this Trophy, was the greater, as they hardly ever heard the Father mentioned, (4) but with Terror.

§. IX. THE Conſequences of this Migration of the *Oſtro-Goths* were no leſs conſiderable, than thoſe which attended the Succeſs of the *Wiſi-Goths*, in the Times of *Valens*. They had not dwelt long on the Frontiers of the *Roman* Empire before they made the Court of *Conſtantinople* ſenſible, what a Kind of Neighbours they were. *Marcian* died, in the Year 457, and *Aſpar*, who had the Army in his Power, had raiſed *Leo* to the Throne, in his Room (1). *Theodoric*, the Prince of thoſe *Goths*, who, as I mention'd before, dwelt in *Thrace*, bore a great Sway in this Reign; and we ſhall, in the Sequel, meet with Tokens of the ſtrict Alliance between *Aſpar* and him. The *Oſtro-Goths* were now deſirous to enjoy the ſame Advantages, which he did, and, to ſhew their Power, invaded *Illyricum* (2). Of this War, is to be

Their Differences with the Emperor *Leo*.

ea, quæ ab imperatore acciperent ſalaria, ſimulque cupientes oſtentare virtutem, cœperunt vicinas gentes circumcirca prædari: primo contra Satagas, qui interiorem Pannoniam poſſidebant, arma moventes. Quod ubi rex Hunnorum Dinzic, filius Attilæ, cognoviſſet, collectis ſecum qui adhuc videbantur, quamvis pauci, ejus tamen ſub imperio remanſiſſe, Ulzingures, Angiſciros, Bittugores, Bardores, veniens ad Baſſanam Pannoniæ civitatem, eamque circumvallans, fines ejus cœpit prædari. Quo comperto Gothi, ubi erant, expeditionem ſolventes, quam contra Satagas collegerant, in Hunnos convertunt; & ſic eos ſuis a finibus inglorios pepulerunt, ut jam ex illo tempore, qui remanſerant Hunni, & uſque hactenus, Gothorum arma formident.

(3) PRISCUS *gives an Account of theſe Ruptures*, l. c. *p.* 44.

(4) CHRONICON ALEXANDRINUM, *p.* 323. Dinſirichus, Attilæ filius, ab Anagaſto magiſtro militum in Thracia cæſus eſt, cujus caput delatum Conſtantinopolim, dum circenſes agerentur, per medium circumgeſtatum eſt, & (extra urbem) in palo ſuſpenſum. cujus ſpectandi cauſa multis diebus univerſa civitas egreſſa eſt. MARCELLINUS: ZENONE & MARTIANO Coss. Caput *DENZICIS*, Hunnorum regis, Attilæ filii, Conſtantinopolim allatum eſt.

§. IX. (1) PROCOPIUS de bello Vandalico L. I. c. 5. Tunc penes Leonem erat imperium orientis, factione Aſparis ipſi traditum.

(2) JORN. c. 52. Poſt tempus ergo non multum rex Walemir, ejuſque germani, Theodemir & Widemir, conſueta dum traderent dona, a principe Marciano quæ ad inſtar ſtrenuæ gentis acceperunt, ut pacis fœdera cuſtodirent, miſſa legatione ad imperatorem, vident Theodericum Triarii filium, & hunc genere Gothico, alia tamen ſtirpe, non Amalo procreatum, omnino florentem cum ſuis, Romanorumque amicitiis junctum, & annua ſolemnia conſequentem, & ſe tantum deſpici. Illico furore commoti arma arripiunt, & Illyricum pene totum diſcurrentes in prædam devaſtant. Sed ſtatim imperator animo mutato ad priſtinam recurrit amicitiam, miſſaque legatione, tam præterita

be understood, what *Sidonius Apollinaris* says in Honour of a Victory gain'd over *Valamir*, by *Anthemius*, who was afterwards Emperor (3). And they so far obtained their End, that *Leo* concluded a Treaty with them, by Virtue of which they were allowed a certain annual Subsidy in Mony (4). For the Security of this Peace, *Theodemir*, at the Instances of his Brother *Valamir*, deliver'd his Son, *Theodoric*, as an Hostage. He was then but 7 Years of Age (5), and no one would at that Time, have imagined, that Heaven had destin'd him for the Dominion of *Rome* and all *Italy*.

§. X.

cum instantibus munera tribuit, quam etiam de futuro fine aliqua controversia tribuere compromittit; pacisque obsidem ab eis, quem supra retulimus, Theodericum infantulum Theodemiris accepit. Qui jam annorum septem incrementa conscendens, octavum intraverat annum. Quem dum pater cunctatus daret, patruus Walemir extitit supplicator, tantum ut pax firma inter Romanos Gothosque maneret. Datus igitur Theodericus obses a Gothis, ducitur ad urbem Constantinopolitanam Leoni principi; & quia puerulus elegans erat, meruit gratiam imperialem habere. JORNANDES's *Relations, in several Respects, illustrated and confirmed by the Testimonies of* PRISCUS *and* SIDONIUS, *in the following Notes.*

(3) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS in panegyrico in Anthemium (carmine II. v. 223.)

Ante tamen, quam te socium collega crearet,
Perstrinxisse libet, quos Illyris ora triumphos
Viderit, excisam quæ se Valameris ab armis
Forte ducis nostri vitio deserta gemebat.
Haud aliter, cæsus quondam cum Cæpio robur
Dedidit Ansonium, subita cogente ruina,
Electura ducem post guttura fracta Jugurthæ,
Ultum Arpinatem Calpurnia fœdera lixam
Opposuit rabido respublica territa Cimbro.
Hinc primum ut vestras aquilas provincia vidit,
Desiit hostiles confestim horrere dracones.
Ilicet edomiti bello, prædaque carentes,
Mox ipsi tua præda jacent.

(4) PRISCUS, *p.* 74. A. Cum Balamerus Scytha fœdera violaret, & Romanorum regiones depopularetur, & multas urbes everteret, Romani ad eum legatos miserunt, qui de pace violata quererentur. Et ut deinceps a vexanda incursionibus Romanorum regione abstineret, decem & novem auri libras illi quotannis solvi constituerunt. Dicebat enim, suæ gentis multitudinem, rerum necessariarum inopia, ad bellum insurrexisse.

(5) JORNANDES. *See the foregoing* 2d *Note. He takes Notice of* THEODORIC's *Nativity*, l. c. c. 52. Eoque tempore, cum ad fratrem Theodemirem gaudii nuntium direxisset, eo mox die nuntius veniens felicius in domo Theodemiris reperit gaudium. Ipso siquidem die, Theodoricus ejus filius, quamvis de Eralieva concubina, bonæ tamen spei puerulus natus erat. MALCHUS *indeed affirms that he was* VALAMIR's *Son, but the Learned give Credit to* JORNANDES. PAGIUS, *in particular*, ad A. 475. n. 6. *confirms this his Relation. As for his Education in* Constantinople, *it is highly extol'd by* ENNODIUS *in the* Panegyrick, *which he afterwards spoke in Honour to* THEODORIC, *when King of* Italy, *p.* 294. Educavit te in gremio civilitatis Græcia, præsaga venturi, quem ita ingressum vitæ limen erudivit, ut dum adhuc

§. X. AFTER having thus renewed the Fame of their Valour among the *Hunns*, and in the *Roman* Empire, they engaged in a War with their *German* Neighbours. *Hunnimund*, a *Swabian* Prince, made Incurſions into *Dalmatia*, and, in his March, drove away ſome Cattle belonging to *Theodemir*'s Subjects. *Theodemir* way-laid him, on his Return, and took him Priſoner; but releaſed him again; and ſo great an Intimacy enſued thereupon, that he adopted him for his Son. But theſe After-Favours could not induce *Hunnimund* to ſtifle his Reſentment for what he had before ſuffer'd; and after ſome Time he excited the *Scyrri* againſt the *Oſtro-Goths*. An Engagement enſued betwixt theſe two Nations; in which indeed the *Gothick* Prince, *Valamir*, was ſlain; but on the other Hand, the *Goths* beat the *Scyrri* (1). *Hunnimund*, and another King of the *Swabians*, named *Alaric*, then openly interfered in this War, to put a Stop to the Encreaſe of the *Gothick* Power, upon the Conqueſt of the *Scyrri*. They not only encourag'd the *Scyrri* to revenge the Overthrow of their Country-Men, but took the Field in Perſon; and were re-inforced by ſome Auxiliaries of *Gepidæ* and *Rugi*, both which Nations were only ſeparated from the *Goths*, by the *Danube*. The neighbouring *Sarmatæ* likewiſe took up Arms, under the Command of *Beuga* and *Babai*, two of their Kings. Both Parties had

Their Wars with the *Scyrri*, *Swabians*, *Gepidæ*, &c. The firſt Exploits of *Theodoric* the Younger.

adhuc de puero haberet hilaritatem, mox etiam ſequeretur ſecuritas de tutore. *Some pretty ancient Romantick Accounts of this Prince, in which he is call'd* DIEDERICK *of* BERN, *have ſo corrupted his real Hiſtory, that we cannot too carefully examine the Circumſtances of it.*

§. X. (1) JORNANDES, *c.* 53. Quieſcente vero tandem Hunnorum gente a Gothis, Hunnimundus Suevorum dux, dum ad prædandas Dalmatias tranſit, armenta Gothorum in campis errantia deprædavit: quia Dalmatiis Suevia vicina erat, nec a Pannoniis multum diſtabat, præſertim ubi tunc Gothi reſidebant. Quid plurimum? Hunnimundo cum Suevis, vaſtatis Dalmatiis, ad ſua revertente, Theodemir, germanus Walemiris regis Gothorum, non tantum jacturam armentorum dolens, quantum metuens ne Suevi, ſi impune hoc lucrarentur, ad majorem licentiam proſilirent, ſic vigilavit in eorum tranſitu, ut intempeſta nocte dormientes invaderet ad lacum Belſodis, conſertoque inopinato prælio, ita eos oppreſſit, ut etiam ipſo rege Hunnimundo capto, omnem exercitum ejus, qui gladium evaſiſſet, Gothorum ſubderet ſervituti. Et dum multum eſſet amator miſericordiæ, facta ultione veniam condonavit, reconciliatuſque cum Suevis eundem, quem ceperat, adoptans ſibi filium, remiſit cum ſuis in Sueviam. Sed ille immemor paternæ gratiæ, poſt aliquod tempus conceptum dolum parturiens, Scirrorum gentem incitavit, qui tunc ſupra Danubium conſidebant, & cum Gothis pacifice morabantur, quatenus ſciſſi ab eorum fœdere ſecumque juncti, in arma proſilirent, gentemque Gothorum invaderent. Tunc Gothis nihil mali ſperantibus, præſertim de utriſque amicis vicinis confiſis, bellum inſurgit ex improviſo, coactique neceſſitate ad arma confugiunt: ſolitoque certamine arrepto, ſe ſuamque injuriam ulciſcuntur. In eo ſiquidem prœlio rex eorum Walemir, dum equo inſidens ad cohortandos ſuos ante aciem cur-

had ſought for Aſſiſtance at *Conſtantinople*, where *Aſpar* indeed adviſed the Court to look on, and ſee how theſe Nations would extirpate each other: But *Leo* nevertheleſs ſent an Order to the *Præfectus Prætorii Illyrici*, to lend the *Scyrri* ſome Aid, perhaps becauſe they were eſteemed the weaker Side (2). When a Battle therefore enſued, in *Pannonia*, the two Princes *Theodemir* and *Widemir*, who after their Brother's Deceaſe, reign'd over all the *Goths*, carried the Day (3). *Theodemir*, the enſuing Winter, paſs'd the frozen *Danube*, and invaded the *Swabians* and *Alemanni* in their own Country (4). *Jornandes*, in deſcribing

curreret, proturbatus equus corruit, ſeſſoremque ſuum dejecit: qui mox inimicorum lanceis confoſſus, interemtus eſt: Gothi vero, tam regis ſui mortem, quam ſuam injuriam a rebellionibus exigentes, ita ſunt prœliati, ut pene de gente Scirorum niſi qui nomen ipſum ferrent, & hic cum dedecore non remanſiſſent, ſic omnes extinxerunt.

(2) PRISCUS's *Teſtimony of this War is the more acceptable, as it confirms* JORNANDES's *Relation, p.* 44. A. Scythæ & Gothi, acie decertantes, & a pugna utrique recedentes, ad accerſenda auxilia animum adjecerunt. Qua de re Romanos Eoos adierunt. Aſpar quidem cenſuit, neutris opitulandum eſſe. Sed imperator Leo ſtatuit, Scirris opem ferre. Itaque litteras ad præfectum Illyrici miſit, juſſitque quoad neceſſe eſſet, auxiliares copias Scirris adverſus Gothos præbere. Eodem tempore venit & ad Leonem imperatorem legatio a filiis Attilæ, ut omnibus omnino præteritorum diſſidiorum cauſis reſecatis, pacem inirent. Itaque Romani, ut olim erat in more poſitum, ad Iſtrum uſque procedentes, mercatum celebrarent, ex quo invicem ea, quæ ſibi opus eſſent, deſumerent. Et ea quidem legatio, quæ circa hæc verſabatur, re infecta rediit. Nec enim imperator rationibus ſuis conducere arbitratus eſt, commoditates, quæ propriæ Romanorum eſſent, Hunnis, qui eos tot damnis, & cladibus affecerant, communicare. At vero Attilæ filii renuntiata legatione, inter ſe diſſenſerunt. Etenim Dengiſich legatis, nulla re impetrata reverſis, bellum Romanis indici volebat. Cui quidem apparatui Irnach repugnabat. Nec enim bellum longius a patria geri, expedire exiſtimabat.

(3) JORNANDES, *c.* 54. Quorum exitium, Suevorum reges, Hunnimundus & Alaricus veriti, in Gothos arma moverunt, freti auxilio Sarmatarum, qui cum Beuga & Babai, regibus ſuis, auxiliarii eorum deveniſſent, ipſaſque Scirorum reliquias, quaſi ad ultionem ſuam acrius pugnaturas accerſentes, cum Edica, & Ulfo, eorum primatibus, habuerunt ſimul ſecum tam Gepidas, quam ex gente Rugorum non parva ſolatia, cæteriſque hinc inde collectis, ingentem multitudinem aggregantes, ad amnem, Bolliam in Pannoniis, caſtra metati ſunt. Gothi tunc, Walemire defuncto, ad fratrem ejus Theodemir confugerunt. Qui quamvis dudum cum fratribus regnans, tamen auctioris poteſtatis inſignia ſumens, Widemire fratre juniore accito, & cum ipſo curas belli partitus, cunctus ad arma proſilivit; conſertoque prælio ſuperior pars invenitur Gothorum, adeo ut campus inimicorum corruentium cruore madefactus, ut rubrum pelagus appareret, armaque, & cadavera, in modum collium cumulata, campum pluſquam decem millibus oppleverunt. Quod Gothi cernentes, ineffabili exultatione lætantur, eo quod regis ſui Walemiris ſanguinem, & ſuam injuriam cum maxima inimicorum ſtrage ulciſcerentur. De innumeranda vero variaque multitudine hoſtium, qui valuerunt evadere, effugativi ad ſua inglorii pervenerunt.

(4) IDEM, *c.* 55. Poſt certum vero tempus inſtanti hyemali frigore, anneque Danubii ſolite congelato (nam iſtiuſmodi fluvius ita rigeſcit,

deſcribing the Confines of the *Swabians*, makes Mention of the *Bojobari* or *Bavarians*, which is the firſt Notice taken of this, afterwards ſo famous, Name, among the *German* Nations. *Theodoric*, the Son of *Theodemir* returned, at the ſame Time, from *Conſtantinople*, where he had been educated as an Hoſtage, and placed himſelf at the Head of 6000 Men, with whom he attack'd *Babai*, the *Sarmatian* King, and killed him: With theſe he likewiſe took, from the *Sarmatæ*, *Singidunum*, which they had a little while before brought under their Subjection (5). *Singidunum* is the preſent *Belgrad* (6); and thus did *Theodoric*, as the firſt Proof of his Valour, extend the Borders of the *Gothick* Dominions, to the Confluence of the *Sau* with the *Danube*.

§. XI. THUS did the *Oſtro-Goths* exert that Force on the *Danube*, which was deſtin'd, ſoon after, for the total Subverſion of the *Roman Empire*, in *Italy*. The *Wiſi-Goths*, on the other Hand were involv'd in a War with the *Suevi*, in *Spain*. *Rechila* died, at *Merida*, in the Year 448, and was ſucceeded by *Rechiarius*, his Son (1). This Prince married the Daughter of *Theodoric*, I. King of the *Wiſi-Goths* (2), thereby

State of the Kingdom of the *Suevi*. A Rupture between *Rechiarius* and the *Romans*.

rigeſcit, ut in ſilicis modum vehat exercitum pedeſtrem, plauſtruaque & tragulas, vel quicquid vehiculi fuerit, nec cymbarum indigeat lintre) ſic ergo cum gelatum Theodemir Gothorum rex cernens, pedeſtrem ducit exercitum: emenſoque Danubio, Suevis improviſus a tergo apparuit. Nam regio illa Suevorum ab oriente BAJOBAROS habet, ab occidente Francos, a meridie Burgundiones, a ſeptentrione Thuringos. Quibus Suevis tunc juncti Alemanni etiam aderant, ipſique Alpes erectas omnino regentes: unde nonnulla fluenta Danubio influunt, nimio cum ſono vergentia. Hic ergo taliter munito loco, Theodemir rex hyemis tempore Gothorum ductavit exercitum, & tam Suevorum gentem, quam etiam Alemannorum, utraſque ad invicem fœderatas, devicit, vaſtavit, & pene ſubegit.

(5) IDEM, l. c. Inde quoque victor ad proprias ſedes, id eſt Pannonias revertens, Theodericum, filium ſuum, quem Conſtantinopolim obſidem dederat, a Leone imperatore remiſſum, cum magnis muneribus gratanter excepit. Qui Theodericus, jam adoleſcentiæ annos contingens, expleta pueritia, octavum decimum peragens annum, adſcitis ſatellitibus patris, ex populo amatores ſibi, clienteſque conſociavit pene ſex millia viros; cum quibus inſcio patre, emenſo Danubio ſuper Babai, Sarmatarum regem, diſcurrit, qui tunc de Camundo, duce Romanorum, victoria potitus, ſuperbiæ tumore regnabat, eumque ſuperveniens Theodericus interemit, familiamque & cenſum deprædans, ad genitorem ſuum cum victoria repedavit. Singidonum dehinc civitatem, quam ipſi Sarmatæ occupaſſent, invadens, non Romanis reddidit, ſed ſuæ ſubdidit ditioni.

(6) SINGIDUNUM *is by ſome thought to be* SEMENDRIT. *But* OTROKOSCI, P. I. *cap.* 5. §. 37. *p.* 199. *proves, by probable Arguments, that* Belgrad *is here meant.*

§. XI. (1) IDATIUS, ad A. XXIV. Valentiniani (448). Rechila, rex Suevorum, Emeritæ gentilis moritur, menſe Auguſto; cui mox filius ſuus catholicus, Rechiarius, ſuccedit in regnum, nonnullis quidem ſibi de gente ſua æmulis, ſed latenter. obtento tamen regno, ſine mora ulteriores regiones invadit ad prædam.

(2) IDATIUS, ad A. XXV. Valentiniani (449).

thereby to ſecure the Friendſhip of the *Gothick* Court. He was not contented with the Kingdom left him by his Father; but when, the enſuing Year, he had made a Viſit to his Father-in-Law, he, on his Return, committed Hoſtilities againſt the *Romans*, and made Depredations in *Saragoſſa*, *Ilerda*, and other Cities in *Hiſpania Tarraconenſis* (3). A Peace was nevertheleſs concluded (4); and, as appears by the Sequel (5), the *Romans* thereby, at that Time, retained *Hiſpania Tarraconenſis*, with the Territories of *Carthagena*. They thereupon cleared *Hiſpania Tarraconenſis* of that turbulent Crew, who were, as before in *Gaul*, called *Bacaudæ*, and had, till then, been very ſeditious; on which Occaſion *Frideric*, a Son of *Theodoric*, I. King of the *Goths*, performed eminent Service (6). *Valentinian*'s Death likewiſe made a Breach in the Peace, between the *Suevi* and the *Romans*; and *Rechiarius* made a freſh Invaſion into thoſe Countries, which by the laſt Treaty he had reſigned to the *Romans* (7). *Avitus* firſt made amicable Propoſals, and *Theodoric* II. King of the *Goths*, ſeconded them, purſuant to a Treaty, ſubſiſting between him and *Avitus*, by a particular Ambaſſy (8): But *Rechiarius* had as little Regard for *Avitus*'s Ambaſſy, as for his near Relation to the King of the *Goths*; and invading the *Provincia Tarraconenſis*, carried off a great Booty, with a large Number of Priſoners, into *Gallicia* (9).

§. XII.

(449). Rechiarius, accepta in conjugium Theodoris regis filia, auſpicatur initium regni Vaſconias deprædatur menſe Februario.

(3) Idem Ibid. Rechiarius menſe Julio ad Theodorem ſocerum provectus, Cæſarauguſtanam regionem cum Baſilio in reditu deprædatur. Irrupta per dolum Ilerdenſi urbe, acta eſt non parva captivitas. Isidorus's *Teſtimony may be ſeen in the following* §. Not. 3.

(4) Idem ad A. XXVI. Valentiniani (450). Ad Suevos Manſuetus, comes Hiſpaniarum, & Fronto, ſimiliter comes, legati pro pace mittuntur, & obtinent conditiones injunctas.

(5) *See the following* §.

(6) Idatius, ad A. XXX. Valentiniani (454). Per Fredericum, Theudorici regis fratrem, Bacaudæ Tarraconenſes cæduntur ex autoritate Romana.

(7) Idatius, ad A. I. Avitt. Suevi Carthaginenſes regiones, quas Romanis reddiderant, deprædantur.

(8) Idem Ibid. Per auguſtum Avitum Fronto comes legatus mittitur ad Suevos. Similiter & a rege Gothorum Theudorico; quia fidus Romano eſſet imperio, legati ad eoſdem mittuntur, ut tam ſecum, quam cum Romano imperio, quia uno eſſent pacis fœdere copulati, jurati fœderis promiſſa ſervarent. Remiſſis legatis utriuſque partis, atque omni juris ratione violata, Suevi Tarraconenſem provinciam, quæ Romano imperio deſerviebat, invadunt.

(9) Idem Ibid. Legati Gothorum rurſum veniunt ad Suevos, poſt quorum adventum rex Suevorum Rechiarius cum magna ſuorum multitudine regiones provinciæ Tarraconenſis invadit: acta illic deprædatione & grandi ad Gallæciam captivitate deducta.

§. XII.

§. XII. *Theodoric*, therefore, at the Inſtances of *Avitus*, march'd with an Army to *Spain* (1), accompanied by *Gundeucus* and *Chilperic*, two *Burgundian* Kings (2). *Rechiarius* encounter'd him, but was put to Flight, on the 5th of *October*, in the Year 456. on the River *Orbego*, twelve *Roman* Miles from the City of *Aſtorga*. *Theodoric* purſued him, and, in his Way, plunder'd *Brapa*, but ſo far ſpared the City, as not to deſtroy it by Fire and Sword. *Rechiarius* attempted, after his Overthrow, when he thought all loſt, to fly to *Africa*: But he was taken Priſoner in *Oporto* (3), and brought to *Theodoric*. *Theodoric* continued

Theodoric, II. King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, aſſiſted by the *Burgundians*, overcomes *Rechiarius*.

§. XII. (1) IDATIUS, l. c. Mox Hiſpanias rex Gothorum Theodoricus cum ingenti exercitu ſuo, & cum voluntate & ordinatione Aviti imperatoris ingreditur. Cui cum multitudine Suevorum rex Rechiarius occurrens, duodecimo de Aſturicenſi urbe milliario, ad fluvium nomine Urbicum, tertio nonas Octobris die, ſexta feria inito mox certamine ſuperatur: cæſis ſuorum agminibus, aliquantis captis, plurimiſque fugatis, ipſe ad extremas ſedes Gallæciæ plagatus vix evadit ac profugus.

Theuderico rege cum exercitu ad Bracaram extremam civitatem Gallæciæ pertendente, quinto kal. Nov. die dominico etſi incruenta, ſit tamen ſatis mœſta ac lacrymabilis ejuſdem direptio civitatis. Romanorum magna agitur captivitas captivorum: ſanctorum baſilicæ effractæ, altaria ſublata, atque confracta, virgines dei exin quidem abductæ, ſed integritate ſervata: clerus uſque ad nuditatem pudoris exutus, promiſcui ſexus cum parvulis de locis refugii ſanctis, populus omnis abſtractus, jumentorum, pecorum, camelorumque horrore locus ſacer impletur, ſcripta ſuper Hieruſalem ex parte cœleſtis iræ revocavit exempla.

(2) *See the following Note.*

(3). IDATIUS, c. l. Rechiarius ad locum, qui *PORTUCALE* appellatur, profugus, regi Theuderico captivus adducitur: quo in cuſtodiam reducto, cæteris, qui de priore certamine ſuperfuerant, tradentibus ſe Suevis, aliquantis nihilominus interfectis, regnum deſtructum & finitum eſt Suevorum. *With* IDATIUS's *Relation, let us compare, the Accounts given of this War by* ISIDORUS *and* JORNANDES, c. 44. Poſt cujus deceſſum, Theodoricus Germanus ejus, Veſegotharum in regno ſuccedens, mox Riciarium Suevorum regem, cognatum ſuum, reperit inimicum. Hic item Riciarius, affinitatem Theodorici præſumens, univerſam pene Hiſpaniam ſibi credidit occupandam, judicans opportunum tempus ſurreptionis compoſita initia tentare regnantis. Quibus ante Gallicia, & Luſitania ſedes fuere, quæ in dextro latere Hiſpaniæ per ripam oceani porriguntur, habentes ab oriente Auſtrogoniam, ab occidente in promontorio ſacrum Scipionis Romani ducis monumentum, a ſeptentrione oceanum, a meridie Luſitaniam, & fluvium Tagum, qui arenis ſuis permiſcens auri metalla, trahit cum limi vilitate divitias. Exinde ergo exiens Riciarius, rex Suevorum, nititur totam Hiſpaniam occupare. Cui Theodoricus cognatus ſuus, ut erat moderatus, legatos mittens, pacifice dixit, ut non ſolum recederet a finibus alienis: verum etiam nec tentare præſumeret, odium ſibi tali ambitione acquirens. Ille vero animo prætumido ait: ſi hic murmuras & me venire cauſaris, Tholoſam, ubi tu ſedes, veniam: ibi ſi vales, reſiſte. His auditis, ægre tulit Theodoricus, compacatuſque cum cæteris gentibus, arma movit in Suevos, Burgundionum quoque Gundiacum, & Hilpericum reges auxiliares habens, ſibique devotos. Ventum eſt ad certamen juxta flumen Urbicum, quod inter Aſturicam, Hiberiamque pertermeat, conſertoque prælio, Theodoricus cum Veſegothis, qui ex juſta parte pugnabat, victor efficitur, Suevorum gentes pene cunctas

continued his March to *Luſitania*, but reached no further, than *Merida*; where, on Account of ſome important and dangerous Advices from *Gaul*, he was oblig'd to return (4). He left behind him an Army, with Orders to purſue the *Suevi*, to the utmoſt Bounds of *Gallicia*; and, by the Way, they ravag'd *Aſtorga* and *Palenza* (5). But *Agiulf*, one of the *Warni*, in whom he had repos'd great Confidence, prov'd treache-

rous

cunctas uſque ad internecionem proſternens. Quorum rex Riciarius, relicta infecta victoria hoſtem fugiens, in navim conſcendit, adverſaque procella Tyrrheni oſtii repercuſſus Veſegotharum eſt manibus redditus, miſerabilem non differens mortem, cum elementa mutaverit. ISIDORUS, p. 232. Quo defuncto Rectiarius ſuccedit in regnum annis novem. Hic, accepta in conjugio Theudoridi regis Gothorum filia, in initio regni ſui deprædatur. Mox ad Theudoricum ſocerum ſuum profectus, Cæſarauguſtanam regionem cum auxilio Gothorum rediens deprædatur, irruptaque per dolum Ilerdenſi urbe, egit ibi magnam captivitatem. Ad ultimum, dum Theudoridus rex Hiſpaniam ingrederetur, inito prælio adverſus eum, primo fugatus, deinde captus occiditur. Theodoricus pro eo, quod imperatori Avito ſumendi imperialis faſtigii cum Gallis auxilium præbuiſſet, Aquitanias cum ingenti exercitu, & cum ingenti licentia ejuſdem Aviti imperatoris ingreditur. Cui cum magna copia rex Suevorum Rectiarius occurrens, duodecimo Aſturicenſis urbis milliario apud fluvium, qui Urbicus appellatur, inito mox certamine ſuperatus eſt, cæſis ſuorum agminibus, aliquantis captis, plurimiſque fugatis, ipſe poſtremum rex telo fauciatus fugit. Rectiarius vero ad locum Portucalæ profectus, regi Theodorico captus adducitur. Quo perempto, cæteris, qui de priori certamine ſuperfuerant, ſeſe tradentibus, aliquantis nihilominus interfectis, regnum Suevorum pene deſtructum eſt & finitum. Reliqui Suevi, qui remanſerant in extrema Galliciæ, Maſſiliæ filium nomine Maſtrum ſibi regem conſtituunt, regnumque reparatur Suevorum. Theodoricus autem de Gallicia in Luſitaniam victor ſuccedens, dum Emeritenſem urbem deprædari molitur, beatiſſimæ Eulaliæ martyris terretur oſtentis. Mox adverſis ſibi nunciis territus, de Emerita egreſſus, Gallias repetit, & partem exercitus cum ſuis ducibus iterum in campos Galliciæ dirigit: qui cæſa Aſturicenſi regione rurſum revertuntur in Gallias, &c.

(4) IDATIUS c. 1. Occiſo Rechiario, menſe Drcembri, rex Theudoricus de Gallæcia ad Luſitaniam ſuccedit. Suevi, qui remanſerant iu extrema parte Gallæciæ, Maſſiliæ filium, nomine Maldram, ſibi regem conſtituunt.

Theudoricus Emeritam deprædari volens, beatæ Eulaliæ Martyris terretur oſtentis.

(5) IDATIUS, ad A. I. Majoriani. Theudoricus, adverſis ſibi nunciis territus, mox poſt dies Paſchæ, quod fuit quinto Kal. Aprilis, de Emerita egreditur, & Gallias repetens, partem ex ea quam habebat multitudine variæ nationis, cum ducibus ſuis ad campos Gallæciæ dirigit, qui dolis, & perjuriis inſtructi, ſicut eis fuerat imperatum, Aſturicam, quam jam prædones ipſius ſub ſpecie Romanæ ordinationis intraverant, mentientes ad Suevos, qui remanſerant, juſſam ſibi expeditionem, ingrediuntur pace fucata ſolita arte perfidiæ. Nec mora, promiſcui generis reperta illic cæditur multitudo, ſanctæ effringuntur eccleſiæ, altaribus dirept's & demolitis, ſacer omnis ornatus, & uſus auſertur. Duo illic epiſcopi inventi cum omni clero abducuntur in captivitatem: invalidior promiſcui ſexus agitur miſeranda captivitas, reſiduis, & vacuis civitatis domibus datis incendio, camporum loca vaſtantur. Palentina civitas ſimili, quo Aſturica, per Gothos perit exitio. Unum Coviacenſe caſtrum triceſimo de Aſturica milliario a Gothis diutino certamine fatigatum, auxilio dei, hoſtibus & obſiſtit, & prævalet: quamplurimis ex eorum manu interfectis, reliqui revertuntur ad Gallias.

(6) Th-

rous (6). The Nation of the *Suevi*, on the contrary, after having undergone this Storm, at laſt recover'd it's former Strength, under *Remiſmundus*.

§. XIII. As the Prejudice or Partiality of *Roman* Hiſtorians generally prompts them ſo to diſguiſe foreign Princes, that their Repreſentations in Hiſtory appear ſtill more deformed, than their Images on the Medals, which were either actually ſtruck in thoſe unciviliz'd Times, or invented afterwards; it cannot but be acceptable to the Reader, to ſee the Account, given by *Sidonius Apollinaris*, in a Letter to a Friend, of this King *Theodoric*'s Perſon and Court (1). If, in this Picture The Character of *Theodoric*.

(6) *The Fate of this* Agiulf *is very obſcure:* IDATIUS *ſays of him*, ad A. V. Marciani. Aiulfus deſerens Gothos in Gallæcia reſidet; *and* ad A. Majoriani I. Aiulfus, dum regnum Suevorum ſpirat, Portucale moritur menſe Junio. *But* JORNANDES *has other Circumſtances, which differ in Part from theſe.* Theodericus vero victor exiſtens ſubactis pepercit, nec ultra certamina ſævire permiſit, præponens Suevis, quos ſubjecerat, clientem Achiulphum. Qui in brevi animum ad prævaricationem ex Suevorum ſuaſionibus commutans, neglexit imperata complere, potius tyrannica elatione ſuperbiens, credenſque, ſe a virtute provinciam obtinere, quæ dudum cum domino ſuo eam ſubegiſſet. Is ſiquidem erat Warnorum ſtirpe genitus, longe a Gothici ſanguinis nobilitate ſejunctus: idcirco nec libertati ſtudens, nec patrono fidem ſervans. Quo comperto Theodoricus mox contra eum, qui eum de regno pervaſo dejicerent, deſtinavit. Qui venientes ſine mora in primo eum certamine ſuperantes, congruam factorum ejus ab eo exegerunt ultionem. Captus namque & ſuorum ſolertia deſtitutus, capite plectitur: Senſitque tandem iratum, qui propitium dominum crediderat contemnendum. Tunc Suevi rectoris ſui interitum contuentes, locorum ſacerdotes ad Theodoricum ſupplices direxerunt. Quos ille pontificali reverentia ſuſcipiens, non ſolum impunitatem Suevorum indulſit, ſed & ut ſibi de ſuo genere principem conſtituerent, flexus pietate conceſſit. Quod & factum eſt, & Remiſmundum ſibi Suevi Regulum ordinaverunt. His peractis, paceque cunctis munitis, tertio decimo regni ſui anno Theodoricus occubuit.

§. XIII. (1) SIDONIUS AGRICOLÆ SUO S. L. I. epiſt. 11. Sæpe numero poſtulaviſti, ut, quia Theodorici, regis Gothorum commendat popularis fama civilitatem, literis tibi formæ ſuæ quantitas, vitæ qualitas ſignificaretur. Pareo libens, in quantum epiſtolaris pagina finit, laudans in te tam delicatæ ſollicitudinis ingenuitatem. Igitur vir eſt & illis dignus agnoſci, qui eum minus familiariter intuentur: ita perſonam ſuam deus arbiter & ratio naturæ, conſummatæ felicitatis dote ſociata, cumulaverunt. Mores autem hujuſcemodi, ut laudibus eorum nihil ne regni quidem defraudet invidia. Si forma quæratur, corpore exacto, longiſſimis brevior, procerior eminentiorque mediocribus. Capitis apex rotundus, in quo paululum a planicie frontis in verticem cæſaries refuga criſpatur. Cervix non ſedet nervis. Geminos orbes fiſpidus ſuperciliorum coronat arcus. Si vero cilia flectantur, ad malas medias palpebrarum margo prope pervenit. Aurium legulæ, ſicut mos gentis eſt, crinium ſuperjacentium flagellis operiuntur. Naſus venuſtiſſime incurvus. Labra ſubtilia, nec dilatatis oris angulis ampliata. Si caſu dentium ſeries ordinata promineat, niveum protinus repreſentat colorem. Pilis infra narium antra fruticantibus quotidiana ſucciſio. Barba concavis hirta temporibus, quam in ſubdita vul-

Picture, we do not meet with thoſe maſterly Strokes, which diſcover the Hand of a *Salluſt* or a *Tacitus*, we muſt recollect, that our Author was one of the laſt, who wrote in the fifth Century. *Theodoric*, with Regard to his Perſon, was of a middling Stature, lean, and ſtrong of Nerves.

tus parte ſurgentem ſtirpitus tonſor aſſiduus genas ad uſque forpicibus evellit. Menti, gutturis, colli non obeſi ſed ſucculenti, lactea cutis, quæ propius inſpecta juvenili rubore ſuffunditur. Namque hunc illi crebro colorem non ira, ſed verecundia facit. Teretes humeri, validi lacerti, dura brachia, patulæ manus, recedente alvo pectus accedens. Aream dorſi humilior inter excrementa coſtarum ſpina diſcriminat. Tuberoſum eſt utrumque muſculis prominentibus latus. In ſuccinctis regnat vigor ilibus. Corneum femur, internodia poplitum bene maſcula. Maximus in minime rugoſis genibus honor. Crura ſuris fulta turgentibus, & qui magna ſuſtentat membra pes modicus. Si actionem diuturnam, quæ eſt forinſecus expoſita, perquiras: antelucanos ſacerdotum ſuorum cœtus minimo comitatu expetit, grandi ſedulitate veneratur: quamquam, ſi ſermo ſecretus, poſſis animadvertere, quod ſervet iſtam pro conſuetudine potius quam pro religione reverentiam. Reliquum mane regni adminiſtrandi cura ſibi deputat. Circumſiſtit ſellam comes armiger, pellitorum turba ſatellitum ne abſit admittitur, ne obſtrepat eliminatur: ſicque pro foribus immurmurat excluſa velis, incluſa cancellis. Inter hæc intromiſſis gentium legationibus, audit plurima, pauca reſpondet. Si quid tractabitur, differt: ſi quid expedietur, accelerat. Hora eſt ſecunda? ſurgit e ſolio, aut theſauris inſpiciendis vacaturus, aut ſtabulis. Si venatione nuntiata procedit, arcum lateri innectere citra gravitatem regiam judicat: quem tamen, ſi cominus avem feramque aut venanti monſtres, aut vianti fors offerat, manui poſt tergum reflexæ puer inſerit, nervo lotove fluitantibus: quem ſicut puerile computat geſtare thecatum, ita muliebre accipere jam tenſum. Igitur acceptum, modo inſinuatis e regione capitibus intendit, modo ad talum pendulum nodi parte converſa, languentem chordæ laqueum vagantis digito ſuperlabente proſequitur: & mox ſpicula capit, implet, expellit: quidve cupias percuti, prior admonet, eligis quid feriat, quod elegeris ferit: & ſi ab alterutro errandum eſt, rarius fallitur figentis ictus, quam deſtinantis obtutus. Si in convivium venitur, quod quidem diebus profeſtis ſimile privatis eſt, non ibi impolitam congeriem liventis argenti menſis cedentibus ſuſpicioſus miniſter imponit. Maximum tunc pondus in verbis eſt: quippe cum illic aut nulla narrantur, aut ſeria. Toreumatum, peripetaſmatumque modo conchyliata profertur ſuppellex, modo byſſina. Cibi arte, non pretio placent. fercula nitore, non pondere. Scyphorum, paterarumque raras oblationes facilius eſt ut accuſet ſitis, quam recuſet ebrietas. Quid multis? Videas ibi elegantiam Græcam, abundantiam Gallicanam, celeritatem Italam, publicam pompam, privatam diligentiam, regiam diſciplinam. De luxu autem illo ſabbatario narrationi meæ ſuperſedendum eſt, qui nec latentes poteſt latere perſonas. Ad cœpta redeatur. Dapibus expleto ſomnus meridianus ſæpe nullus, ſemper exiguus. Quibus horis viro tabula cordi eſt, teſſeras colligit rapide, inſpicit ſollicite, voluit argute, mittit inſtanter, joculanter compellat, patienter expectat. In bonis jactibus tacet, in malis ridet, in neutris iraſcitur, in utriſque philoſophatur. Secundas faſtidit vel timere, vel facere: quarum opportunitates ſpernit oblatas, tranſit oppoſitas. Sine motu evaditur, ſine colludio evadit. Putes illum & in calculis arma tractare. Sola eſt illi cura vincendi. Cum ludendum eſt, regiam ſequeſtrat tantiſper ſeveritatem, hortatur ad ludum, libertatem, communionemque. Dicam quod ſentio, timet timeri. Denique oblectatur commotione ſuperati, & tunc demum credit ſibi non ceſſiſſe collegam, cum fidem fecerit victoriæ ſuæ bilis aliena. Quodquc

Nerves. His Hair was fair, and, according to the *Gothick* Faſhion, (2), combed upwards from his Forehead; he had large Eye-Brows, an aqualine Noſe, and a beautiful Mouth. As for his Genius and Manner of Life, it has been already obſerv'd, that his Father caus'd him to be well educated, and *Theodoric* himſelf boaſts of having, in his younger Years, read *Virgil*, and other good *Roman* Writers (3). The firſt Thing he did in a Morning was to attend Divine Service, and then the Affairs of State. He gave foreign Ambaſſadors long Audiences; but anſwered them in few words. His Table, excepting on Feſtivals, or publick Days, was very moderate, his Gueſts were ſeldom cloy'd with Bumbers, and only ſerious and uſeful Subjects were diſcours'd on there. His Diverſions were the Chaſe, where he was dextrous in handling the Bow; and Tables. *Sidonius*, to give the better Idea of this King to his Friend, obſerves farther, that he diſcover'd a great Freedom and Evenneſs of Temper at Play; but that, nevertheleſs, he ſhew'd a ſecret Satisfaction, when he won, and his Antagoniſt ſeem'd out of Humour. Our Author confeſſes, that he was us'd frequentiy to loſe on Purpoſe, to the King, to have a better Opportunity of asking a Favour when he was in a good Humour. The remaining part of the Day he again employ'd on State-

Affairs

que mirere, ſæpe illa lætitia, minimis occaſionibus veniens, ingentium negotiorum merita fortunat. Tunc petitionibus diu ante per patrociniorum naufragia lactatis, abſolutionis ſubitæ portus aperitur. Tunc etiam ego aliquid obſecraturus feliciter vincor, quando mihi ad hoc tabula perit, ut cauſa ſalvetur. Circa nonam recrudeſcit moles illa regnandi. Redeunt pulſantes, redeunt ſummoventes, ubique litigioſus fremit ambitus: qui tractus in veſperam, cœna regia interpellante rareſcit, & per aulicos deinceps pro patronorum varietate diſpergitur, uſque ad tempus concubiæ noctis excubaturus. Sane intromittuntur, quanquam raro, inter cœnandum mimici ſales, ita ut nullus conviva mordacis linguæ felle feriatur. Sic tamen quod illic nec organa hydraulica ſonant, nec ſub phonaſco vocalium concentus meditatum acroma ſimul intonat. Nullus ibi lyriſtes, choraules, meſochorus, tympaniſtria, pſaltria canit: rege ſolum illis fidibus delinito, quibus non minus mulcet virtus animum, quam cantus auditum. Cum ſurrexerit, inchoat nocturnas aulica gaza cuſtodias, armati regiæ domus aditibus aſſiſtunt, quibus horæ primi ſoporis vigilabuntur. *Several modern Writers have been ſo greatly miſtaken in the Perſon, that they have apply'd this whole Letter to* THEODORIC, *the firſt* Oſtro-Gothick *King in* Italy.

(2) ISIDORUS originum XIX. Nonnullæ gentes non ſolum in veſtibus, ſed & in corpore aliqua ſibi propria quaſi inſignia vendicant, ut videmus cirros Germanorum, granos & cinnabar Gothorum. SIRMONDUS, *in his Annotations on* SIDONIUS, p. 8. *imagines that the word* grani *was of the ſame ſignification as what* SIDONIUS *calls* flagella.

(3) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS (Carmine VII.) *introduces this* Theodoric *ſpeaking to* Avitus; *and among other Things, ſaying* v. 495.

Affairs, 'till the Evening, when he was commonly more merry at Supper, than at Dinner.

Ricimer obliges Avitus to resign his Dignity. Majorianus succeeds him.

§. XIV. THE Advices, which, as I observ'd before, oblig'd *Theodoric* to return from *Spain*, cannot properly be supposed to have been any others, than those, which he received of the great Revolution in the *Roman* Empire: For there the Face of Affairs took so strange a Turn, that *Avitus*, who depended chiefly on Assistance from the *Goths*, was obliged to resign the Purple (1). The *Roman Empire* was about 10 Months destitute of a Head (2), occasion'd probably by the Power and Discord among the several Factions. During this Time, a Body of *Alemanni* passed the *Alps*, and advanced as far as the *Campi Canini*. But *Julius Majorianus*, who was *Magister Militum*, sent some Troops against them, who dispers'd them (3). At length this same *Majorianus*, in the Year 457. (4) was acknowledg'd Emperor, not only by the Army and Senat at *Rome*, but likewise by the Court in the *East* (5). *Ricimer*, who but just before had obtained the Title of *Patricius*, and had long been an

- - Mihi ROMULA dudum
  Per te JURA placent: parvumque edisscere jussit
  Ad tua verba pater, docili quo prisca MARONIS
  Carmine molliret Scythicos mihi pagina mores.

§. XIV. (1) Conf. PAGIUS ad A. 456. n. 3. 4.

(2) *This* Interregnum *is taken Notice of, among others, by* SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, L. I. ep. 11. *and* JACOBUS SIRMONDUS *illustrates that Passage in his Annotations*, p. 22.

(3) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS (carm. V.) v. 373.

- - Conscenderat Alpes,
  Rætorumque jugo per longa silentia ductus,
  Romano exierat populato trux Alamannus,
  Perque Cani quondam dictos de nomine campos
  In prædam centum novies dimiserat hostes:
  Jamque magister eras, Burconem dirigis illo
  Exigua comitante manu: sed sufficit istud,
  Cum pugnare jubes, certa est victoria nostris
  Te mandasse acies. peragit fortuna triumphum
  Non populo sed amore tuo. nolo agmina campo
  Quo mittis paucos: felix te respicit iste
  Eventus belli. certatum est jure magistri,
  Augusti fato.

(4) CHRONOGRAPHUS CUSPINIANI: Ricimer magister militum patricius factus est, pridie kalendas Martii: & factus est Majorianus magister militum ipso die: levatus est imperator Majorianus kal. Aprilis milliario VI. in campo ad Columellas.

(5) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS. *See the third Note.* JORNANDES de successione regnorum CONSTANTINO & RUFO Coss. (457) Leo eidem defuncto [scil. Marciano] succæssit, cujus voluntate Majorianus apud Ravennam cæsar est ordinatus. *Which* MARCELLINUS *likewise agrees to. But* LEO, *nevertheless, neither prefix'd the Name of* MAJORIANUS *nor afterwards that of* SEVERUS, *to any of the publick Records: As* VALESIUS *observes* T. I. p. 187, 188.

6. SI-

an intimate Friend of *Majorianus* (6), was, as the Sequel of this Hiſtory will ſhew, moſt inſtrumental, in bringing this about; and the Empire in the *Weſt* was afterwards almoſt entirely at his Diſpoſal. *Majorianus* has before been mention'd in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, on Occaſion of his Expedition under *Ætius*, againſt the *Franks*. As he bore the Character of a valiant and experienced Warriour, it was hop'd, he would, at Length, be a Curb to the Power of the *Vandals*. His firſt Care was the Regulation of his Maritime State, and the Equipment of a Fleet (7), without which no Succeſs could be expected againſt this Enemy. An Event, which, in the mean Time happen'd, at the Beginning of his Reign, confirmed the People in their good Opinion of him: For *Genſeric* had, according to Cuſtom, ſent a Fleet to ravage the Coaſts of *Italy*, whichlanded in *Campania*, and, as appears by the Circumſtances, all the Country about *Sinueſſa*, between the Rivers *Gargiliano* and *Voltorno* (8), was expos'd to the Fury of the *Vandals*. But *Majorianus* came in Time to recover the Booty they had taken, and to drive them back to their Ships with Loſs (9).

§. XV.

(6) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS. (Carmine V.) *repreſents* Ætius's *Conſort, as expreſſing to her Husband her Jealouſy at the good Fortune* Majorianus's *younger Years ſeem'd to forebode, and her Suſpicion at his Intimacy with* Ricimer, v. 266.

- - - Conjunctus amore
Præterea eſt juveni, grandis quem ſpiritus armat
Regis avi. quo te vertas? ad culmina mundi
Hic fatum fert, ambo animum.

MAJORIANUS *himſelf mentions him in his Letter to the* Roman *Senat, whereby he notifies his Promotion to the Conſulſhip:* (ap. BARONIUM ad A. 258. n. 2. 3.) Apud nos cum patre patricioque noſtro Richimere, rei militaris pervigili cura Romani orbis ſtatum, quem communibus excubiis & ab externo hoſte & domeſtica clade liberavimus, propitia divinitate ſervemus.

(7) SIDONIUS, l. c. v. 441.
Interea duplici texis dum littore claſſem
Inferno ſuperoque mari, cadit omnis in æquor.
Sylva tibi, nimiumque diu per utrumque reciſus
Apennine latus, navalique arbore dives,
Non minus in pelagus nemorum quam mittis aquarum,
Gallia continuis quanquam ſit laſſa tributis,
Hoc cenſu placuiſſe cupit, nec pondera ſentit,
Quæ prodeſſe probat.

(8) SIRMONDUS, *in his Comments on the Account given by* SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS *of this Action, which we may read in the following Note* 9, *aſſigns the Place*, p. 122. Pugnæ locum ita deſignat, ut perſpicue Sinueſſani tractus planicies indicari videatur, quæ a Lyris oſtiis, ad Vulturnum porrecta, hinc Mari, illinc Maſſici montis jugo clauditur.

(9) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, *relates the whole Action:* carmine V. v. 385.

- - Nuper poſt hoſtis aperto
Errabat lentus pelago. poſtquam ordine vobis
Ordo omnis regnum dederat, plebs, curia, miles
Et collega ſimul. Campanam flantibus auſtris

In

Majorianus goes to *Gaul*. *German* Nations in his Army.

§. XV. As *Gaul* had zealously adhered to *Avitus*, the Inhabitants refus'd at first to acknowledge *Majorianus*. He therefore broke up, in the Year 458, and led a large Army over Mount *Cenis*. *Sidonius Apollinaris*

Ingrediens terram, ſecurum milite Mauro
Agricolam aggreditur: pinguis per tranſtra ſedebat
Vandalus opperiens prædam, quam juſſerat illuc
Captivo capiente trahi. ſed veſtra repente
Inter utrumque hoſtem dederant ſeſe agmina planis,
Quæ pelagus collemque ſecant, portumque reducto
Efficiunt flexu fluvii. Perterrita primum
Montes turba petit, trabibus quæ clauſa relictis
Prædæ præda fuit, tum concitus agmine toto
In pugnam pirata coit: pars lintre cavata
Jam dociles exponit equos. pars ferrea texta
Concolor induitur, teretes pars explicat arcus,
Spiculaque infuſum ferro latura venenum,
Quæ feriant bis, miſſa ſemel. jam textilis anguis
Diſcurrit per utremque aciem, cui guttur adactis
Turgeſcit zephyris: patulo mentitur hiatu
Iratam pictura famem, pannoque furorem
Aura facit, quoties craſſatur vertile tergum
Flatibus, & nimium jam non capit alvus inane.
At tuba terriſono ſtrepuit grave rauca fragore,
Reſponſat clamor lituis, virtuſque repente
Ignavis vel parva furit. cadit undique ferrum,
Hinc tamen in jugulos. Hunc torta falarica jactu
Præterit, ad mortem vix ceſſatura ſecundam:
Hunc conti rotat ictus equo, ruit aclide foſſus
Ille, veruque alius: jacet hic ſimul alite telo,
Abſentem paſſus dextram: pars poplite ſecto
Mortis ad invidiam vivit: partemque cerebri
Hic galeæ cum parte rapit, fortique lacerto
Difficit ancipiti miſerabile ſinciput enſe.
Ut primum verſis dat tergum Vandalus armis,
Succedit cædes pugnæ. diſcrimine nullo
Sternuntur paſſim campis, & fortia quæque
Fecit iners trepidante fuga. mare pallidus intrat,
Et naves pertranſit eques, turpique natatu
De pelago ad cymbam rediit. Sic tertia Pyrrhi
Quondam pugna fuit, cæſis cum millibus illum
Dentatus premeret: laceræ vix fragmina claſſis
Traxit in Epirum, qui Chaonas atque Moloſſos,
Qui Thracum, Macetûmque manus per littora noſtra
Sparſerat, & cujus vires Oenotria pallens,
Ipſaque quæ petiit trepidaverat uncta Tarentus.
Hoſtibus expulſis, campum qui maximus extat
Jam luſtrare vacat. videas hic ſtrage ſub illa,
Utrorumque animos. nullus non pectore cæſus,
Quiſquis veſter erat: nullus non terga foratus,
Illorum quiſquis, clamant hoc vulnera primi
Prædonum tum forte ducis, cui regis avari
Narratur nupſiſſe ſoror, qui pulvere cæco
Clauſus, & eliſus pilis, veſtigia turpis
Geſtat adhuc probroſa fugæ. ſic agmina veſtra
Cum ſpoliis campum retinent, & Marte fruuntur.

§. XV.

naris reckons among the Nations, of which it conſiſted, not only *Oſtro-Goths*, *Rugi*, *Alani*, *Sarmatæ* and *Hunns*, but likewiſe *Moſchi* (1), which Nation dwelt, in ancient Times, at *Colchis*, and afterwards, paſſing the *Tanais*, formed a powerful Kingdom, on the Borders of *Europe* and *Aſia*. In *Gaul*, he met at firſt with ſome Reſiſtance: *Idatius* mentions an Engagement with the *Goths* (2); and from *Sidonius Apollinaris* it appears, that he was oblig'd to reduce *Lyons* to Obedience, by Force (3). The *Burgundians*, on Occaſion of theſe Diviſions, found Means to extend their Dominions in *Gaul* (4).

§. XVI. AFTER having ſettled Matters in *Gaul*, he went, in the Year 460 to *Spain*; in order to take Poſſeſſion of the Remainder of the *Roman* Dominions, and to make War, from thence, with the *Vandals*, in *Africa* itſelf (1). He had, for that Purpoſe, equipp'd a Fleet,

His Expedition to *Spain*. He is obliged to make a Peace with the *Vandals*.

§. XV. 1. SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS (carm. V. v. 470.)

Illicet aggrederis quod nullus tempore noſtro
Auguſtus potuit: rigidum ſeptemplicis Iſtri
Agmen in arma rapis. nam quidquid languidus axis
Cardine Sithonio ſub Parrhaſe parturit urſa,
Hoc totum tua ſigna pavet. Baſtarna, Suevus,
Pannonius, Neurus, Chunus, Geta, Dacus, Alanus,
Bellonothus, Rugus, Burgundio, Veſus, Alites,
Biſalta, Oſtrogothus, Procruſtes, Sarmata, MOSCHUS,
Poſt aquilas venere tuas. tibi militat omnis
Caucaſus, & Scythicæ potor Tanaiticus undæ.
Quid faciat fortuna viri? quaſcunque minatur
Has tremuit jam Roma manus: modo principe ſub te
Ne metuat prope parva putat, niſi ſerviat illi
Quod timuit regnante alio.

(2) IDATIUS ad A. MAJORIANI III. (459.) Legati a Nepotiano, magiſtro militiæ, & a Sunierico comite miſſi veniunt ad Gallæcos, nunciantes, Majorianum auguſtum & Theudoricum regem, firmiſſima inter ſe pacis jura ſanxiſſe, Gothis in quodam certamine ſuperatis.

(3) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS (carm. V.) v. 571.

Attamen hic nuper, placidiſſime princeps,
Obſide percepto, noſtræ de mœnibus urbis
Viſceribus miſeris inſertum depulit hoſtem.
Et quia laſſatis nimium ſpes unica rebus
Veniſti, noſtris petimus ſuccurre ruinis
Lugdunumque tuam, dum præteris, aſpice victor.

(4) MARIUS, JOANNE & VARANE Coss. (456.) Eo anno Burgundiones partem Galliæ occupaverunt, terraſque cum Gallicis ſenatoribus diviſerunt. PAGIUS ad A. 456. n. 13. *from the Sequel of the Hiſtory, deſcribes the Extent of the* Burgundian *Dominions, about this Time.* Fines paulatim per vicina protulere, & prima Lugdunenſis, Maxima Sequanorum, Viennenſis, Alpes Graiæ & Penninæ, ac provincia eis Druentiam eis tandem ceſſere, ſed non ante præſentem Chriſti annum, &c.

§. XVI. (1) IDATIUS ad A. IV. MAJORIANI. Menſe Maio, Majorianus Hiſpanias ingreditur imperator: quo Carthaginenſem

Fleet, which was to wait for him near *Alicant*. Great were the Hopes, which every true *Roman* conceived of this Expedition; and *Sidonius Apollinaris* treats *Genſeric* with Contempt, in ſeveral Paſſages of the Panegyrick, which he ſpoke in Honour of *Majorianus* after the taking of *Lyons*, becauſe he was as much enervated by Luxury, as formerly *Hannibal* had been in *Capua* (2). But this King was one of thoſe Princes, who ſeem to have Fortune at their Command, in all their Undertakings; and by one bold and lucky Stroke he fruſtrated all theſe Deſigns. He attack'd the Fleet, before thoſe Troops, which the Emperor intended to embark, were arrived, and made himſelf Maſter of it, with little Difficulty (3). Thus were all *Majorianus*'s military Preparations defeated, and he found himſelf under a Neceſſity of concluding a Peace with *Genſeric* (4).

§. XVII.

nenſem provinciam pertendente, aliquantas naves, quas ſibi ad tranſitum adverſum Wandalos præparabat, de litore Carthaginienſi, commoniti Wandali per proditores abripiunt. Majorianus ita a ſua ordinatione fruſtratus ad Italiam revertitur.

(2) Sidonius Carmine V. *introduces* Africa *as ſpeaking thus:*

- - Sed ne fortaſſe latronis
Me clauſam virtute putes, conſumpſit in illo
Vim gentis vitæ vitium: Scythicam feritatem
Non vires ſed vota tenent, ſpoliiſque potitus
Immenſis, robor luxu jam perdidit omne,
Quo valuit dum pauper erat. mea viſcera pro ſe
In me nunc armat. laceror tot capta per annos
Jure ſuo, virtute mea: fœcundaque pœnis
Quos patiar, pario: propriis nil conficit armis,
Gætulis, Numidis, Garamantibus, Autololiſque,
Arzuge, Marmarida, Pſyllo, Naſomone timetur
Segnis, & ingenti ferrum jam neſcit ab auro.
Ipſi autem color exanguis, quem crapula vexat,
Et pallens pinguedo tenet, ganeaque perenni
Preſſius aceſcens ſtomachus non explicat auram.
Par eſt vita ſuis. non ſic Barchæus opimam
Hannibal ad Capuam periit, cum fortia bello
Inter delitias mollirent corpora Baiæ,
Et ſe Lucrinas qua vergit Gaurus in undas,
Brachia Maſſylus jactaret nigra natator.

And v. 466. *he gives* Majorianus *Hopes of ſubduing the deprav'd* Vandals, *as eaſily, as* Cæſar *conquer'd* Egypt, *when plung'd into Voluptuouſneſs.*

Nec me Lagæam ſtirpem memoraſſe pigebit
Hoſtis ad exemplum veſtri, namque auguror iiſdem
Regnis fortunam ſimilem, cum luxus in illa
Parte ſit æqualis, nec pejor Cæſar in iſta.

(3) Marius, Magno & Apollinari Coss. (460.) Eo animo captæ ſunt naves a Vandalis ad Ilecem, juxta Carthagine Spartaria.

(4) Idatius, l. c. Gaiſericus rex a Majoriano imperatore per legatos poſtulat pacem. *From the Words of* Priscus, *cited in the following* §. *it appears, that a Peace actually enſued.*

§. XVII.

§ XVII. *MAJORIANUS* celebrated at *Arles*, in the Year 461, his Entrance into the fifth Year of his Reign, with great Pomp (1); and then broke up for *Italy*: But he was, the ſame Year, depos'd, and ſoon after put to Death (2). Hiſtorians impute likewiſe this Revolution to *Ricimer*, without aſſigning the Cauſes of his Diſcontent (3). After ſome Months, the Army proclaimed *Libius Severus* Emperor (4), who was, likewiſe, acknowledg'd by the Senat (5). The Army and Senat ſeem, about this Time, to have taken upon themſelves the Election of Emperors, without the Interpoſition of the Court of *Conſtantinople*; and there was not always the greateſt Harmony between the *Weſt* and *Eaſt*, after the Extinction of *Theodoſius*'s Family; or, at leaſt, after *Marcian*'s Death. The ancient Conſtitution of the *Roman Empire*, and particularly of the *Weſt*, ſeems to have ſuffer'd very much thereby; and it is, indeed, uncertain, whether *Leo* acknowledg'd *Severus* as Emperor (6). *Genſeric* breaks the Peace after *Majorianus*'s Death.

§. XVII. (1) *Conf.* SIDON. APOLLINAR. *L.* 1. *ep.* 11. *add.* Pagius *ad h. A. n.* 1.

(2) MARCEL. *in chronico*, Dagalaiſo & Severino Coſſ. (461.) Majorianus cæſar apud Dertonam, juxta fluvium, qui Hyra dicitur, interemtus eſt. Locum ejus Severus invaſit. Idatius *ad A.V.* Majoriani *imputes the Cauſe of this Revolution to* Ricimer: Majorianum de Galliis Romam redeuntem, & Romano imperio vel nomini res neceſſarias ordinantem, Richimer, livore percitus, & invidorum conſilio fultus, fraude interficit circumventum. *The Chronologiſt, publiſhed by* Cuſpinian, *gives a more accurate Account of the Circumſtances:* Severino & Dagalaipho Coſſ. (461.). Depoſitus eſt Majorianus a patricio Ricimere Dertonæ IV. nonas Auguſti, & occiſus eſt ad fluvium Hyram VII. idus Auguſti, ac levatus eſt imperator dominus Severus XIII. kal. Decembris. Ennodius *wrote the following Epitaph for* Majorianus, *wherein he ſeems likewiſe to hint at* Ricimer. (*Epigram.* 135, *p.* 640.

Cum perſtat gravior, buſtum fortuna petitum
Contulit exuviis, Majoriane, tuis.
Nunc indignis Pyramidum fors proſpice moles
Vilia principibus linque ſepulcra piis.

(3) *See the foregoing Note.*

(4) CHRONOGRAPHUS *a Cuſpiniano editus. See not.* 2. Marius, Severino & Dagalaiſo Coſſ. His Coſſ. dejectus eſt Majorianus de imperio in civitate Dertona, a Ricimere patricio, & interfectus ſuper Ira fluvio: & levatus eſt Severus imperator Ravennæ.

(5) IDATIUS *ad A. V.* Majoriani. Severus a ſenatu Romæ auguſtus appellatur anno imperii Leonis quinto.

(6) *See* §. XIV. Not. 5. *In the* Faſti orientales, Leo *is mentioned as the only Conſul in the Year* 462. *In the* faſti occidentales *we read*; Leone II. & Severo Coſſ. Severus *puts* Leo's *Name before his own, in his Mandates*; *but* Leo *does not appear to have done the ſame. On this very Account* Marcellinus *ſays, in the Paſſage quoted* not. 2, Locum ejus Severus INVASIT.

Genseric, likewise, after *Majorianus*'s Death, thought himself no longer tied down to the Peace. *Severus*, indeed, made also amicable Propofals: but they were as fruitless, as the Remonstrances *Leo* made by an Ambassy (7).

Ricimer defeats an Army of *Alani*.

§ XVIII. IN *Severus*'s Reign, a Swarm of *Alani* also invaded *Italy* (1); but *Ricimer* defeated them in the Country about *Bergamo*. *L. Pagi* imagines, that they were the same *Alani*, who had dwelt till then, betwixt the *Rhone* and the *Loire*, whose Kingdom thereupon ceased; but we meet with no Traces thereof in any ancient Writer, and it is more probable, that the *Alani* in *Gaul* were before extirpated by the *Wisi-Goths*, and that this Swarm consisted of those *Alani*, who, after *Attila*'s Death, together with the *Ostro-Goths*, cross'd the *Danube*, and fix'd their Habitation in *Illyricum*; and of these were, perhaps, those *Alani*, who served *Majorianus* (2).

Ricimer governs the *Roman* Empire in the *West*.

§ XIX. *SEVERUS* died, in the Year 465: and, after his Death, *Italy* remained almost two Years without an Emperor. *Ricimer* bore, at this Time, so great a Sway in the *Empire*, that nothing seemed to be

(7) PRISCUS, *p.* 74. *B.* Genserichus, cum non amplius fœderibus cum Majoriano pactis stare constituisset, Vandalorum & Maurusiorum multitudinem ad vastationem Italiæ & Siciliæ immisit. Marcellinus enim jam ante insula cesserat, propterea, quod majorem exercitus sui partem & Richimerus abduxerat, & militibus ejus pecunias largiri, (erant autem fere omnes Scythæ) quo illis persuaderet a Marcellino deficere, in animo habebat. Itaque Marcellinus Sicilia excessérat, veritus tum insidias, tum, ne si cum Richimero certandum illi foret, salvis sibi insulæ opibus, minime se recipere posset. Missa est igitur ad Genserichum legatio: tum a Richimero, ne fœdera violaret; tum ab eo, qui apud Romanos in oriente rerum potiebatur, ut ab Italia & Sicilia abstingret, & regias mulieres redderet. Genserichus vero, multis ad eum ex diversis partibus legatis missis, non ante mulieres liberavit, quam majorem natu filiam Valentiniani, Eudoxiam nomine, Honoricho filio desponderet. Tunc enim Eudoxiam, Theodosii sororem, remisit cum Placidia altera ejus sorore, quam duxit Olybrius. Neque eo secius Italiam & Siciliam Genserichus vastare destitit, sed multo magis post mortem Majoriani, cum Olybrium ad imperium occidentis provehere propter affinitatem ex nuptiis cogitaret. *And further*; Sub Leone Romanorum imperatore legatus pro Italis ad Vandalos profectus est Tatianus, in patriciorum numerum conscriptus. Ad Persas vero Constantius tertium consul, & una cum consulatu patriciatus dignitatem sortitus. Et Tatianus quidem a Vandalis intra breve tempus re infecta reversus est.

§ XVIII. (1) CASSIODORUS, *in chronico ad consulatum* Rustici & Olybrii (*A.* 464). His COSS. rex Alanorum, Beorgor, apud Bergomum a patricio Ricimere peremtus est. Cuspinian's Chronologist *adds* VIII Idus Februar. Jornandes *places this Invasion in* Anthemius's *Reign*; *but this is confuted by* Pagius, ad A. 464. n. 3.

(2) *See above*, § XV.

wanting,

wanting, but the *Imperial* Title. This *Fl. Ricimer* was of a noble Family among the *Sueui*; and, by his Mother's Side, a Grand-Son of *Wallia*, King of the *Weſt-Goths* (1): But he ſo advanced his Fortune, in the Service of the *Romans*, that he arrived at the Dignities of *Magiſter Militum*, *Patricius*, and, in the Year 459, *Conſul*. We have ſeen his Power, in the Revolutions, which befel *Avitus* and *Majorianus*. *Sidonius Apollinaris* ſays, in Praiſe of him, that he not only, during the *Interregnum*, bravely withſtood the *Vandals*, but likewiſe preſerv'd *Noricum* againſt the neighbouring *Goths*; and the Countries on the *Rhine*, againſt the *Franks*, (2). The *Weſt* obtain'd at laſt, in the Year 467, its

§ XIX. (1) *See the following Note.*

(2) SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS *ſays this in Praiſe of him, in the Panegyrick, which he ſpoke in the Year* 468, *in Honour of the Emperor* Anthemius, *at his Acceſſion to the* Conſulate. *He introduces* Italy *as ſpeaking thus*: carmine 2. v. 352.

Præterea invictus Ricimer, quem publica fata
Reſpiciunt, proprio ſolus vix Marte repellit
Piratam per rura vagum, qui prælia vitans,
Victorem fugitivus agit. quis ſufferat hoſtem,
Qui pacem, pugnamque negat? nam fœdera nulla
Cum Ricimere jacit. quem cur nimis oderit, audi.
Incertum crepat ille patrem, cum ſerva ſit illi
Certa parens: nunc ut regis ſit filius, effert
Matris adulterium, tum livet quod Ricimerem
In regnum duo regna vocant: nam patre Sœvus,
A genetrice Gethes. ſimul & reminiſcitur illud,
Quod Tarteſſiacis avus hujus Vallia terris
Vandalicas turmas, & junctı Martis Alanos
Stravit, & occiduam texere cadavera Calpen.
Quid veteres narrare fugas, quid damna priorum?
Agrigentini recolit diſpendia campi.
Inde furit, quod ſe docuit ſatis iſte nepotem
Illius eſſe viri, quo viſo, Vandale, ſemper
Terga dabas. nam non Siculis illuſtrior arvis
Tu, Marcelle, redis, per quem tellure, marique
Noſtra Syracuſios preſſerunt arma penates:
Nec tu cui currum Curii ſuperare, Metelle,
Contigit oſtentans nobis elephanta frequentem,
Grex niger albentes tegeret cum mole jugales,
Auctoremque ſuum celaret pompa triumphi.
Noricus Oſtrogothum quod continet, iſte timetur;
Gallia quod Rheni Martem ligat, iſte pavori eſt,
Quod conſanguineo me Vandalus hoſtis Alane
Diripuit ridente, ſuis hic ultus ab armis.
Sed tamen unus homo eſt, nec tanta pericula ſolus
Tollere ſed differre poteſt.

own Emperor (3). The Senat petition'd *Leo*, to declare *Anthemius*, the *Patricius*, who resided at *Constantinople*, and had married *Marcian*'s Daughter, *Euphemia*, Emperor in the *West*; and that he, on the other Hand, might give his Daughter, in Marriage to *Ricimer* (4). Both were complied with. *Anthemius*, the same Year, acceded to the Throne, at *Rome*, where the Nuptials of his Daughter and the *Patricius Ricimer* were celebrated, with the utmost Splendor, as *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who was then at *Rome*, gives an Account (5). Thus was a good Understanding restored between the two Empires. *Leo* placed *Anthemius*'s Name at

(3) Marcellinus, *in chronico*, Pusco & Joanne Coss. (467). Leo imperator Anthemium patricium Romam misit, imperatoremque constituit. Chronicon Alexandrinum *ad h. A.* Hoc anno imperavit Anthemius, & Romam profectus. Illius imagines laureatæ Constantinopolim per Pherentium, præfectum urbi, illatæ sunt. *The* Chronologist, *published by* Cuspinian, *likewise assigns the Day:* Levatus est imperator dominus Anthemius Romæ prid. idus Aprilis.

(4) Sidonius Apollinaris *introduces* Rome *as speaking to the* East, carmine II. *v.* 478.

Sed si forte placet veteres sopire querelas,
Anthemium concede mihi. sit partibus istis
Augustus, longumque Leo: mea jura gubernet
Quem petii: patrio vestiri murice natam
Gaudeat Euphemiam sidus divale parentis.
Adjice præterea privatum ad publica fœdus,
Sit socer Augustus genero Ricimere beatus,
Nobilitate micant: est vobis regia virgo,
Regius ille mihi. si concors annuis istud,
Mox Lybiam sperare dabis. circumspice tædas
Antiquas, par nulla tibi sic copula præsto est.

And after having related several Nuptials famous in Mythology, *the Poet concludes thus:*

Quantumvis repetam veteris connubia secli
Transcendunt hic heroas, heroidas illa.
Hos thalamos, Ricimer, virtus tibi pronuba poscit
Atque Dioneam dat Martia laurea myrthum.

(5) Idem, *L.* 1. *ep.* 5. Interveni etenim nuptiis patricii Ricimeris, cui filia perennis augusti in spem publicæ securitatis copulabatur. Igitur nunc in ista non modo personarum, sed etiam ordinum, partiumque lætitia, Trans-Alpino tuo latere conducibilius visum. quippe cum hoc ipso tempore, quo hæc mihi exarabantur, vix per omnia theatra, macella, prætoria, fora, templa, gymnasia, talassio-fescenninus explicaretur: atque etiamnum e contrario studia sileant, negotia quiescant, judicia conticescant, differantur legationes, vacet ambitus, & inter scurrilitates histrionum totus actionum seriarum status peregrinetur. Jam quidem virgo tradita est, jam corona sponsus, jam palmata consularis, jam cyclade pronuba, jam toga senator honoratur, jam penulam deponit inglorius: & nondum tamen cuncta

t the Head of his Statutes (6), and call'd him his Son, and *Anthemius*, on the other Hand, ſtil'd him Father, and expreſſed great Veneration for him (7). *Ricimer* had now not only Reaſon to hope, that he ſhould ſtill bear the greateſt Sway in the new Government, but likewiſe ſaw his Family united to the Imperial Houſe.

§ XX. *LEO* begun now to be more ſollicitous about defending the *Weſtern Empire* againſt the *Vandals* (1). *Genſeric*, on the other Side, doubled his Enmity againſt *Anthemius*, becauſe he had in vain endeavour'd, with great Earneſtneſs, to place *Olybrius*, who, by his Marriage with the Princeſs *Placidia*, was nearly allied to his Houſe (2), on the Imperial Throne. *Leo* had beſides Reaſon to fear, that the *Vandals*, after having made themſelves Maſters of whatever belong'd to the *Weſtern Empire* in *Africa*, might, at Length, make an Attempt on *Egypt*; and

Genſeric concludes a Peace with the *Roman* Empire.

cuncta thalamorum pompa defremuit, quia necdum ad mariti domum nova nupta migravit. *And*, *L.* 1. *ep.* 9. Poſt nuptias patricii Ricimeris, id eſt, poſt imperii utriuſque opes eventilatas, tandem reditum eſt in publicam ſerietatem.

(6) L. 15, 16. C. *de epiſc. audientia*, l. 9. C. *de pactis conu. &c.*

(7) *The Conſtitution* de bonis vacantibus, *which was publiſh'd in the Names of* Leo *and* Anthemius, *and is to be met with in the* Appendix Codicis Theodoſiani, *gives the beſt Account of the mutual Friendſhip of theſe two Emperors.* Anthemius *ſays, in his Orders to* Lupercianus, *PF. P.* Ad conſultationem clementiæ noſtræ, dominus & pater meus, princeps ſacratiſſimus Leo, ſuper his quæ indulgentia principalis in diverſos jam contulit, vel proceſſu temporis largietur, certum jus venerabili ſanctione conſtituit, quod ſub ſacris ſuæ perennitatis apicibus ad noſtram quoque ſententiam deſtinavit. Quumque mundanis compendiis proficit, ut circa regendum utrumque orbem id præcipue cuſtodiendum credamus, quod deliberatio communis elegerit, legem directam licenter amplexi, quod ad omnes jam ſaluberrima conſtituta perveniant, ſub hac pragmatica juſſione ad amplitudinem tuam cenſuimus dirigendam, &c. Leo *ſpeaks in a higher Strain, in the Conſtitution itſelf*: Itaque nos, quibus totius mundi regimen commiſit ſuperna proviſio, & juris regulam & æquitatis rationem volumus cuſtodiri. Pius, ac triumphator, ſemper auguſtus filius noſter, Anthemius, licet divina majeſtas, & noſtra creatio, pietati ejus plenam imperii commiſerit poteſtatem, tamen prudenti & cauta, qua pollet, æquitate per ſacros adfatus nos credidit conſulendos, &c.

§ XX. (1) PRISCUS, *p.* 76. *A.* Leo imperator Genſericum, barbararum gentium ducem, per nuntium de Anthemii imperio certiorem fecit, eique bellum indixit, niſi Italias & reginas liberas dimitteret. Rediit autem nuntius, & retulit, nolle ipſum denuntiationi parere.

(2) PROCOPIUS *de bello Vandalico*, *L.* 1. *c.* 6. *p.* 191. *C.* Anthemium ſenatorem, divitiis & ſplendore generis inclytum, ut arma adverſus Vandalos conjuncte moveret, jam Leo præmiſerat in occidentem, cujus etiam imperatorem ipſum creaverat, præteriro Olybrio, cui Gizericus, utpote Placidiæ Valentiniani filiæ marito, & propter affinitatem amico, imperium petiverat maximopere. Repulſa irritatus, ditionem omnem imperatoris vaſtavit.

therefore

therefore equipp'd, in the Year 468, a large Fleet againſt them, which was commanded by *Baſiliſcus*, Brother to *Verina*, his Conſort. According to *Theophanes* (3), this Fleet was as numerous, as ever the ancient *Grecians* could deſcribe that of *Xerxes*, and adds that it was re-inforc'd in the Voyage, on the Coaſts of the *Weſtern Empire*. We find in other Places that *Anthemius* exerted himſelf to the utmoſt, in this War (4): But all this only added to the Honour of *Genſeric*, who overcame this, ſuppoſed, invincible Fleet (5). Nevertheleſs, in the Year 470, *Leo* ſent an Army by Land againſt him, which took *Tripoli*, and was beſides,

(3) THEOPHANES, *p. 99. ad A. CCCCLXI. ſecundum æram Alexandrinam, qui kalendis Septembris A. C. CCCCLXVIII. exorditur.* Hoc anno Leo imperator ingentem claſſem, & valide inſtructum exercitum adverſus Giſericum, qui Africam obtinebat, emiſit. Giſericus quippe, defuncto Marciano, multa mala intulit in provincias Romanæ ditioni ſubjectas, prædis abactis, pleriſque in captivitatem miſſis, & everſis paſſim civitatibus. Quibus excandeſcens imperator naves ex toto oriente centies mille contraxit, ipſaſque militibus & armis plene munitas adverſus Giſericum deſtinavit. In eam claſſem mille & trecenta auri centenaria expendiſſe narrant. Itaque ducem & præfectum inſtituit Baſiliſcum, Verinæ auguſtæ fratrem, conſulis munere jam perfunctum, & frequentibus in Scythas per Thraciam victoriis clarum. Hic, confluente in auxilium ex occiduo mari navium non pœnitenda manu, cum Giſerici claſſe frequentiores conflictus exercuit, pleraſque naves in profundum demerſit, & ipſam tandem Carthaginem potentia ſuperavit. Demum donorum illecebris & vi pecuniarum ineſcatus priorem impetum remiſit, & ſpontaneus denique, prout hiſtoriæ Thrax Perſicus commiſit, profligatur. Referunt alii, Aſparem & Ardaburium, Arii ſectatores, cum ob id maxime ad imperii faſtigium minime poſſent pervenire, Leonem, qui tunc eorum procurator erat, ad imperium evexiſſe, quaſi rerum omnium ſummam poſt hæc adminiſtrare præſtolatos. Ab eorum ſpe cum animum averteteret imperator, rectam ejus gubernandi rationem labefactare, & in pejus trahere contendebant, & Baſiliſco imperium ſe pollicebantur tradere. Qua de cauſa Baſiliſcum ad exercitum prodendum inclinaſſe dicunt. Tum Giſericus dolos meditatus, naves hoſtibus ſimiles materia ad ignem facili replevit, remque noctu molitus, dum Romani dormirent incuſtoditi, ipſas e terra, vento exinde aſpirante, in Romanam claſſem emiſit, adeo ut multa quidem navigia igne conſumta defecerint, alia vero periculo ſubducta in Siciliam reverterentur.

(4) SUIDAS, *in v.* χειρίζω. Cattus hiſtoriographus ait, Leonem Macellem, qui poſt Marcianum imperavit, in expeditione adverſus Vandalos infinitam pecuniæ vim conſumpſiſſe. Nam, ut teſtantur ii, qui pecuniam illam adminiſtrarunt, per præfectos quidem prætorio impenſa ſunt auri librarum quadraginta ſeptem millia: cum ſumptus abunde ſuppeterent, partim ex bonis præſcriptorum, partim ex ærario imperatoris Anthemii. Valeſius *and* Pagius *obſerve, that, inſtead of* Cattus, *we muſt read* Candidus, *of whoſe Hiſtory we have now only ſome Fragments.*

(5) *See above*, Note 3.

fo

ſo ſucceſsful, that he, at Length, conſented to a Peace (6); the Purport of which is not related by Hiſtorians.

§ XXI. THE *Weſt* might have recover'd itſelf, after this Peace, had not a Rupture happen'd between *Anthemius* and *Ricimer*. The real Cauſe of their Difference is not expreſly mention'd by Hiſtorians. *Anthemius* was at *Rome*, and *Ricimer* in *Milan*: Both arm'd themſelves for a War, and there were not wanting thoſe on both Sides, who fomented the Diviſion. *Ricimer*, however, ſent *Epiphanius*, Biſhop of *Pavia*, to *Rome*, to make Propoſals for an Accommodation. *Ennodius* indeed ſays, that it was effected (1); but the Animoſites broke out again the more violently. *Ricimer*

Wars between *Anthemius* and *Ricimer*. *Olybrius* attains to the Imperial Dignity.

(6) THEOPHANES, *p.* 101. *ad A.* 463. *ſecundum æram Alexandrinam, qui in kalendas Septembris A. Chriſti* 470. *incidit.* Hoc anno Leo imperator Heraclium Edeſſenum Flori exconſulis filium & Marſum Iſaurum, viros armis ſtrenuos, cum exercitibus ex Ægypto, Thebaide, & eremo collectis adverſus Giſericum miſit. Iſti ex improviſo Vandalos aggreſſi, Tripolim & alias Lybiæ civitates plurimas receperunt, & gravius multo, quam antehac navali prœlio Baſiliſcus, Giſerici vires attriverunt: adeo, ut de pace cum imperatore Leone ſancienda legationem mittere pararet, eamque demum a Leone obtinuit, cum nimirum Baſiliſci, Heraclii & Marſi opera ad ſtruendas Aſpari inſidias indigeret: Aſpar ſiquidem, ut præmiſi, imperatori propter eam, qua circumvallatus erat, poteſtatem ſuſpectus, imperatoris dolo paulo poſt neci traditur, cum filiis Ardaburio & Patricio, quorum hunc, ut Aſparem ſibi demereretur, cæſarem olim declaraverat imperator.

§ XXI. (1) ENNODIUS, *in vita Epiphanii*, p. 372, *deſcribes this Ambaſſy. We ſhall here ſupply the Want of other Accounts, by inſerting this Relation, notwithſtanding that it is filled with extravagant Encomiums.* Mox vero per univerſum mundum ſanctam illius converſationem illa, quæ licet in glorioſis actibus tardiór eſſe ſolet, fama non tacuit. Sed ad aures Ricimeris, qui tunc ſecundis ab Anthemio principe habenis rempublicam gubernabat, detulit. Nam imperatore Romæ poſito, ſeminarium inter eos jecit ſcandali illa, quæ dominantes ſequeſtrat, invidia, & par dignitas, cauſa diſcordiæ. Surrexerat enim tanta rabies atque diſſenſio, ut mutuo bella præpararent; & præterquam origo irarum proprios ſuggerebat ſtimulos, lis iſta circumſtantium conſilio nutriebatur. Nutabat ſtatus periclitantis Italiæ, & affligebatur ipſis diſcriminibus gravius, dum expectabat futura diſcrimina. Interea apud Ricimerem patricium, Mediolani ea tempeſtate reſidentem, fit collectio Ligurum nobilitatis: qui flexis genibus, ſoloque proſtrati, pacem orabánt principum, & ut ab ſcandalo utræque partes deſinerent, occaſiones gratiæ ab una precabantur offerri. Quid plura contexam? mulcetur Ricimer, & velle ſe reparare concordiam, permotus multorum fletibus pollicetur. Sed quis ait, potiſſimum hujus legationis pondus excipiet? quem tantæ molis cura maneat? quis eſt, qui Galatam concitatum revocare poſſit, & principem? Nam ſemper, cum rogatur exuberat, qui iram naturali moderatione non terminat. Tunc uno omnes ore reſpondérunt.

runt. Veſter tantummodo ad pacem declinetur aſſenſus. Eſt nobis perſona nuper ad ſacerdotium Ticinenſis urbis adſcita, cui & belluæ rabidæ colla ſubmittunt. At venerabilis, & ſæculis omnibus probatus pontifex, poſteaquam introgreſſus eſt, & proferendi ſermonis donatus licentia, quamvis fugitivæ poteſtatis inſignia, oſtrum, gemmaſque rutilantes reverendæ imaginis fulgore compreſſerit, (etenim quaſi abſente imperatore, ita in ſe oculos traxerat ſingulorum) tali narratione incipiens, januam oris reſeravit. Summa cœleſtis domini, venerande princeps, eſt ordinatione diſpoſitum, ut cui tantæ reipublicæ cura mandabatur, per catholicæ fidei dogma deum, & auctorem, & amatorem pietatis agnoſceret; per quem bellorum furorem pacis arma confringunt, & calcans colla ſuperbiæ concordia ſuperat, quod fortitudo non prævalet. Sic namque David prædicabilem parcendi magis inimico animus reddidit, quam intentio vindicandi. Sic perfecti ſæculorum reges & domini, ſupplicantibus indulgere cœleſti arte didicerunt. Supernæ namque dominationis inſtar poſſidet, qui imperium ſuum pietate ſublimat. Hoc ergo Italia veſtra freta judicio, vel Ricimer patricius, parvitatem meam oratu direxit: indubitanter conjiciens, quod pacem Romanus deo munus tribuat, quam precatur & barbarus. Erit enim triumphus veſtris proprie profuturus annalibus, ſi ſine ſanguine viceritis. Simul neſcio quæ, ſpecies fortior poſſit eſſe bellorum, quam dimicare contra iracundiam, & ferociſſimi Getæ pudorem onerare beneficiis. Gravius enim percellitur, ſi poſtulata impetret, quem puduit hactenus ſupplicare. Tractandus deinde anceps bellandi eventus, in quo tamen ſi ira prævaluerint peccata certamine, veſtro regno defraudabitur, quod partes utræque perdiderint. Nam quæcunque apud Ricimerem, ſi amicus eſt, ſalva ſunt, cum ipſo a vobis patricio poſſidentur. Cogitate pariter, quia bene cauſæ ſuæ ordinem dirigit, qui pacem primus obtulerit. Hactenus admirandus pontifex proſecutus, loquendi finem fecit. Tunc princeps erigens oculos, deſertum ſe omnium vidit aſpectibus, atque in eum invitatos vultus eſſe cunctorum, quem admirari nec ipſe deſinebat. Tunc alto trahens verba ſuſpirio, ita orſus eſt. Quamvis inexplicabilis mihi, ſancte antiſtes, adverſus Ricimerum cauſa doloris ſit; & nihil profuerit, maximis eum a nobis donatum fuiſſe beneficiis. quem etiam (quod non ſine pudore & regni & ſanguinis noſtri dicendum eſt) in familiæ ſtemma copulavimus, dum indulſimus amori republicæ, quod videretur ad noſtrorum odium pertinere. Quis hoc namque veterum retro principum fecit unquam, ut inter munera, quæ pellito Getæ dare neceſſe erat, pro quiete communi filia poneretur? Neſcivimus parcere ſanguini noſtro, dum ſervamus alienum. Nemo tamen hoc credat propriæ cauſa factum eſſe formidinis. nam in tanta circumſpectione ſalutis omnium, ſolum pro nobis timere non novimus. Bene enim apud nos compertum eſt, perire imperatori laudem ſuæ virtutis, qui pro aliorum cautela non metuit. Sed ut tuæ venerationi ad liquidum conatus illius aperiamus; quotiens a nobis majoribus donis cumulatus eſt Ricimer, totiens gravior inimicus apparuit. Quanta contra rempublicam bella præparavit? quantas externarum gentium per illum vires furor accepit? poſtremo etiam, ubi nocere non potuit, nocendi tamen fomenta ſuggeſſit. Huic nos pacem dabimus! hunc inteſtinum ſub indumento amicitiarum inimicum ſuſtinebimus, quem ad fœdus concordiæ nec affinitatis vincula tenuerunt? Grandis cautio eſt, adverſarii animum cognoviſſe. Etenim hoſtem protinus ſenſiſſe, ſuperaſſe

Ricimer declared for *Olybrius* (2), who was of one of the moſt noble Families in *Rome*, and, on Account of *Placidia*, his Conſort, allied as well to the Houſe of *Theodoſius* the Great, as to the Royal Family of the *Vandals*. A *Græcian* Author almoſt intimates, that *Leo* himſelf ſided with *Olybrius* (3): But Hiſtory is here ſo obſcure, that we find no other Account, but that it broke out into a War, in which *Anthemius* loſt his Life, in the Year 472, and thereby cleared the Throne for *Olybrius* (4). *Ricimer* died himſelf, on the 18th of *Auguſt*. His Actions ſufficiently

ſuperaſſe eſt. perdunt ſemper deprehenſa odia ſtimulos, quos occultata conceperant. Sed ſi in his omnibus reverentia tua, & vadis, & mediator accedit, qui potes ſpiritali indagine conſilia nefanda invenire, & inventa corrigere; pacem, quam & tu poſcis, negare non audeo. Poſtremo, ſi ſolitæ calliditatis aſtutia etiam te feſellerit, certamen jam vulneratus aſſumat, me tamen, ſtatumque reipublicæ tuis committo & commendo manibus, & gratiam, quam ſupplicanti, & profuſo per ſe Ricimeri negare diſpoſueram, per te primus exhibeo. Profunda enim deliberatione compendiis noſtris in hac parte conſulimus, ſi in incertis procellarum erroribus navem ex veri gubernatoris ordinatione flectamus. Quis enim tibi excuſare præſumat beneficium poſtulanti, cui oportuerat ante preces offerri? Hæc imperator. At venerabilis ſacerdos. Gratias, inquit, omnipotenti deo, qui pacem ſuam principis menti inſeruit; quem ad inſtar ſuperni dominatus vicarium ſuæ poteſtatis voluit eſſe mortalibus. Quibus breviter narratis, accepto etiam pro concordiæ firmitate ab Anthemio ſacramento, diſceſſit, feſtinans ad Liguriam reverti, quando reſurrectionis dominicæ tempus inſtabat.

(2) *See Note* 4.

(3) CHRONICON ALEXANDRINUM, *p.* 321. Olybrius Romam miſſus a Leone imperatore a Romanis invitus coronatur imperator, ducta uxore Placidia illa, quæ a barbaris redemta, ſeu a captivitate liberata fuerat. Hi condiderunt ædem ſacram ſanctæ Euphemiæ, Olybrii nuncupatam. Genuit autem Olybrius ex Placidia Julianam, conjugem Areobindi, magni illius viri, qui in Perſide ſingulari certamine cum hoſte eſt congreſſus: ex quibus natus eſt Olybrius minor. Lambecius, *in Commentariis de Bibliotheca Vindobonenſi*, L. 2. p. 478, *gives a Genealogical Account of this Family.*

(4) CASSIODORUS, FESTO & MARCIANO Coss. His conſulibus Ricimer, Romæ facto imperatore Olybrio, Anthemium contra reverentiam principis, & jus affinitatis, cum gravi clade civitatis extinguit. Qui non diutius peracto ſcelere gloriatus, poſt quadraginta dies defunctus eſt. Olybrius autem ſeptimo menſe vitam peregit. Marcellinus *ad eundem annum.* Anthemius imperator Romæa Ricimere genero ſuo occiditur. loco ejus Olybrius ſubſtitutus, ſeptimo menſe imperii ſui vita defunctus eſt. Cuſpinian's Chronologiſt *aſſigns the Time yet more exactly, ad h. A.* Bellum civile geſtum eſt Romæ inter Anthemium imperatorem, & Ricimerem patricium. Et levatus eſt Romæ imperator Olybrius, occiſus vero imperator Anthemius V. idus Julias. Defunctus vero eſt Ricimer XV. kal. Sept. QUO ANNO GUNDIBALDUS PATRICIUS FACTUS EST AB IMPERATORE. Defunctus vero eſt imperator Olybrius Romæ X. kal. Nov. Pagius, ad A. 432. n. 4. *examines the Chronology of theſe Emperors.*

discover what Talents he was endow'd with: But the History of his Times is so doubtful, that Posterity cannot rightly judge, whether he applied them to a good or bad Purpose (5). In the Church of St. *Agatha*, at *Rome*, his Memory was long preserv'd: For, when Cardinal *Frederick Borromeus* caus'd that Fabrick to be repair'd, the following Inscription was found on a Piece of *Mosaick* Work;

FL. RICIMER. V. I. MAGISTER. UTRIUSQUE. MILITIAE. PARTICIUS. ET. EXCONSUL. ORD. PRO. VOTO. SUO. ADORNAVIT (6).

Pope *Gregory* the Great, in the Year 591, consecrated this Church (7), which 'till then, under the *Gothick* Government, belong'd to the *Arians*, to the Use of the *Orthodox Christians*, and deposited there the Relicks of St. *Agatha* (8), from whom it obtained its Name. The Deacon of this Church is always a Cardinal.

Ard nominates *Gundobald*, King of the *Burgundians*, *Patricius*.

§ XXII. *OLYBRIUS* nominated *Gundobald*, King of the *Burgundians*, who was nearly related to *Ricimer* (1), *Patricius*. The Name of

(5) *Historians have, in the mean Time, given different Characters of him, according to the different Lights they viewed him in.* Jornandes, *for Instance, calls him,* c. 45. Virum egregium, & pene tunc in Italia ad exercitum singularem. *But* Baronius, *because he took him for an* Arian, *will not even allow him that Honour; but taxes* Jornandes *with Partiality to his Country. He himself gives,* ad A. 472. n. 9. *a very different posthumous Account of him:* Sic igitur proditor barbarus, fax occidentalis imperii, perfidus Arianus, Ricimer, sero licet, tandem sensit se nolentem licet (sicut Antiochus) subditum esse deo. Hic ille perfidus, qui instar mancipiorum habuit imperatores, pro arbitro eos tollens & subrogans, miscens & versans pro ludibrio summam rerum aleam. Hic ille sacrilegus Arianus, qui cum tantam sibi in Romanum imperium usurpasset autoritatem, invictis licet ipsis Romanæ ecclesiæ pontificibus, barbarica tamen autoritate in urbe sibi ecclesiam vindicarat, in quam cum suis Arianis Gothis militibus conveniret. *Hereby he means the Church of* S. Agatha, *which we shall mention below. We have likewise observ'd,* Not. 7. *that it is yet uncertain, whether* Ricimer *was an* Arian *or not.*

(6) *Vid.* Baronius, *ad A.* 472. *n.* 10.

(7) *It is Matter of Doubt, whether the* Arians *first obtain'd it, under the Government of the* Gothick *Kings, or whether* Ricimer *was already a Proselyte to that Sect; at least the* Suevi, *of which Nation he was, still professed, at that Time, the Orthodox Religion.*

(8) Gregorius, L. 4. ep. 19. *And* Dialogorum, L. 3. c. 30. *he relates strange Things, that happened at this Consecration.* Baronius, ad h. A. n. 43. *places this Consecration in the Year* 591. F. Montfaucon, in Diario Italiæ, p. 131. seq. *proves, that the Church, which is to this Day called* S. Agatha's, *is the same that* Gregory *consecrated.*

§. XXII. (1) *See Note* 4. *of the foregoing* § *Conf.* Valesius, *T.* 1. *p.* 217.

this

this King calls upon me here to go back, and continue the Hiſtory of the *Burgundians* to his Time. *Gundicarius*, who founded this Kingdom, in *Gaul*, left two Sons, *Gundeucus* and *Chilperic*; who went to *Spain*, to ſuccour *Theodoric* II, King of the *Wiſi-Goths* (2). At firſt they abetted the Party of *Avitus* againſt *Majorianus*, and, favour'd by that Opportunity, extended the Dominion of the *Burgundians* in *Gaul* (3); but afterwards they lived in Peace with the *Roman* Empire. Of *Chilperic* we find but very little that is to be depended on (4): But *Gundeucus* was *Magiſter Militum* (5), and propagated the Royal Race. His four Sons ſhared the Kingdom among them. *Gundobald* treated his Brother very ill, as we ſhall ſee more particularly in its proper Place (6); but, on the other Hand he perform'd eminent Services for the *Roman* Empire (7). We find, moreover,

(2) *See above*, § XII.

(3) *See above*, § XV.

(4) *This* Chilperick *is mentioned by* Greg. Turonenſis, *in vit. S. Romani abbatis: of which ſee* Pagius, ad A. 472. n. 6, Sid. Apol. *likewiſe takes Notice of a* Chilperic, *L.* 5. *ep.* 6. *p.* 134. Namque confirmato MAGISTRO MILITUM CHILPERICO, VICTORIOSISSIMO VIRO, relatu venenato quorumpiam ſceleratorum fuiſſe ſecreto inſuſurratum, tuo præcipue machinatu, oppidum Vaſionenſe partibus novi principis applicari. *He ſpeaks farther in Praiſe of him*, ib. ep. 7. His moribus obruunt virum non minus bonitate quam poteſtate præſtantem. Sed quid faciat unus undique venenato vallatus interprete? Quid inquam faciat, cui natura cum bonis, vita cum malis eſt? *He in particular extols this King's Conſort.* Sane quod principaliter medetur afflictis, temperat lucumonem noſtrum Tanaquil ſua, & aures mariti virioſa ſuſurronum fece completas opportunitate falſi ſermonis eruderat. Cujus ſtudio ſcire vos par eſt, nihil interim quieti fratrum communium apud animum communis patroni, juniorum Cibyratarum venena nocuiſſe, neque quicquam deo propitiante nocitura; ſi modo, QUANDIU PRÆSENS POTESTAS LUGDUNENSEM GERMANIAM REGIT, noſtrum, ſuumque Germanicum præſens Agrippina moderetur. *But which* Chilperic *is here meant, is uncertain.* Sirmondus, *in his Annotations, applies theſe Paſſages to* Gundeucus's *Son*: Pagius ad A. 472. n. 6. *to his Brother.*

(5) HILARIUS *papa, in epiſt. ad Leontium epiſcopum Arelatenſem, ap.* Baronium *ad A.* 463. *n.* 4. Quantum filii noſtri, VIRI ILLUSTRIS, MAGISTRI MILITUM, GUNDUICI ſermone eſt indicatum; prædictus epiſcopus (*nempe Mamertus Viennenſis*) invitis Dienſibus epiſcopum conſecrare præſumit.

(6) GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, *L.* 2. *c.* 28. Fuit autem & Gundeuchus rex Burgundionum, ex genere Athanarici, regis perſecutoris, de quo ſupra meminimus. Huic fuerunt quatuor filii, Gundobaldus, Godegiſilus, Chilpericus, & Godomarus. Igitur Gundobaldus Chilpericum fratrem ſuum interfecit gladio, uxoremque ejus, ligato ad collum lapide, aquis immerſit. Hujus duas filias exilio condemnavit; quarum ſenior, mutata veſte Mucurena, junior Chrotildis vocabatur.

(7) ENNODIUS, in vita Epiph. *gives an Account of this Prelate's Ambaſſy to* Gundobald, *in the Name of* Theodoric, *King of the* Oſtro-

moreover, in *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who was in great Esteem among the *Burgundians*, that, at this Time, they still retained their *German* Language and Customs (8); and that many *Romans* of Distinction, who sought Preferment, at the Court of *Burgundy*, were oblig'd to learn their Language. He extols, in particular, in one Place, *Syagrius*, who attain'd to so great a Perfection therein, that the *Burgundians* themselves were oblig'd to use great Caution, when they spoke to him (9). And hence it

Goths, *in* Italy. Epiphanius *is there introduced as putting the King of* Burgundy *in mind of the great Services he formerly performed in* Italy, *p.* 204. Audi Italiam, nunquam a te divisam & multum de animi tui clementia confidentem: quæ si una voce uteretur hæc diceret: quoties pro me, si reminisceris, ferratum pectus hostibus obtulisti? quoties pugnasti consilio, ne bella subreperent?

(8) Sidonius, *carm.* 12. *p.* 368.

Quid me, & si valeam, parare carmen
Fescenninicolæ jubes Diones,
Inter crinigeras situm catervas,
Et Germanica verba sustinentem,
Laudantem tetrico subinde vultu,
Quod Burgundio cantat esculentus,
Infundens acido comam butyro?
Vis dicam tibi, quid poëma frangat?
Ex hoc barbaricis abacta plectris
Spernit senipedem stylum Thalia,
Ex quo septipedes videt patronos.
Felices oculos tuos & aures,
Felicemque libet vocare nasum,
Cui non allia, sordidæque cepæ,
Ructant mane novo decem apparatus.
Quem non ut vetulum patris parentem,
Nutricisque virum, die nec orto,
Tot tantique petunt simul gigantes,
Quot vix Alcinoi culina ferret.
Sed jam Musa tacet, tenetque habenas
Paucis hendecasyllabis jocata,
Ne quisquam satyram vel hos vocaret.

9) Sidonius, *L.* 5. *ep.* 5. *p.* 132. Immane narratu est, quantum stupeam sermonis te Germanici notitiam tanta facilitate rapuisse. Atqui pueritiam tuam competenter scholis liberalibus memini imbutam, & sæpe numero acriter eloquenterque declamasse coram oratore, satis habeo compertum. Atque hæc cum ita sint, velim dicas, unde subito hausserunt pectora tua euphoniam gentis alienæ? ut modo mihi post ferulas lectionis Maronianæ, postque desudatam varicosi Arpinatis opulentiam loquacitatemque, quasi de hilario vetere novus falco prorumpas? Æstimari minime potest, quanto mihi ceterisque sit risui quoties audio, quod te præsente formidet facere linguæ suæ barbarus barbarismum. Adstupet tibi epistolas interpretanti curva Germanorum senectus, & negotiis mutuis arbitrum te disceptatoremque desumit. Novus Burgundionum Solon in legibus differendis: novus Amphion in citharis, sed tricordibus temperandis amaris, frequentaris, expeteris, oblectas, eligeris, adhiberis, decernis, audiris. Et quanquam æque corporibus ac sensu rigidi sint, indolatilesque, amplectuntur in te pariter, & discunt sermonem patrium, cor Latinum. Restat hoc unum, vir facetissime, ut nihilo segnius, vel cum vacabit, aliquid lectioni operis impendas, custodiasque hoc prout es elegantissimus, temperamentum, ut ista tibi lingua teneatur, ne ridearis; illa exerceatur, ut rideas.

is,

is, that the ſame Author calls that Part of *Gaul*, which the *Burgundians* poſſeſs'd, *Germania Lugdunenſis* (10).

§ XXIII. *OLYBRIUS* died, in the Year 472, on the 23d of *October*. His Widow, *Placidia*, returned to *Conſtantinople*, where the *Anician* Family was, long afterwards, in the higheſt Reputation (1). *Glycerius* ſet up for Emperor in the Room of *Olybrius*, A. 473, at *Ravenna*, and was aſſiſted by the King of the *Burgundians* (2). Thus the *German* Princes, who commanded the Army, at a Vacancy of the Imperial Throne, had ſometimes a greater Influence, than the Senat, or the Emperor in the *Eaſt*. The Time *Glycerius* bore the Imperial Title, in the *Weſt*, was famous for nothing but the Invaſion of the *Oſtro-Goths*, of which I ſhall give an Account below: But his Reign was of ſhort Duration: For the Court of *Conſtantinople* refus'd to acknowledge *Glycerius*, and *Leo*'s View was to confer that Dignity on *Julius Nepos*, who commanded in *Dalmatia*, whom he married to a Lady, nearly related to his Houſe (3). *Nepos* was therefore proclaim'd Emperor at *Ravenna*, in the Year 474 (4), and met with little Reſiſtance on the Part of *Glycerius*, who voluntarily re-

Glycerius makes himſelf Maſter of the Empire: Is depoſed. *Julius Nepos* is made Emperor.

(10) *See above, Note* 4.

§ XXIII. (1) *Conf.* Pagius, *ad A.* 472. *n.* 4. *Some have endeavoured to derive the Counts of* Habsburg, *and the Houſe of* Auſtria, *which is deſcended from them, from the* Anician *Houſe.* Seltrid, *Abbot of* Zwethal, *writ a Book to that End, entitled* Arbor Aniciana: *and* Petrus Lambecius, *L.* 2. Commentar. de Bibliotheca Vindebonenſi, *has taken great Pains to vindicate this* Genealogical *Treatiſe: But how difficult the Paſſages, that have been objected againſt, are to defend, is likewiſe well known.*

(2) MARCELLINUS *in Chronico:* Leone Aug. V. Coſſ. Glycerius apud Ravennam, plus præſumtione, quam electione, cæſar factus eſt. Caſſiodorus *in Chronico:* Leone Aug. V. Cos. Gundebado hortante, Glycerius Ravennæ ſumſit imperium. Chronographus *a* Cuſpiniano *editus, ad conſulatum, V.* Leonis *auguſti:* Levatus eſt imperator Glycerius, Ravennæ III. non. Martias.

(3) JORNANDES *calls her* Neptis Leonis: *See the following Note* 4. Malchus *ſays, that ſhe was related to the Empreſs* Verina.

(4) IDEM, *de ſucceſſione regnorum, c.* 101. Occiſo Romæ Anthemio, Nepotem filium Nepotiani, copulata nepte ſua in matrimonio, apud Ravennam per Domitianum clientem ſuum, cæſarem ordinavit, qui Nepos regno potitus legitime, Glycerium, qui ſibi tyrannico more regnum impoſuiſſet ab imperio expellens, in Salona Dalmatiæ epiſcopum fecit. *Chronographus Cuſpinii:* Dejectus de imperio Glycerius in portu urbis Romanæ. Eo anno levatus eſt dominus Julius Nepos VIII. kal. Julias. Marcellinus, *in chronico*, Leone Cos. Glycerius cæſar Romæ imperium tenens a Nepote, Marcellini quondam patricii ſororis filio imperio expulſus, in portu urbis Romæ ex cæſare epiſcopus ordinatus eſt, & obiit. *Idem*, Zenone Aug II. Cos. Nepos, qui Glycerium regno repulerat, Romæ elevatus eſt imperator.

ſign'd

ſign'd to him, and was made Biſhop of *Salona*, in *Dalmatia* (5). King *Gundobald* ſeems, thereupon, to have repair'd to *Gaul*; where he kept his Court, at *Lyons*, as *Godegiſilus* his Brother, who alone ſtood his Ground againſt him, did his at *Geneva*. They both abandon'd the *Catholick* Faith, to embrace the Errors of *Arianiſm*.

The *Suevi* recover themſelves. Become Proſelytes to *Arianiſm*.

§ XXIV. THESE frequent and violent Revolutions gave the laſt Shock to the Empire in the *Weſt*. On the other Hand, the *German* Kingdoms thereby flouriſh'd, more and more, as we ſhall find in thoſe of the *Suevi*, *Wiſi-Goths* and *Burgundians*, in their proper Order. The *Suevi* had indeed retriev'd the Loſs they ſuſtained by *Rechiarius*'s Overthrow, and enter'd into Treaties with *Theodoric*; but were ſoon divided among themſelves. One Party choſe *Fratan*, the other elected *Maſdras*, for their King. By this Diviſion, thoſe Countries, in which the *Suevi* had fix'd their Habitations, ſuffer'd the moſt. *Maſdras* plunder'd ſome Cities in *Luſitania*, and particularly the preſent *Lisbon* and *Oporto* (1). *Framarius*, who was choſen after *Fratan*'s Deceaſe, took *Chaves* (2), made *Ida-*

(5) IDEM, *de rebus Geticis*, *c.* 45. Quem anno vix expleto, Nepos Marcellini quondam patricii ſororis filius, a regno dejiciens, in portu Romano epiſcopum ordinavit.

§ XXIV. (1) IDATIUS, *in chronico*, *ad A.* 1. Majoriani. Suevi in partes diviſi pacem ambiunt Gallæciarum: e quibus pars Fratanem, pars Maldram regem appellat. Solito more perfidiæ Luſitaniam prædatur pars Suevorum Maldram ſequens. acta illic Romanorum cæde, prædiſque contractis, civitas Ulyxippona, ſub ſpecie pacis intratur. Idem, *ad A.* 3. Majoriani. Maldras germanum ſuum fratrem interficit, & PORTUCALE caſtrum idem hoſtis invadit. Idem *ad A.* 1. Majoriani. Fratanes moritur per paſcha & pentecoſtem. Jubente Maldra, Suevi in ſolitam perfidiam verſi, regionem Gallæciæ adhærentem flumini Durio deprædantur. Iſidorus in Hiſtoria Suevorum, *contracts the whole Relation.* Occiſo Rechiario, Suevi bifarie diviſi, pars Fratan, pars Maſdran ſibi regem conſtituunt. Maſdras autem cum manu Suevorum ſtatim Luſitaniam deprædatur, acta illuc Romanorum cæde prædiſque contractis. Civitas etiam Oliſſepona ſub ſpecie pacis intratur. Nec mora, Fratan mortuo, Suevi, qui cum eo fuerant, ad Maſdram revertuntur: regionem Galliciæ adhærentem flumini Durio deprædantur. Maſdras autem peracto tertio anno regni ſui jugulatur. Quo extincto inter Frumarium, & Remiſmundum Maſdræ filium oritur de regni poteſtate diſſenſio. Sed Frumarius, cum manu, quam habebat, Flavienſem civitatem grandi evertit excidio, Remiſmundus autem vicina ſibi pariter Arigenſium loca & Lucenſis conventus maritima populatur. Frumario autem mortuo, Remiſmundus omnes Suevos in ſuam ditionem revocat, pacem cum Gallicis reformat, legatos fœderis mittit ad Theodoricum regem Gothorum: a quo etiam per legatos & arma & conjugem quam haberet, accepit.

(2) AQUÆ FLAVIÆ. *This Place is ſituate in the Kingdom of* Portugal, *in the Province* Tralos Montes.

tius,

tius their Biſhop, Priſoner, and deſtroy'd the City (3). *Spain* in general was, about this Time. greatly diſtreſs'd: For whilſt *Gaul* and *Luſitania* were thus Preys to the Fury of the *Suevi*, the *Goths* were not remiſs, but extended their Dominions in *Hiſpania Bætica* (4); and even a Party of *Heruli*, who cruis'd in thoſe Seas, ravaged the Coaſts of *Gallicia*, and *Cantabria* (5). *Remiſmund*, the Son of *Maſdras*, united, at Length, about the Year 465, the whole Nation under one Scepter. He renewed the former Agreement with the ancient Poſſeſſors of *Gallicia* and *Luſitania*; and that he might have nothing to fear, from the *Goths*, he demanded the Daughter of *Theodoric* II, in Marriage, whoſe Conſent he likewiſe obtain'd (6): But this Marriage was perhaps the Occaſion, that the King and Nation of the *Suevi*, embraced the *Arian* Schiſm, to which the *Wiſi-Goths* were Adherents (7): For they were, till then, Members of the Catholick Church. In the mean Time, the Peace with the Provincials was not ſo ſtrictly obſerved, but that the *Suevi* ſometimes extended their

(3) IDATIUS, *ad A. IV.* Majoriani. Frumarius, cum manu Suevorum quam habebat, impulſus, capto Idatio epiſcopo, VII. kal. Auguſti, in Aquæflavienſi eccleſia eundem conventum grandi evertit excidio. *See the Quotation from* Iſidorus, Not. 1.

(4) IDEM, *ad A. II.* Majoriani. Gothicus exercitus, duce ſuo Cyrila, a Theudorico rege ad Hiſpanias miſſus menſe Julio ſuccedit ad Bæticam. Legati Gothorum, & Wandalorum pariter ad Suevos veniunt, & revertuntur. *Idem, ad A. III.* Majoriani. Theudoricus, cum duce ſuo Sunierico, exercitus ſui aliquantam ad Bæticam dirigit manum. *He then mentions, in particular, that the City of* Scalabis *was taken, ad A. IV.* Majoriani. Sunericus Scalabim, cui adverſabatur, obtinet civitatem. Scalabis, at *preſent called* Santara, *is ſituate in* Portugal, *in the Province of* Eſtremadura.

(5) IDEM, *ad annum primum* Majoriani. De Erulorum gente ſeptem navibus in Lucenſi litore aliquanti advecti, viri ferme CCCC. expediti, ſuperventu multitudinis congregatæ duobus tantum ex ſuo numero effugantur occiſis. qui ad ſedes proprias redeuntes, Cantabriarum, & Varduliarum loca maritima crudeliſſime deprædati ſunt. *The* Varduli *dwelt in that Part of* Biſcay, *which is at preſent, in particular, called* Guipuſcoa. Idem, *ad A. III.* Majoriani. Eruli maritima conventus Lucenſis loca non nulla crudeliſſime invadunt, ad Bæticam pertendentes.

(6) IDEM, *in chron. ad A. III.* Severi. Frumario mortuo, Remiſmundus omnibus Suevis in ſuam ditionem regali jure revocatis, pacem reformat elapſam. Legatos Remiſmundus mittit ad Theodoricum, qui ſimiliter ſuos ad Remiſmundum remittit, cum armorum adjectione, vel munerum, directa & conjuge, quam haberet.

(7) IDEM, *ad A. IV.* Severi. Ajax natione Galata, effectus apoſtata, & ſenior Arianus, inter Suevos regis ſui auxilio hoſtis catholicæ fidei, & divinæ trinitatis emergit. *Conf.* Pag. *ad h. A.*

Dominion;

Dominion: And we find, in particular, that they made themſelves Maſters of *Coimbra*, by Force (8), and of *Lisbon* by Capitulation (9).

Euricus, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, conquers Part of *Spain*.

§ XXV As to the *Wiſi-Goths*, *Theodoric*, after the Death of *Majorianus* broke the Peace with the *Romans*; and the Diſſentions among the Great now haſtned the Downfall of their Empire, as it formerly had done the Loſs of their Liberty. *Agrippinus*, who was at Variance with *Ægidius*, *Magiſter Militum* in *Gaul*, ſurrender'd, in the Year 462, *Narbonne* to the *Goths*, which had, 'till then, been the ſtrongeſt Barrier of the *Romans*, on that Side (1). *Ægidius*, on the other Hand, defeated *Frederick*, the King's Brother, in the Dominions of the *Armorici* (2). *Theodoric* was murder'd, in the Year 467 (3). His Brother *Euricus*, who was ſuppos'd to be guilty of the Fratricide, ſucceeded him on the Throne. The declining Empire betray'd daily more and more its Weakneſs: And the King of the *Vandals*, who kept up a firm Friendſhip with the *Oſtro-* and *Wiſi-Goths*, to diſtreſs the *Roman Empire*, on every Side, now excited *Euricus* the more, becauſe *Leo* and *Anthemius* were making all poſſible Armaments againſt *Africa* (4). *Euricus* undertook fully to ſubdue the *Provincia Tarraconenſis*, which, excepting ſome few Diſtricts, that had been left the *Goths*, appertain'd to the *Romans*. He took *Pampelona* and

(8) Idem, *ad A. II.* Anthemii. Conimbrica in pace decepta diripitur, domus deſtruuntur cum aliqua parte murorum, habitatoribuſque captis atque diſperſis, & regio deſolatur, & civitas.

(9) Idem, *ad A. III.* Anthemii. Ulixippona a Suevis occupatur, cive ſuo, illic præerat, tradente Luſidio. Hac re cognita Gothi, qui venerant, invadunt, & Suevos deprædantur, pariter & Romanos, ipſis in Luſitaniæ regionibus ſervientes.

§ XXV. (1) Idatius, *ad A. II.* Severi Agrippinus Gallus, & comes, & civis, Ægidio viro inſigni inimicus, ut Gothorum mereretur auxilia, Narbonam tradidit Theudorigo.

(2) Idem Isidem, Adverſus Ægidium comitem utriuſque militiæ, virum ut fama commendat, deo bonis operibus complacentem, in Armoricana provincia Fretiricus frater Theuderici regis inſurgens, cum his cum quibus fuerat ſuperatus occiditur.

(3) Marius Pusaeo & Joanne Coss. (467). Interfectus eſt Theodoricus rex Gothorum, a fratre ſuo Euthorico, Toloſæ.

(4) Jornandes, *c.* 47. Euricus rex Veſegotharum Romani regni vacillationem cernens, Arelatum & Maſſiliam propriæ ſubdidit ditioni. Gezericus etenim Vandalorum rex ſuis eum muneribus ad iſta committenda illexit, quatenus ipſe Leonis vel Zenonis inſidias, quas contra eum direxerant, præcaveret; egitque ut orientale imperium Oſtrogothæ, Heſperium Veſegothæ vaſtarent, ut in utraque republica hoſtibus decertantibus, ipſe in Africa quietus regnaret. Quod Euricus grato ſuſcipiens animo, totas Hiſpanias Galliaſque ſibi jam jure proprio tenens,

and *Saragoſſa*, and brought that whole Province under his Subjection (5). *Spain* was, therefore, now divided between the *Suevi* and the *Goths*. The former poſſeſs'd *Gallicia* and a great Part of *Luſitania* and *Hiſpania Tarraconenſis*, and *Bætica* fell to the Share of the latter. The *Roman Empire* had little or nothing left (6); for which Reaſon, ſome *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians date the End of the *Roman* Dominion, in *Spain*, from this Time (7).

§ XXVI. IN *Gaul*, *Aruandus*, *Præfectus Prætorio Galliarum*, had, himſelf, privately ſided with the *Goths*, and adviſed *Euricus* to enter into no Treaties with *Anthemius*, whom he, and other Chiefs, bore an Averſion to, becauſe he was a *Grecian*; but to draw the *Burgundians* over to his Party, and to ſhare *Gaul* with them (1). *Aruandus*'s Treachery was detected and puniſh'd (2): But Forces were wanting, to withſtand the

Extends his Dominion in *Gaul* as far as the *Rhone* and the *Loire*.

nens, ſimul quoque & Burgundiones ſubegit, Arelatoque degens, decimo nono anno regni ſui vita privatus eſt. *The Mention* Jornandes *makes of the Friendſhip that ſubſiſted betwixt* Genſericus *and* Euricus, *is ſomewhat illuſtrated by* Idatius, *who takes Notice,* ad A. I. Anthemii, *of the Ambaſſy*, Euricus *ſent to the King of the* Vandals.

(5) ISIDORUS *in chronico, Gothorum anno imperii Leonis octavo*: Euridicus, pari ſcelere quo frater ſuccedit in regnum annis XVIII. in quo honore provectus & crimine, ſtatim bello deſævit, parteſque Luſitaniæ deprædatur. Qui prius capra Pampilona, Cæſarauguſtam invadit, totamque Hiſpaniam ſuperiorem obtinuit. Terraconenſis etiam nobilitatem, quæ ei repugnaverat, exercitus irruptione peremit. In Gallias autem regreſſus, Arelatum & Maſſiliam urbes capit, ſuoque regno utramque ſubjecit.

(6) *Conf.* Faxarda *in* Corona Gothica, *p.* 115.

(7) *Conf.* Mariana.

§ XXVI. (1) SIDONIUS APOLLINAR. *L.* 1. *ep.* 7. Interea legati provinciæ Galliæ, Tonantius Ferreolus præfectorius, Afranii Syagrii conſulis e filia nepos. Thaumaſtus quoque, & Petronius, maxima rerum verborumque ſcientia præditi, & inter principalia patriæ decora ponendi, prævium Aruandum publico nomine accuſaturi cum geſtis decretalibus inſequuntur. Qui inter cetera quæ ſibi provinciales agenda mandaverunt, interceptas literas deferebant, quas Aruandi ſcriba correptus dominum dictaſſe profitebatur. Hæc ad regem Gothorum charta videbatur emitti, pacem cum Græco imperatore diſſuadens, Britannos ſupra Ligerim ſitos impugnari oportere demonſtrans, cum Burgundionibus jure gentium Gallias dividi debere confirmans, & in hunc ferme modum plurima inſana, quæ iram regi feroci, placido verecundiam inferrent. Hanc epiſtolam læſæ majeſtatis crimine ardenter juriſconſulti interpretabantur.

(2) IDEM, *Relates the whole Affair*, L. 1. ep. 7. *He mentions*, L. 2. ep. 1. *another, named* Seronatus, *who had formed the ſame Projects*: Exultans Gothus, inſultanſque Romanis, illudens præfectis, colludenſque numerariis: leges Theodoſianas calcans, Theodoricianaſque proponens, veteres culpas, nova tributa perquirit. *He reflects ſtill more ſeverely upon him*, L. 5. ep. 13. *and*

Goths. *Euricus* therefore croſs'd the *Rhone*, and took *Arles* and *Marſeille* (3). Some Thouſands of *Britans*, who would not ſubmit to the *Saxons*, in their own Country, and yet were not in a Condition to reſiſt them, were, at that Time, juſt retired into *Gaul*, and had fix'd their Habitation among the *Armorici*, where the Country, from them, was called *Britania*. *Anthemius* liſted theſe new Comers againſt the *Goths*. *Reotimus*, their Leader †, whom *Jornandes* calls a King, encamped at *Bourges*, there to wait for the *Roman* Troops: But he was defeated by *Euricus*, and all that could eſcape fled to the adjacent Countries of the *Burgundians*, who were in Peace and Alliance with the *Roman Empire* (4). The Impotence of *Anthemius* (5), and the Revolutions which enſued, therefore left an open Field for the *Goths*. They turned their Arms againſt *Auvergne*, which Country, in Regard to its Situation, might be of Service to them, to ſecure the *Rhone* and the *Loire*, and to cover their Dominions which were between thoſe two Rivers (6). They beſieged *Auguſtonemetum*, the Capital, from the Ruins of which afterwards aroſe the preſent *Clairmond*. *Ecdicius*, Son to the Emperor *Avitus*, (as it ſeems, with the Aſſiſtance of the

L. 7. ep. 7. *he ſays of his* Arverni. Illi amore reipublicæ, Seronatum BARBARIS PROVINCIAS PROPINANTEM, non timuere legibus tradere; quem convictum deinceps reſpublica vix præſumſit occidere.

(3) *See the Teſtimonies of* Iſidorus *and* Jornandes *in the foregoing* & Not. 4, 5.

† *Among* Sidonius Apollinaris's *Letters, we meet*, L. 3. ep. 9, *with one to* Riothamus, *who, according to* Sirmondus's *Conjecture, was the ſame Leader of the* Britons, *whom* Jornandes *mentions*.

(4) Jornandes *de rebus Geticis*, c. 45. Euricus ergo Veſegotharum rex crebram mutationem Romanorum] principum cernens, Gallias ſuo jure niſus eſt occupare. Quod comperiens Anthemius imperator, protinus ſolatia Britonum poſtulavit. Quorum rex Riothimus cum XII. millibus veniens, in Biturigas civitatem oceano e navibus egreſſus, ſuſceptus eſt. Ad quos rex Veſegotharum Euricus innumerum ductans exercitum advenit, diuque pugnans, Riothimum Britonum regem, ante quam Romani in ejus ſocietate conjugerentur, ſuperavit. Qui ampla parte exercitus amiſſa, cum quibus potuit fugiens, ad Burgundionum gentem vicinam, Romanis in eo tempore fœderatam advenit.

(5) Sidonius Apollinaris, *L. 2. ep. 1. ad Ecdicium*. Si nullæ a republica vires, nulla præſidia, ſi nullæ, quantum rumor eſt, Anthemii principis opes: ſtatuit te auctore nobilitas, ſeu patriam dimittere, ſeu capillos.

(6) Idem, *L. 7. ep. 1.* Rumor eſt, Gothos in Romanum ſolum caſtra moviſſe. Huic ſemper irruptioni nos miſeri Arverni janua ſumus. Namque odiis inimicorum hinc peculiaria fomenta ſubminiſtramus, quia quod necdum terminos ſuos ab oceano in Rhodanum Ligeris alveo limitaverunt, ſolam ſub ope Chriſti moram de noſtro tantum obice patiuntur. Circumjectarum vero ſpatia, tractumque regionum jam pridem regni minacis importuna devoravit impreſſio.

Burgundians

Burgundians) (7), made a brave Defence (8); nor did *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who, before he was a Divine, had married his Sister, and was now Biſhop there, beſtir himſelf leſs, for the Good of the Country, with his Pen. *Nepos* was, in the mean Time, choſen Emperor, and was perſuaded by the Chiefs, as well of Italy as *Gaul*, to make Peace with the *Goths*: And in *Gaul*, among others, *Leontius*, Biſhop of *Arles*, *Fauſtus*, Biſhop of *Riez*, and *Græcus*, Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, were themſelves employ'd in the Treaty (9). *Nepos* ſent beſides, in particular, *Epiphanius*, Biſhop of *Pavia*, to *Tholouſe*, to bring the Peace with their King to a Concluſion: and *Ennodius* ſays it was actually concluded, towards the End of the Year, 474, or the Beginning of the enſuing Year (10). By Virtue of this Peace, *Auvergne*

(7) IDEM, *L.* 3. *ep.* 4. Oppidum ſiquidem noſtrum, quaſi quendam ſui limitis obicem, circumfuſarum nobis gentium arma terrificant. Sic æmulorum ſibi in medio poſiti lachrymabilis præda populorum, ſuſpecti Burgundionibus, proximi Gothis, nec impugnantum ira, nec propugnantum caremus invidia.

(8) IDEM, *Speaks on that Account in Praiſe of him*, L. 3. ep. 3. *The Emperor*, Julius Nepos, *created him* Patricius, *in Regard to his eminent Services*: Sidonius Apollinaris, *on that Occaſion, congratulates his Wife, who had likewiſe embraced the Eccleſiaſtical State*, *L.* 5. *ep.* 16. Ravenna veniens quæſtor Licinianus, cum primum tetigit, Alpe tranſmiſſa, Galliæ ſolum, literas adventus ſui prævias miſit, quibus indicat, eſſe ſe gerulum codicellorum, quorum in adventu fratri etiam tuo Ecdicio, cujus æque titulis ac meis gaudes, honor patricius accedit; celerrime, ſi cogites ejus ætatem, ſi merita, tardiſſime. Namque ille jam pridem ſuffragium dignitatis ineundæ non ſoluit in hance, ſed in acie? ærariumque publicum ipſe privatus non pecuniis, ſed manubiis locupletavit. Hoc tamen ſancte Julius Nepos, armis pariter ſummus auguſtus ac moribus, quod deceſſoris Anthemii fidem, fratris tui ſudoribus obligatam, quo citerior, hoc laudabilior abſolvit. ſiquidem iſte complevit, quod ille ſæpiſſime pollicebatur. Quo fit, ut deinceps pro republica optimus quiſque poſſit, ac debeat, ſi quid cuipiam virium eſt, quia ſecurus, hinc avidus impendere: quandoquidem mortuo quoque imperatore, laborantum devotioni quicquid ſpoponderit princeps, ſemper redhibet principatus.

(9) SIDONIUS, *L.* 7. *ep.* 6. *ad Baſilium*, (*Biſhop of* Aix): In ſacratiſſimorum pontificum, Leontii, Fauſti, Græci, urbe, ordine, caritate medius inveniris. Per vos mala fœderum currunt, per vos regni utriuſque pacta conditioneſque portantur. Agite quatenus hæc ſit amicitia, concordia principalis, ut epiſcopali ordinatione permiſſa, populos Galliarum, quos limes Gothicæ ſortis incluſerit, teneamus ex fide, etſi non tenemus ex fœdere.

(10) ENNODIUS *in vita Epiphanii*, p. 381. *We ſhall here add his Relation, tho' it has more the Appearance of a Panegyrick, than a Hiſtory*: Poſt Glycerium ad regnum Nepos acceſſit. Tunc inter eum & Toloſæ alumnos Getas, quos ferrea Euricus rex dominatione gubernabat, orta diſſenſio eſt: dum illi Italici fines imperii, quos trans Gallicanas Alpes porrexerat novitatem ſpernentes, non deſi-

Auvergne was ſurrender'd to the *Goths*, how much ſoever *Sidonius Apollinaris*

nerent inceſſere: E diverſo Nepos, ne in uſum præſumtio male ſuada duceretur, diſtrictius cuperet commiſſum ſibi a deo regnandi terminum vindicare. Hinc utrinque litium cœperunt fomenta conſurgere. Et dum neutræ partes conceptum tumorem vincendi ſtudio deponunt, ſic exſuperabat cauſa diſcordiæ. Attigerat jam beatiſſimus vir octavum in ſacerdotio annum: cum repente Nepotis animum ſummovendæ diſſenſionis amor infudit: ut repulſo ſimultatis veneno, ſervaret inter reges charitas, quod tueri arma vix poterant. Evocantur ad conſilium Liguriæ lumina, viri maturitatis, quorum poſſit deliberatione labans reipubl. ſtatus reviviſcere, & in antiquum columen ſoliditas deſperata reſtitui. Tantique ad tractatum coiere ex juſſu principis, quanti poterant eſſe rectores. Seritur de ordinanda legatione ſermo. In beatiſſimum virum Epiphanium mentes omnium & oculi diriguntur: fiunt cunctorum ſententiæ, quaſi unius & ore proferuntur & pectore. Quid plura? cum lætitia Chriſti miles occaſionem laboris amplectitur, & ſpe effectum præcipit, de negotii æſtimatione confidens, agendi ſpeciem melioraturus inquirit: actionem pene conclamatam, & valde difficilem cœleſtis potentiæ præſidio percunctatus eſt, ſuſcepit, implevit. Cujus itineris moleſtias neceſſitateſque non valeam per ordinem digerere, nec ſi mihi centum linguarum fluminibus permeatus irriguos verba fundantur: nam egreſſus Ticinenſi oppido, donec ad deſtinata loca pertingeret, tali viæ ſuæ fatigationem arte geminavit, ut ſi temperius, jumentorum defectum conſiderantes, in futuræ manſionis diverſoria ſucceſſerunt, præter pſalmorum continuationem, præter lectionis perſeverantiam, quorum nihil niſi ſtando faciebat, eligebat ſeceſſum nemoroſa fronte concluſum, ubi connexis arborum brachiis nox domeſtica texeretur: quod ſolum refugus per umbracula opaca ſol neſciret, & totum viridanti ceſpite gratia naturalis ſterneret. Ibi profuſus in oratione, continuis fletibus expertem pluviarum terram oculorum imbribus irrigabat. Reddebantur arva illa fœcunda orationum copia, quæ frugum eſſe non poterant. Tali exercitio ſe macerans Toloſanam, in qua Euricus tunc rex degebat, urbem ingreſſus eſt, quem jam prævia opinio Gallorum auribus, qualis eſſet, intimaverat, ſacerdotibus præcipue ejuſdem regionis, quos attonitos de advenientibus inquiſitio profunda ſolicitat. Erat præterea ea tempeſtate conſiliorum principis & moderator, & arbiter, Leo nomine, quem per eloquentiæ meritum non una jam declamationum palma ſuſceperat: qui ſummo cum gaudio adventum pontificis indicavit notitiæ publicæ. Evocatur ex tempore regi præſentandus antiſtes. Aa quem illico ut ingreſſus, vidit, ſalutavit, adgreſſus eſt. Quamvis te ſtupende terrarum princeps, multorum auribus reddat virtutis fama terribilem; & gladii, quibus finitimos continua vaſtitate premis, ſegetem quandam inimici germinis metant: nullam tibi tamen ſuperni gratiam numinis dira bellandi præſtat ambitio: nec ferrum fines tuetur imperii, ſi cœleſtis dominus offendatur. Regem te habere memento, cui oportet conſiderare quid placeat: qui cum ſuſceptum hominem portaret ad cœlum, pro immenſæ hæreditatis munere, pacem diſcipulis iterata ſæpius admonitione commendat: cujus nos præcepti neceſſe eſt eſſe cuſtodes:

ris endeavour'd to prevent it (11). The *Goths*, on the other Hand, restored

todes: præcipue cum noverimus, virum fortem dici non posse, quem vicerit indignatio. Deinde perpendere nos convenit, quod nemo diligentius propria tuetur, quam qui aliena non appetit. Quo circa Nepos, cui regimen Italiæ ordinatio divina commisit, ad hæc nos impetranda destinavit; ut reductis ad fidem mentibus, terræ sibi convenæ dilectionis jure socientur. Qui licet certamina non formidet, concordiam prius exoptat. Nostis in communi, quo sit dominiorum antiquitas limitata confinio: qua sustinuerint partes istæ illarum rectores famulandi patientia. Sufficiat, quod elegit: aut certe patitur amicus dici, qui meruit dominus appellari. Hæc vir insignissimus Epiphanius. At Euaricus gentile nescio quod murmur infringens, mollitum se adhortationibus ejus vultus sui serenitate significat. Leo vero nominatus superius tanto allocutionis ipsius tenebatur miraculo, ut crederet verbis hujuscemodi expugnari posse mentes si fas est dici etiam si contra justitiam postularet. Taliter tamen fertur ad interpretem rex locutus: licet pectus meum lorica vix deserat, & assidue manum orbis æratus includat, nec non & latus muniat ferri præsidium: inveni tamen hominem, qui me armatum possit expugnare sermonibus. Fallunt qui dicunt Romanos in linguis scutum, vel spicula non habere. Norunt enim & illa, quæ nos miserimus verba repellere; & quæ a se diriguntur, ad cordis penetralia destinare. Facio ergo, venerande papa, quæ poscis: quia grandior est apud me legati persona, quam potentia destinantis. Accipe nunc fidem: & pro Nepote pollicere, quod servet intemeratam concordiam: quando te promisisse, jurasse est. His dictis, inito etiam pactionis vinculo, verendus pontifex valedicto discessit. Ad quem statim peccatorum turba dirigitur, ut secuturo die regis epulis interesset: quem ille jam compererat jugitur per sacerdotes suos polluta habere convivia. Cui excusavit, dixitque, sibi non esse in more positum, alienis aliquando prandiis vesci; perendie se magis velle proficisci, quod constitutum maturavit implere: & Tolosam tantis comitantibus egressus est: ut pene deserta urbs, discedente nostro pontifice, cerneretur. Tantos enim in brevi devinxerat sibi charitate sincera, ut captivitatem flerent, quos apud patriam remanere necessitas constringebat.

(11) SIDONIUS APOLL. *L.* 7. *ep.* 7. *ad Græcum, Bishop of* Marseilles. Siquidem nostri hic nunc est infelicis anguli status; cujus, ut forma confirmat, melior fuit sub bello, quam sub pace conditio. *And farther:* Hoccine meruerunt inopia, flamma, ferrum, pestilentia, pingues cædibus gladii, & macri jejuniis præliatores? Propter hujus tamen inclytæ pacis expectationem, avulsas muralibus rimis herbas in cibum traximus: crebro per ignorantiam venenatis graminibus infecti, quæ indiscretis foliis succisque viridantia, sæpe manus fame concolor legit. Pro his tot, tantisque devotionis experimentis, nostri (quantum audio) facta jactura est. Pudeat vos precamur hujus fœderis, nec utilis, nec decori. Per vos legationes meant. Vobis primum, quanquam principe absente, non solum tractata referantur, veram etiam tractanda committuntur. Veniabilis sit quæsumus, apud aures vestras veritatis asperitas, cujus convicii invidiam dolor eripit. Parum in commune consulitis: & cum in concilium

ſtored *Arles* and *Marſeilles* (12), and the *Rhone* became thus the Boundary of the *Gothick* Kingdom to the *Eaſt*, as the Loire was to the North.

Tranſactions between him and the *Franks*.

§ XXVII. As therefore, the Kingdom of the *Wiſi-Goths* comprehended that Part of *Gaul*, which was encompaſſed by the *Rhone* and the *Loire*, as well as *Hiſpania Tarraconenſis* and *Bætica*, beyond the *Pyrenees*, it is eaſy to conceive, that the Hiſtory of other *German* Nations was oft entangled with that of the *Goths*. *Euricus*, among the Reſt, had likewiſe to do with the *Franks*, who together with the *Goths* and *Burgundians*, at that Time, kept *Gaul* in Aw. *Sidonius* mentions, in particular, thoſe, who dwelt on the *Wahl*, and calls them *Sicambri*; becauſe they poſſeſs'd the Country formerly inhabited by that Nation. He boaſts, in another Paſſage, of I know not what Advantages gained over them, by *Euricus*, and that he preſcrib'd them ſuch Terms of Peace as he himſelf pleaſed (1). We find likewiſe, in that Author, ſome farther Tokens of Treaties with the *Franks* (2) and *Saxons*. The latter continued ſtill to infeſt the Coaſts of *Gaul*, (probably from *Britain*) and came even to the *Aquitanian* Shoar, into the Dominions of the *Wiſi-Goths*. By a Letter of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, we

cilium convenitis, non tam curæ eſt publicis AD VACHALIM TREMENTIBUS mederi periculis, quam privatis ſtudere fortunis. quod utique ſæpe diuque facientes, jam non primi comprovincialium cœpeſtis eſſe, ſed ultimi. At quouſque iſtæ poterunt durare præſtigiæ. Non enim diutius ipſi majores noſtri hoc nomine gloriabuntur, qui minores incipiunt non habere. Quapropter vel conſilio, quo poteſtis, ſtatum concordiæ tam turpis incidite: Adhuc ſi neceſſe eſt obſideri, adhuc pugnare, adhuc eſurire delectat. Si vero tradimur, qui non potuimus viribus obtineri, juveniſſe vos certum eſt, qui barbarum ſuaderetis ignavi.

(12) *W.* PAGIUS, *ad A.* 474. *n.* 11.

§ XXVII. (1) SIDONIUS APOLL. *L.* 8. *ep.* 3. *ad Leonem*, *p.* 215. Sepone pauxillulum conclamatiſſimas declamationes, quas oris regii vice conficis: quibus ipſe rex inclytus modo corda terrificat gentium traſmarinarum, modo de ſuperiore cum BARBARIS FOEDUS VICTOR INNODAT; modo per promotæ limitem ſortis, ut populos ſub armis, ſic frænat arma ſub legibus. *He calls them ſeveral Times* Sicambri, *and, among others, in the Paſſage quoted in the following* §. n. 2.

(2) *See* n. 2. *of the following* §. L. 4. c. 20. *he takes Notice of a Nuptial Solemnity, where* Sigiſmer, *a* German *Prince, fetched home his Bride.* Valeſius *imagines, that this* Sigiſmer *was a Prince of the* Franks, *and his Bride a Daughter of the* Gothick *King. This Conjecture is not, indeed, ſupported by any Hiſtory; but that Letter merits, nevertheleſs, to be here inſerted, becauſe we there meet with ſo lively a Deſcription of the Pomp and Equipage of the ancient* German *Princes.* Tu cui frequenter arma, & armatum, & armatos inſpicere jucundum eſt, quam voluptatem putamus mente concipere, ſi Sigiſmerem regium juvenem, ritu atque cultu gentilitio ornatum, utpote

we ſee, that the Inhabitants of the Coaſts of *Saintonge* were in great Fear of them (3); and, in another Place, he mentions the *Saxons*, who

utpote ſponſum ſeu petitorem, prætorium ſoceri expetere vidiſſes? Illum equus quidem phaleris comptus, immo equi radiantibus gemmis onuſti antecedebant, vel etiam ſubſequebantur: cum tamen hoc magis ibi decorum conſpiciebatur, quod præcurſoribus ſuis, ſive pediſſequis, pedes & ipſe medius inceſſit, flammeus cocco, rutilus auro, lacteus ſerico; tum cultui tanto, coma, rubore, cute concolor. Regulorum autem, ſociorumque comitantum forma & in pace terribilis: quorum pedes primi perone ſetoſo talos aduſque vinciebantur; genua, crura, ſuræque ſine tegmine. Præter hoc veſtis alta, ſtricta, verſicolor, vix appropinquans poplitibus exertis: manicæ ſola brachiorum principia velantes, viridantia ſaga limbis marginata puniceis, penduli ex humero gladii balteis ſupercurrentibus ſtrinxerant clauſa bullatis latera rhenonibus. Eo quo comebantur ornatu, muniebantur. lanceis uncatis, ſecuribuſque miſſibilibus dextræ refertæ, clypeis lævam partem adumbrantibus, quorum lux in orbibus nivea, fulva in umbonibus, ita cenſum prodebat, ut ſtudium. Cuncta prorſus hujuſmodi, ut in actione thalamorum non appareret minor Martis pompa, quam Veneris.

(3) IDEM, *L.* 8. *ep.* 6. *p.* 222. *ſeq.* Sed ecce dum jam epiſtolam, quæ diu garrit, claudere optarem, ſubitus a Santonis nuntius: cum quo dum tui obtentu aliquid horarum ſermocinanter extrahimus, conſtanter aſſeveravit, nuper vos claſſicum in claſſe cecineſſe, atque inter officia nunc nautæ, modo militis, littoribus oceani curvis innerare contra SAXONUM PANDOS MYOPARONES, quorum quot remiges videris, totidem te cernere putes archipiratas; ita ſimul omnes imperant, parent, docent, diſcunt latrocinari. Unde nunc etiam ut quam plurimum caveas, cauſſa ſucceſſit maxima monendi. Hoſtis eſt omni hoſte truculentior. Improviſus aggreditur, prævisus elabitur: ſpernit objectos, ſternit incautos: ſi ſequatur, intercipit, ſi fugiat, evadit. Ad hoc exercent illos naufragia, non terrent. Eſt eis quædam cum diſcriminibus pelagi non notitia ſolum, ſed familiaritas. Nam quoniam ipſa, ſi qua tempeſtas eſt, hinc ſecuros efficit occupandos, hinc proſpici vetat occupaturos, in medio fluctuum ſcopulorumque confragoſorum, ſpe ſuperventus læti periclitantur. Præterea priuſquam de continenti in patriam vela laxantes, hoſtico mordaces ancoras vado vellant, mos eſt remeaturis, decimum quemque captorum per æquales & cruciarias pœnas, plus ob hoc triſti, quod ſuperſtitioſo ritu, necare; ſuperque collectam turbam perituroruin mortis iniquitatem ſortis æquitate diſpergere. Talibus eligunt votis, victimis ſolvunt: & per hujuſmodi non tam ſacrificia purgati, quam ſacrilegia polluti, religioſum putant cædis infauſtæ perpetratores, de capite captivo magis exigere tormenta, quam pretia. Quamobrem metuo multa, ſuſpicor varia: quanquam me e contrario ingentia hortentur. Primum quod victoris populi ſigna comitaris, &c. *This Account of the Ships, uſed by the ancient* Saxons, *and of their Dexterity in Fighting at Sea, may ſerve to illuſtrate what I have obſerved in the foregoing Books. As for thoſe Ships in particular, which* Sidonius Apollinaris *calls* Myoparones, *we have a more exact Deſcription of them in* Iſodorus.

He

who treated on Affairs of Peace and War, with King *Euricus*, at *Bourdeaux* (4).

He causes the Laws of the *Wisi-Goths* to be reduced into Order. Of his Court. His Zeal for his Religion.

§ XXVIII. *EURICUS* was not contented with ſecuring his Kingdom by Arms and Alliances; but form'd the prudent Reſolution, of accuſtoming his Subjects, by Degrees, more and more, to that Polity, which *Athaulph* deſpair'd of ever introducing among the *Goths*. As Laws are an indiſſoluble Ty of Civil Society; and, at the ſame Time, highly inſtrumental in the Art of governing, he preſcribed the *Goths* a written and perpetual Law; whereas they had, 'till then, been only directed by their Cuſtoms, and the arbitrary Deciſion of their Judges (1). *Sidonius*, in a Letter, which he wrote from *Bourdeaux*, whither he had followed King *Euricus*, gives his Friend a great Idea of that Prince's Court, and ſays, that the *Oſtro-Goths*, *Saxons*, *Heruli*, *Burgundians* and *Franks* were, in all their important Affairs, influenc'd by that Monarch; and that even the Emperor in the *Eaſt* ſought his Friendſhip (2). This King had, beſides the *Goths*, likewiſe foreign Troops in his Service; and ſome *Romans*, or *Provincials*, were now every where in the Service of the *German* Kings as the *Germans* were formerly in that of the *Roman* Emperors. *Leo*, in particular, whoſe Office was to treat

He ſays, in originibus, L. 19. c. 1. Mioparo quaſi minimus paro: idem & CARABUS. Eſt enim parva ſcapha ex vimine facta, quæ contexta crudo corio genus navigii præbet, quales utuntur Germanorum piratæ in oceani littoribus vel paludibus ob agilitatem, de qualibus hiſtoria, *Gens*, inquit, *Saxonum mioparonibus non viribus nituntur, fugæ potius, quam bello parati. And farther*, Carabus parva ſcapha, ex vimine facta, quæ contexta crudo corio, genus navigii præbet.

(4) *See* Not. 2. *of the following* §.

§. XXVIII. (1) ISIDORUS, *p.* 213. Sub hoc rege Gothi legum inſtituta ſcriptis habere cœperunt: nam antea tantum moribus, & conſuetudine tenebantur. Theodoric *may, however, have inſtituted ſome ſingle Laws, which were, perhaps, the* Leges Theodoricianæ, *mentioned above by* Sidonius, § 26. not. 2.

(2) SIDON. APOLL. *L.* 8. *ep.* 9.

Nos iſtic poſitos, ſemelque viſos,
Bis jam menſtrua luna conſpicatur:
Nec multum domino vacat vel ipſi,
Dum reſponſa petit ſubactus orbis.
Iſtic Saxona cœrulum videmus,
Aſſuetum ante ſalo, ſolum timere:
Cujus verticis extimas per oras,
Non contenta ſuos tenere morſus,
Altat lamina marginem comarum:
Et ſic crinibus ad cutem reciſis
Decreſcit caput, additurque vultus.
Hic tonſo occipiti, ſenex Sicamber,
Poſtquam victus es, elicis retrorſum
Cervicem ad veterem novos capillos.
Hic glaucis Herulus genis vagatur,
Imos, oceani colens receſſus,
Algoſo prope concolor profundo.
Hic Burgundio ſeptipes frequenter

Flexo

treat with the foreign Ambaſſadors at the *Gothick* Court, is highly praiſed (3.) This Miniſter's Zeal for the Honour of his Maſter was ſuch, that he was deſirous of having his Hiſtory tranſmitted to Poſterity, by which Means his own Fame would likewiſe have been perpetuated. This Task, he propos'd to *Sidonius Apollinaris*; but he declined it (4): And the whole Deſign probably came to nothing; which obliges us to collect the Succeſſes of this Reign, from the Writings of its Enemies. The Difference in Point of Religion render'd the late Revolution the moſt inſupportable to the conquer'd Countries. *Euricus* was a zealous *Arian*, and his Prieſts inſinuated to him, that all the Succeſs of his Arms was a Re-

Flexo poplite ſupplicat quietem.
Iſtis Oſtrogothus viget patronis,
Vicinoſque promens ſubinde Chunos,
His quod ſubditur, hinc ſuperbit illis.
Hinc Romane tibi petis ſalutem;
Et contra Scythicæ plagæ catervas
Si quos Parrhaſis urſa fert tumultus,
Eorice, tuæ manus rogantur,
Ut Martem validus per inquilinum
Defenſet tenuem Garumna Tibrim.
Ipſe hic Parthicus Arſaces precatur,
Aulæ Suſidis ut tenere culmen
Poſſit fœdere ſub ſtipendiali.
Nam quod partibus arma Boſphoranis
Grandi hunc ſurgere ſentit apparatu,
Mœſtam Perſida jam ſonum ad duelli
Ripa Euphratide vix putat tuendam,
Qui cognata licet ſibi aſtra fingens,
Phœbea tumeat propinquitate,
Mortalem hic tamen implet obſecrando.

converteremus ad ſtylum hiſtoriæ. Reverentia ſumma, ſummo & affectu, talem atque tantam ſententiam amplector, idoneum quippe pronuncias ad opera majora, quem mediocria putas deſerere debere. Sed quod fatendum eſt, facilius audeo hujuſmodi ſuſpicere judicium quam ſuſcipere conſilium. Res quidem digna quam tu juberes: ſed non minus digna quam faceres. Namque & antiquitus, cum C. Cornelius C. Secundo paria ſuaſiſſet, ipſe poſtmodum quod injunxit arripuit. Eoque ab exemplo nunc me melius aggrederis: quia & ego, Plinio, ut diſcipulus aſſurgo, & tu vetuſto genere narrandi jure Cornelium antevenis; qui ſæculo noſtro ſi reviviſceret, teque qualis in literis & quantus habeare conſpicaretur, modo verius Tacitus eſſet. Itaque tu molem thematis miſſi recte capeſſis; cui præter eloquentiam ſingularem, ſcientiæ ingentis magna opportunitas. Quotidie namque per potentiſſimi conſilia regis, totius ſollicitus orbis, pariter ejus negotia & jura, fœdera & bella, loca, ſpatia, merita cognoſcis. Unde quis juſtius ſeſe ad iſta ſuccinxerit, quam ille, quem conſtat gentium motus, legationum varietates, facta ducum, pacta regnantum, tota denique publicarum rerum ſecreta didiciſſe? quique præſtanti poſitus in culmine, non neceſſe habet, vel ſupprimere verum, vel concinnare mendacium?

(3) SIDONIUS APOLLNAR. *ſpeaks often in Praiſe of him; and, among the Reſt,* L. 8. ep. 3. *See* Note 1. *of the foregoing* §. *and* L. 4. ep. 22. *See the following* Note.

(4) IDEM. *Gives us this Account,* L. 4. ep 22. *which Letter is addreſs'd to* Leo *himſelf.* Vir magnificus Heſperius, gemma amicorum literarumque, nuper urbe cum rediit e Toloſatium, præcipere te dixit, ut epiſtolarum curam, jam terminatis libris earum,

ward for his Zeal, which they call'd Piety (5). Religious Controverſies were probably not wanting; and *Sidonius Apollinaris* extols *Baſil*, Biſhop of *Aix*, for having bravely confuted a *Goth*, who was a zealous Defender of the *Arian* Error (6). But a Party, which is protected by the Court, and has the Power in Hand, ſeldom remains within the Limits of Conviction. The Perſecution does not indeed appear to have been ſo rigid, as it is repreſented by *Gregorius Turonenſis* (7): But the King gave the Church a very great Shock, by not filling the vacant Sees (8). *Crocus*, Biſhop of *Nimes*, and another Biſhop, named *Simplicius*, were ſent into Exile (9); but whether on Account of Religion, or for any Temporal Matter, is uncertain.

§ XXIX.

(5) Sidonius, *L.* 7. *ep.* 6. Sed quod fatendum eſt, præfatum regem Gothorum, quanquam ſit ob virium merita terribilis, non tam Romanis mœnibus, quam legibus Chriſtianis inſidiaturum paveſco. Tantum, ut ferunt, ori, tantum pectori ſuo catholici mentio nominis acet, ut ambigeas, ampliuſne ſuæ gentis, an ſuæ ſectæ teneat principatum. Ad hoc, armis potens, acer animis, alacer annis, hunc ſolum patitur errorem, quod putat ſibi tractatuum conſiliorumque ſucceſſum tribui pro religione legitima, quem potius aſſequitur pro felicitate terrena. Propter quod diſcite cito catholici ſtatus valetudinem occultam, ut apertam feſtinetis adhibere medicinam. Burdegala, Petrocorii, Ruteni, Lemovices, Gabalitani, Eluſani, Vaſates, Convenæ, Auſcenſes, multoque jam major numerus civitatum, ſummis ſacerdotibus ipſorum morte truncatis, nec ullis deinceps epiſcopis in defunctorum officia ſuffectis, (per quos utique minorum ordinum miniſteria ſubrogabantur) latum ſpiritualis ruinæ limitem traxit.

(6) Sidon. Apoll. *L.* 7. *ep.* 6. *p.* 181. Probe memini, qui polleas igne ſenſuum, fonte verborum, qui viderim Modaharium, civem Gothum, hæreſeos Arianæ jacula vibrantem, quo tu ſpiritualium teſtimoniorum mucrone confoderis.

(7) Greg. Turonensis, *L.* 2. *c.* 25. Hujus tempore, & Evaricus rex Gothorum, excedens Hiſpanum limitem, gravem in Galliis ſuper Chriſtianos intulit perſecutionem. Truncabat paſſim perverſitati ſuæ non conſentientes, clericos carceribus ſubigebat; ſacerdotes vero alios dabat exilio, alios gladio trucidabat. Nam & ipſos ſacrorum templorum aditus ſpinis jufſerat obſerari, ſcilicet, ut raritas ingrediendi, oblivionem faceret fidei. Maxime tunc Novempopulanæ, GEMINÆQUE GERMANIÆ urbes ab hac tempeſtate populatæ ſunt. *He appeals to* Sidonius Apollinaris's *Epiſtles: But if we compare them with his Relation, we may ſoon perceive that he has added conſiderably.* Valeſius *imagines*, T. 1. p. 240. *that* Aquitania prima & ſecunda *is by him call'd* Germania Gemina, *becauſe it was inhabited by the* Goths, *as a* German *Nation*; *as* Sidonius Apollinaris *calls the Country of the* Burgundians, Germania Lugdunenſis; *Others chuſe to deviate from the Letter, and read* Aquitania Gemina, *inſtead of* Germania Gemina.

(8) *See the foregoing Note* 5.

(9) Sidonius Apollinar. *L.* 7. *ep.* 6. *p.* 184.

§ XXIX. THE Motions made by the *Goths*, in *Thrace* and *Pannonia*, now oblige me to turn my Pen towards the *Eaſt*. *Aſpar*, a *Patricius*, and *Magiſter militum præſentium*, had 'till now had the greateſt Share in the Management of the Affairs of State, at *Conſtantinople*. He had more than once ſerv'd as a Prop to ſupport the Empire; and *Leo* himſelf ow'd to him his Promotion to the Imperial Dignity: No Alien perhaps ever engroſs'd more Poſts of Honour, in the *Roman* Empire, to his own Family, than this *Aſpar*, whom ſome Hiſtorians call a Native of the Country of the *Alani*, others a *Goth*. *Ardaburius*, his Father, and he himſelf had been *Conſuls*. His eldeſt Son, who was likewiſe nam'd *Ardaburius*, was *Patricius* and *Magiſter Militum*; the next, named *Patricius*, had not only been *Conſul*, but *Leo* had already nominated him *Cæſar*, and promiſed him *Leontia*, his Daughter, in Marriage: *Hermeneric*, his youngeſt Son, had likewiſe been *Conſul*, in the Year 465. But the Face of Affairs was ſuddenly changed in the Year 471; and *Zeno*, who was afterwards Emperor, way-laid him and his two eldeſt Sons, by *Leo*'s Order, and kill'd them on the Spot (1). *Aſpar* had married the Siſter of the *Gothick* Prince, *Theodoric*, who is generally ſurnam'd the Son of *Triarius*. This Prince took Occaſion from thence to take up Arms againſt the Emperor. He demanded three Articles; firſt all *Aſpar's* Eſtate; ſecondly, a more convenient Habitation for his People in *Thrace*; and, thirdly, the Command of the Army, in the ſame Manner as *Aſpar* had enjoy'd it. *Leo* not readily complying with theſe Conditions, *Theodoric* ſent Part of his Troops to invade the Country about *Philippis*, and himſelf laid Siege, with the Reſt, to *Arcadiopolis*, which Place he took. *Leo* begun thereupon to be more tractable than before, inſomuch that *Theodoric* concluded a Peace. Among other Conditions were theſe, that he ſhould have Satisfaction, with Regard to the Poſt of General, which he demanded; and that a Subſidy of 2000 Pounds of Gold ſhould be annually paid to his *Goths*; for which they ſhould aſſiſt the *Roman* Empire, againſt all its Enemies, except the *Vandals* (2); which laſt Limitation proceeded, without Doubt, from the good Underſtanding *Genſeric* lived in with theſe *Goths*.

Emperor *Leo*'s Differences with the *Goths* in *Thrace*.

§ XXX.

p. 184. Taceo veſtros Crocum, Simplicumque collegas, quos cathedris ſibi traditis eliminatos, ſimilis exilii cruciat pœna diſſimilis. Namque unus ipſorum dolet, ſe non videre quo redeat. alter ſe dolet videre, quo non redit.

§ XXIX. (1) *As for* Aſpar's *Hiſtory, we muſt refer the Reader to the Examinations made into it at large, by* Valeſius, T. 1. *p.* 213. *and* Pagius ad A. 470. n. 23.

(2) MALCHUS, *p.* 92. Leo imperator miſit Logium Silentiarium legatum ad barbaros, qui in Thracia erant. At barbari lubenti animo legatum exceperunt, & legatos

The *Oſtro-Goths* raiſe Commotions in *Pannonia*. *Widemir* invades *Italy*: His Nation incorporates with the *Wiſi-Goths*.

§ XXX. THE Motions of the *Oſtro-Goths* were ſtill greater in their Conſequences. *Pannonia* was of too ſmall an Extent, for their Kings *Theodemir* and *Widemir*, and the Nation itſelf deſired Leave to try their Fortune abroad. The two Princes caſt Lots, which Way each ſhould direct his Courſe. The *Eaſt* fell to the Share of *Theodemir*, and *Italy* to *Widemir*. *Widemir* died ſoon after he entered *Italy*. His Son, who bore the ſame Name, came to an Agreement with *Glycerius*, and went to *Gaul*, where he joined the *Wiſi-Goths* (1): The Name and Renown of the *Oſtro-Goths* was, therefore, only ſupported by *Theodemir*, and his Succeeſſors.

§ XXXI.

quoque ad imperatorem, Romanorum amici eſſe cupientes miſerunt, per quos tria ab eo petierunt. Primum Theuderichum eorum ducem, omni hereditate quam illi reliquerat Aſpar, frui: ſecundum, ut liceret illi in Thracia habitare: tertium, ut & eorum ordinum quorum Aſpar fuerat, dux eſſet. Prima duo omnino denegavit imperator, ſolum tertium, ut dux fieret, dummodo ſine fraude ejus amicus eſſet, conceſſit, & ita legatos dimiſit. Sed Theuderichus, barbarorum princeps, ubi legatos ſuos ab imperatore re infecta excepit, ſuarum copiarum partem in Philippos campos immiſit: cum altera parte Arcadiopolim omni apparatu oppugnaturus obſedit. Neque tamen eam armis cepit, ſed fame, eos enim qui intra civitatem erant, eo inopiæ & anguſtiarum redegit, ut equorum & aliorum animalium, quæ curribus agendis inſerviunt, & mortuorum cadaverum eſu, ſeſe, dum illis ſi qua ex parte auxilium adveniret, toleraverunt. Quo non adveniente, in extremam deſperationem adducti, deditionem fecerunt. Qui vero miſſi erant ad Philippos campos, ſolum ea, quæ circa urbem erant, combuſſerant, neque quicquam præterea atrox aut grave commiſerant. His ita in Thracia graſſantibus, nihiloſecius ipſoſmet barbaros fames corripuit & urſit, ita ut legatos ad imperatorem mitterent, qui de pace agerent, quæ his conditionibus eſt facta: duo millia librarum auri Gothis ſingulis annis pendi: Theuderichum duorum exercituum, qui maximi ſunt, & circa imperatorem militant, ducem conſtitui. In alia ditione, quam Romana, Gothorum imperatorem eſſe, neque quemquam eorum, qui ab eo deficere voluerint, ab imperatore admitti. Contra quemcunq; voluerit imperator, exceptis Vandalis, a parte imperatoris pugnare.

§ XXX. (1) JORNANDES, *c.* 56. Minuentibus deinde hinc inde vicinarum gentium ſpoliis, cœpit & Gothis victus veſtituſque deeſſe: & hominibus, quibus dudum bella alimoniam præſtitiſſent, pax cœpit eſſe contraria; omneſque cum clamore magno ad regem Theodemir accedentes Gothi orant, quacunque parte vellet ductaret exercitum. Qui accito germano, miſſaque ſorte, hortatus eſt, ut ille in partem Italiæ, ubi tunc Glycerius regnabat imperator, ipſe vero ceu fortior ad fortius regnum accederet, orientale quidem. quod & factum eſt. Et mox Videmir Italiæ terras intravit, & extremum fati munus reddens, exceſſit rebus humanis, ſucceſſorem relinquens regni Videmir filium ſuum. Quem Glycerius imperator muneribus datis, de Italia ad Gallias tranſtulit, quæ a diverſis circumcirca gentibus premebantur,

§ XXXI. *THEODEMIR* paſs'd the *Save*, and the *Sarmatæ*, who were encamped thereabouts (in the Service, it ſeems, of the Emperor) did not venture to oppoſe his Paſſage. At *Nizza*, he was joined by *Theodoric* his Son. They then turned towards *Greece*, directed their Courſe to *Theſſalonia*, took *Heraclea* and *Lariſſa*, and beſieged *Theſſalonica*, the Capital of *Illyricum Orientale*. The Revolution, which, at the ſame Time, happen'd in the *Eaſt*, gave this Undertaking its wiſh'd for Succeſs: For *Leo* died there in *January*, 474, and *Leo* the younger, his Grand-Son, by his Daughter, a Prince, in the 16th or 17th Year of his Age, did not long ſurvive him. This *Leo* immediately admitted *Zeno*, his Father, to a Share in the Government; and, after having reigned 10 Months, in the Month of *November*, of the ſame Year, left the Throne wholly to him, by an untimely Death. But *Zeno* had need of all his Art to ſecure his Dignity, and as the *Patricius Clarianus*, who commanded in *Theſſalonica*, was not in a Condition to repell the *Goths*, he concluded a Peace with them (1).

Theodemir invades *Illyricum*. State of the *Eaſtern* Empire.

bantur, adſerens vicinos ſibi Veſegothas eorum parentes regnare. Quid multa? Videmir acceptis muneribus, ſimulque mandatis a Glycerio imperatore, ad Gallias tendit, ſeſeque cum parentibus jungens Veſegothis, unum corpus efficitur, & ſic Gallias Hiſpaniaſque tenentes ſuo jure defendunt, ut nullus ſibi alius prævaleret.

§ XXXI. (1) JORNANDES, *c.* 56. Theodemir autem frater ſenior cum ſuis tranſit Saum, amnem, Sarmatis militibus interminans bellum, ſi aliquis obſtaret ei. Quod illi verentes quieſcunt: imo nec prævalent ad tantam multitudinem. Videns Theodemir undique ſibi proſpera provenire, Naiſſum primam urbem invadit Illyrici, filioque ſuo Theoderico conſociatus adſtat & in villam comites per caſtra Herculis tranſmittit Ulpianam. Qui venientes tam eam, quam & opes, mox in deditionem accipiunt, nonnullaque loca Illyrici inacceſſibilia, ſibi tunc primum pervia faciunt. Nam Heracliam, & Lariſſam, civitates Theſſaliæ primum præda capta, jure bellico potiuntur. Theodemir vero rex animadvertens felicitatem ſuam quam etiam filii: nec hac tamen contentus egrediens Naiſitanam urbem, paucis ad cuſtodiam derelictis, ipſe Theſſalonicam petiit, in qua Clarianus patricius a principe directus cum exercitu morabatur. Qui dum videret vallo muniri Theſſalonicam, nec ſe eorum conatibus poſſe reſiſtere, miſſa legatione ad Theodemir regem, muneribuſque oblatis, ab obſidione eum urbis retorquet. Initoque fœdere Romanus ductor cum Gothis loca eis jam ſponte, quæ incolerent, tradidit, id eſt, Ceropellas, Europam, Medianam, Petinam, Bereum & alia, quæ SIUM vocantur. Ubi Gothi cum rege ſuo, armis depoſitis, compoſita pace quieſcunt. Nec diu poſt hæc & rex Theodemir in civitate Cerras fatali ægritudine occupatus, vocatis Gothis Theodoricum filium regni ſui deſignat heredem, & ipſe mox rebus humanis exceſſit.

He

He reſign'd to them the Province of *Pautalia* (2), which received its Name from the Capital, *Ulpia Pautalia*, ſituate in *Dacia Mediterranea*; tho' by ſome it is plac'd in *Illyricum*, and by others in *Thrace* (3). The Emperor's View was, to make Uſe of theſe *Goths*, the more eaſily to put a Stop to the Proceedings of *Theodoric*, the Son of *Triarius* (4). This new *Oſtro-Gothick* Kingdom is likewiſe call'd *Regnum Sium* (5). *Theodemir* died ſoon after, in the City of *Cerras* (6); and left his Kingdom, in the Hands of *Theodoric* his Son, who ſoon after acquir'd great Fame, and at laſt became Maſter of *Italy*.

Oreſtes makes *Romulus*, his Son, Emperor.

§ XXXII. THE Affairs of that State drew daily nearer to their total Declenſion. *Julius Nepos* appointed the *Patricius Oreſtes*, *Magiſter militum* (1). *Oreſtes* was a Native of *Pannonia*, and, after *Attila* ſubdued that

(2) MALCHUS, *p.* 79. Juſſit regionem in PANTALIA aſſignare, quæ Illyricæ partis eſt provincia, non longo intervallo diſtans ab ingreſſu Thraciæ. Quod eo conſilio faciebat, ut ſi qua Theodorichus, Triarii [*filius*] ſe commovere ſuſciperet, Balamerum adverſarium ſibi proxime imminere ſciret; atque etiam ſi Balamerus conventa violare, & pacem turbare veller, cum in medio duorum exercituum, Illyrici & Thraciæ degeret, eum facilius opprimere poſſet. *Other Writers have already obſerved, that* Malchus *confounds* Balamir *and* Vodemir *together, and that we muſt read* Pautalia, *inſtead of* Pantalia.

(3) PAGIUS, ad A. 475. n. 7 *and* 8, *treats largely of the City of* Ulpia Pautalia, *and of the Country which took its Name from it.* Leunclavius *ſays, in his* Hiſtoria Muſulmanica, p. 266. *that this Country, (which is now included in the Kingdom of* Bulgaria*) is at preſent call'd* Paulytzen.

(4) *See the Paſſage cited from* Malchus *above*, Not. 2. *In the ſame* Malchus, *we find* Theodoric, *the Son of* Triarius, *repreſented, as putting the other* Theodoric *in Mind of the Emperor's Deſigns againſt them both*, p. 89. D. Multa convicia illi faciebat, perjurum eum vocans, puerum dementem, & ſui generis hoſtem & proditorem, qui Romanorum mentem non noſſet, neque quo tenderent eorum conſilia videret. Etenim volunt ſedentes, & otioſi efficere, ut Gothi, per Gothos deleantur, &c.

(5) *See the Paſſage from* Jornandes *above*, Not. 1. *The* Geographer *of* Ravenna *likewiſe mentions the ſame Cities, L.* 3. *c.* 9. Item non longe ad ſupraſcriptam Theſſalonicam ſunt civitates id eſt Ceras, Europa, Mediana, Petina, Bereum, Queſium, &c. Pagius, *ad A.* 475. *n.* 7.

(6) JORNANDES, *See above*, Not. 1.

§ XXXII. (1) IDEM, *c.* 45. *p.* 418. Quod audiens Nepos imperator, præcepit Decio, [*l. Ecdicio*] relictis Galliis ad ſe venire, in locum ejus Oreſte magiſtro militum ordinato: qui Oreſtes ſuſcepto exercitu & contra hoſtes egrediens, a Roma Ravennam pervenit, ibique remoratus, Auguſtulum filium ſuum imperatorem effecit. Quo comperto, Nepos fugit in Dalmatias, ibique defecit privatus regno, ubi jam Glycerius dudum imperator

that Country, was for ſome Time in his Service; by whom he was likewiſe ſent ſeveral Times to the Court of *Conſtantinople*. After *Attila*'s Deceaſe, he went to *Italy*, and there raiſed himſelf to the Dignity of *Patricius*. Having now the Command of the Army, he employed the Reſerve of the *Roman* Forces againſt *Nepos* himſelf; who, in this Emergency, retir'd by Sea to *Dalmatia*, where he was, during his Life-Time, acknowledg'd Emperor: But *Oreſtes* caus'd *Romulus*, his Son, who is, by ſome Modern Writers erroneouſly call'd *Momylus* (2), and had hardly paſs'd his Infancy, to be the ſame Year, 475, on the 31ſt of *October* (3), proclaimed Emperor.

§ XXXIII. BUT this Rebellion was ſoon ſuppreſs'd by another. *Odoacer* roſe in Arms againſt him, the next Year (1), at *Pavia* (2), and, on the 25th of *Auguſt*, was proclaimed King, by the *Scyrri*, *Rugi* *Odoacer*, Prince of the *Rugi*, makes himſelf Maſter of *Italy*; dethrones *Romulus*.

imperator epiſcopatum Salonitanum habebat. Marcellinus *in chronico* Zenone Aug. II. Coſſ. (475.) Nepos, qui Glycerium regno pepulerat, Romæ elevatus eſt imperator. Nepote Oreſtes protinus effugato, Auguſtulum filium ſuum in imperium collocavit. Anonymus *a* Valeſio *editus:* Nepos factus imperator Romæ. Mox eveniens Ravennam: quem perſequens Oreſtes patricius cum exercitu, metuens Nepos adventum Oreſtis, adſcendens navem fugam petit Salonam, & ibi manſit per annos quinque poſtea vero a ſuis occiditur.

(2) *Conf.* Banduri *in numiſmatibus imperatorum*, T. 2. p. 604.

(3) ANONYMUS *a* VALESIO *editus:* Auguſtulus, qui ante regnum ROMULUS, a parentibus vocabatur, a patre Oreſte patricio, factus eſt imperator. Chronographus *a* Cuſpiniano *editus:* Zenone II. Cos. Intravit Ravennam patricius Oreſtes cum exercitu, & fugavit imperatorem Nepotem ad Dalmatias V. kal. Septembris. Eo anno levatus eſt Auguſtulus imperator Ravennæ, a patricio Oreſte patre ſuo, pridie kal. Novembris.

§ XXXIII. (1) CASSIODOR, *in chron.* Baſiliſcus II. & Armatus Cos. (476). His Coſſ. ab Odoacre Oreſtes, & frater ejus Paulus extincti ſunt, nomenque regis Odoacer adſumſit, cum tamen nec purpura, nec regalibus uteretur inſignibus. Marcellinus *ad E. A.* Odoacer rex Gothorum Romam obtinuit. Oreſtem Odoacer illico trucidavit, Auguſtulum filium Oreſtis, Odoacer in LUCULLANO Campaniæ CASTELLO exilii pœna damnavit. Chronographus *a* Cuſpiniano *editus:* Levatus eſt Odoacer rex X kal. Sept. Eo etiam anno occiſus eſt Oreſtes patricius Placentiæ V. kal. Sept. Item eo anno occiſus eſt Paulus frater ejus in Ravenna, pridie nonas Septembris. Marius, Baſiliſco & Armato Coss. His Coſſ. levatus eſt Odoacer rex.

(2) ENNODIUS, *in vita B. Epiphanii, p.* 386. Spe novarum rerum perditorum animos inquietas: Odoacrem ad regnandi ambitum extollit. Et ut hæc pernicies in Ticinenſi civitate contingeret, Oreſtem ad eam fiducia munitionis invitat. *He then relates at large the Calamities* Pavia *underwent, and concludes:* Sublato tamen Oreſte, & propter Placentinam urbem extincto, depræda tionis impetus conquievit.

and,

and *Heruli*. The Extraction of this Prince is as obſcure, as the other Circumſtances of this Revolution: We may, with the moſt Probability, ſuppoſe him to have been of the *Rugi*. *Eugippius* relates, that he came in a mean Condition to *Italy*, and by the Way viſited *S. Severinus* (3), who foretold his future good Fortune; which he afterwards, when King, gratefully remember'd (4). By this Relation he ſeems to have raiſed himſelf to ſuch a Height, by his Services in War, that he could now aſſume the Purple. A few Days after, he defeated *Oreſtes*, near *Piacenza*, and his Brother, *Paul*, near *Ravenna*. *Romulus* himſelf fell into his Hands at *Ravenna*: But his Youth and comely Appearance, ſo far raiſed his Compaſſion, that he granted him his Life, and ſent him to a Fortreſs † in *Campania*, where he allowed him an annual Penſion of 6000 *Roman* Guilders of Gold (5): But the Royal Title, which *Odoacer*, this Year, aſſumed, does not ſeem to have regarded *Italy*; but only thoſe *German* Nations (6), who choſe him for their Chief.

Zeno dethroned; but reſtored by the Aſſiſtance of *Theodoric*, the Prince of the *Oſtro-Goths*.

§ XXXIV. The *Eaſt* was in ſuch Confuſion, that *Italy* could hope for no Relief from thence. *Baſiliſcus*, Brother to the Empreſs *Verina*, with her Aſſiſtance, ſeiz'd the *Imperial* Throne, at the Beginning of the Year 476; and *Zeno* was ſo diſtreſs'd, that he, and *Ariadne* his Conſort,

(3) Eugippius, *in vita* S. Severini, *c.* 7. Qua devotione etiam ante hoc factum quidam barbari, cum ad Italiam pergerent, promerendæ benedictionis ad eum intuitu diverterunt: inter quos & Odoachar, qui poſtea regnavit Italiæ, viliſſimo tunc habitu, juvenis ſtatura procerus advenerat. Qui dum ſe, ne humile tectum cellulæ ſuo vertice contingeret, inclinaſſet, a viro Dei glorioſum ſe fore cognovit. Cui etiam valedicenti, vade inquit ad Italiam, vade viliſſimis nunc pellibus coopertus, ſed multis cito largiturus.

(4) Idem, *c.* 32. Hiſdem temporibus Odobagar rex, ſancto Severino familiares litteras dirigens, ſi qua ſperanda duceret, dabat ſimpliciter optionem, memor illius præſagii, quo eum expreſſerat quondam regnaturum. Tantis itaque, ſanctus colloquiis invitatus, Ambroſium quendam exulantem rogat abſolvi. Cujus Odobagar gratulabundus paruit imperatis.

† Marcellinus *calls it* Caſtrum Lucullanum: *See his Words*, not 1. *This is the preſent* Caſtello d'Ovo, *near* Naples.

(5). Anonymus a Valesio *editus*: Superveniente Odoacre, cum gente Schyrorum, occidit Oreſtium in Placentia, & fratrem ejus Paulum ad Pinetas, foris claſſem Ravennæ. Ingrediens autem Ravennam depoſuit auguſtum de regno, cujus infantiæ miſertus, conceſſit ei ſanguinem, & quia pulcher erat, donavit ei reditum 6000, ſolidos, & miſit eum intra Campaniam, cum parentibus ſuis libere vivere. Etenim pater ejus Oreſtes Pannotos: qui eo tempore, quando Attila ad Italiam venit, ſe illi junxit, & ejus notarius factus fuerat. Unde profecit, & uſque ad patriciatus dignitatem pervenit.

(6) *Hence* Marcellinus *calls him* Rex Gothorum: Jornandes, cap. 16. *gives him the Title of* Turcilingorum Rex. *Others ſtile him*, Rex Herulorum.

were

were oblig'd to fly to *Iſauria*, his native Country (1). The *Gothick* Prince, *Theodoric*, the Son of *Triarius*, ſided, in this Rebellion, with *Baſiliſcus*: But *Zeno*, the next Year, 477, made himſelf again Maſter of *Conſtantinople*, to which the Eminent Services of the other *Theodoric*, Prince of the *Oſtro-Goths*, in *Pautalia*, did not a little contribute (2).

§ XXXV. *GENSERIC*, who in ſo long a Reign had acquir'd a Renown ſuperior to that of any Prince cotemporary with him, died at laſt, in the Year 477, on the 25th of *January* (1). He was ſucceeded, by *Hunoric*, his Son, whoſe Reign became remarkable, as well by the Cruelty he exerciſed in the Royal Houſe (2), as by the Continuance of the Perſecution

Genſeric dies. State of the Kingdom of the *Vandals*.

§ XXXIV. 1. MARCELLINUS, ZENONE, AUG. II. COS. Zeno imperator Verinæ ſocrus ſuæ, & Baſiliſci fratris ejus inſidiis circumventus, cum Ariadne uxore ſua profugus in Iſauriam tendit. Regnum Zenonis Baſiliſcus tyrannus invaſit.

(2). IDEM, BASILISCO & ARMATO COSS. *The* Anonymous *Writer publiſh'd by* Valeſius, *mentions the Services* Theodoric, *on this Occaſion, did for the Emperor.* At ubi ille (ſc. Zeno) egreſſus eſt, mox Baſiliſcus, qui ei ut dictum eſt inſidiabatur, arripuit imperium. Baſiliſcus imperavit annos II. Zeno confortans Iſauros intra provinciam, deinde miſit ad civitatem, NOVAM, in qua erat THEODERICUS DUX GOTHORUM, filius Walameris, & eum in ſolatium adverſus Baſiliſcum objectans militem, poſt biennium veniens, obſidens civitatem Conſtantinopolim, &c. Pagius *obſerves, that this Author, as well as* Malchus, *confound* Valamir *with* Theodimir. Ennodius *greatly magnifies theſe Services, in the Panegyrick, which he afterwards ſpoke before* Theodoric, *when the latter reigned in* Italy. *p.* 295. Pulſa eſt exemplo principalis urbe reverentia, & in vacuam poſſeſſionem nullo adſcitus ſanguine tyrannus acceſſit, qui aula potitus, definivit, poſtquam metu hoſtes ſuos debellaverat, nihil ſupereſſe quod gereret. cum animos tuos ſine annorum ſuffragio impulit lux naturæ, ne aut cauſſa melior te coram poſito ſubjaceret: aut non beneficium neceſſitatis tempore redderes, quod pacis acceperas. In ipſis congreſſionis tuæ foribus ceſſit invaſor, cum profugo per te ſceptra redderentur de ſalute dubitanti. Ventilemus hiſtorias, interrogentur annales. apud quos conſtitit, refuſum exuli quem cruore ſuo rex genitus emerat, principatum? Caſtrenſis gloria turmarum participatione diſpergitur: nec ad unam referri poteſt, quod venerit collatione multorum. Singularis boni fructus eſt ambitionis refrænatio, illo maximo tempore, quo ſine opinionis damno poſſis adquiſita retinere. Parte, inclyte domine, laus reſpicit donati diadematis, & defenſi. Site illarum rector partium non amavit, perculſus præfuit reipublicæ: ſi dilexit, obnoxius. uſus es in eorum fide meritorum teſte purpurato.

§ XXXV. 1. V. NORRISIUS *in hiſtoria Pelagiana. L.* 2. *c.* 21. add. RUINART *in hiſtoria perſecutionis Vandal c.e, p.* 482.

(2). VICTOR *L.* 2. *c.* 5. *p.* 25. Deſiderans poſt obitum ſuum filiis, quod non contigit, regnum ſtatuere, Theodoricum fratrem, filioſque ejus, Gentoniſque fratris nihilominus filios crudeliter cœpit inſequi. Quorum nullum

Perſecution of the *Orthodox-Chriſtians*: But as his Hiſtory muſt give Way to the Concluſion of another, we ſhall here only add ſome Obſervations on the Conſtitution of the Kingdom of the *Vandals*, and the Cuſtoms of that Nation. *Hunoric* ſtiled himſelf King of the *Vandals* and *Alani* (3); which latter had already been oblig'd, in *Spain*, to ſubmit to the Dominion of the *Vandals*. As for the Diſpoſition in the Royal Family, *Genſeric* had appointed, that the eldeſt of his Male-Succeſſors ſhould always be Heirs to the Crown (4). The Mention we made before, of the Diviſion of their Country (5), may ſerve to ſhew, that they were much more careful for preſerving the Royal Power, than many modern Writers imagine (6). The Nation, of which, at the ſame Time, the Army conſiſted, was divided into Thouſands (7), and each Thouſand had its Comman-

nullum dimitteret, niſi ei mors deſiderii ſui voluntatem auferret. Primo ſciens uxorem Theoderici fratris aſtutam, credo, ne forte maritum aut majorem filium, quia prudens & ſapiens videbatur, conſiliis acrioribus adverſus tyrannum armaret, crimine impoſito, gladio eam interfici jubet. Poſt quam occiditur & ille filius magnus litteris inſtitutus, cui ſecundum conſtitutionem Geiſerici, eo quod major omnibus eſſet, regnum inter nepotes potiſſimum debebatur. Accenditur, adhuc crudelius aliquid perpetrare. Adſtante vulgo in media civitate pro gradibus platæ novæ, epiſcopum ſuæ religionis, nomine Jocundum, quem patriarcham vocitabant, præcepit incendio concremari, ob hoc quod in domo Theoderici, germani regis, acceptiſſimus habebatur; cujus forte ſuffragio memorata domus regnum poterat obtinere. In quo impietatis ſcelere futurum nobis adeſſe proſpeximus malum, aientes invicem ſinguli nobis: Qui in ſuo ita crudelis effectus eſt ſacerdote, quando noſtræ religioni, vel nobis parciturus eſt iſte? tunc & Gentonis majorem filium, nomine Godagis, cum uxore, abſque ſolatio ſervi aut ancillæ crudeli ex filio delegavit. Fratrem vero Theodericum, poſt occiſionem uxoris, & filii, nudum atque deſtitutum, ſimiliter relegavit. Poſt cujus mortem filium qui ſupererat, infantulum duaſque filias ejus adultas, impoſitas aſinis longius affligendo projecit.

(3) Victor, L. 4. c. 2. *produces the Edict, which* Hunoric *publiſhed againſt the* Catholicks. *It is entitled thus*: Rex Hunerix VANDALORUM & ALANORUM; univerſis populis regno noſtro ſubjectis.

(4) Procopius *de bello Vandalico*, L. 1. c. 7. Haud diu ſuperſtes Gizericus, grandævus deceſſit, condito teſtamento: quo præter alia multa illud Vandalis mandavit, ut regnum Vandalicum ei ſemper obveniret, qui per virilem ſtirpem recta ſerie propinquitatis Gizericum ipſum attingens, cognatos ſuos ætate præcurreret. Igitur Gizericus cum a capta Carthagine annos XXXIX. Vandalis imperaſſet, fato, ut diximus functus eſt. Jornandes *likewiſe takes Notice of this Regulation, in the Paſſage quoted*, L. 9. § 5. not. 4.

(5) *See Book* 9. § 19.

(6) Marinus Freccia *de ſubfeudis baronum*, L. 1. p. 22. *ſays of the* Vandals: Non illis opinio erat bene regendi ac diſponendi ordinem regiæ dignitatis: ſed excoriandi, invadendi, atque prædandi.

(7) Procopius *de bello Vandalico*, L. 1. c. 5. *See above*, L. 9. §. 5. n. 9.

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der(8). The Account we have of their Arms, Garments, Laws and Puniſhments, agrees entirely with the Cuſtoms of thoſe other *German* Nations, whoſe Deſcent is ſaid to be from the *Vandalick* Branch. Among their Arms we find, beſides the Sword and Bows (9), a particular Mention made of Battle-Axes (10). They retain'd their ancient Habits †, inſomuch that even the *Romans*, who ſerv'd in the King's Court, were oblig'd to lay aſide their *Roman* Apparel, and to dreſs like *Germans* (11). *Salvianus* ſays, in Praiſe of them, that their Laws were very ſevere in enforcing Chaſtity and Modeſty (12), and that they did not imitate the Laſciviouſneſs then in Vogue in *Africa* (13); but rather prohibited it even among ſingle People,

(8) IDEM, IB. VICTOR, *L.* 1. *c.* 10. Fuit autem hic Vandalus de illis, quos MILLENARIOS vocant.

(9) VICTOR, *De perſecut. Vandalica*, *L.* 1. *c.* 13. Intröeunt evaginatis ſpatis, arma corripiunt: alii quoque tecta conſcendunt, & per feneſtras eccleſiæ ſagittas ſpargunt.

(10) IDEM, *L.* 1. *c.* 1. Ubi forte venerabilis aulæ clauſas repererant portas, certatim ictibus dextralium, aditum reſerabant.

† *The following Words of* Victor, L. 1. c. 12. *give us the ſame Idea of their Habits.* De palliis altaris, pro nefas! camiſias ſibi, & femoralia faciebant.

(11) VICTOR, *L.* 2. *c.* 3. *p.* 24. Suggerunt regi de illo [*Eugenio epiſcopo*] ut ſuum nequaquam ſederet thronum, neque ad dei populum verbum faceret conſuetum. Deinde ut quoſcunque mares vel fœminas in habitu barbarico incedentes in eccleſia conſpiceret, prohiberet. Ille reſpondit ut decuit. Domus dei omnibus patet, intrantes nullus poterit repellere. Maxime quia ingens fuerat multitudo noſtrorum catholicorum, in habitu illorum incedentium, ob hoc quod domui regiæ ſerviebant.

(12) SALVIANUS, *L.* 7. *p.* 137. Quid? Hiſpanias nonne vel eadem majora forſitan vitia perdiderunt? quas quidem cœleſtis ira etiamſi aliis quibuslibet barbaris tradidiſſet, digna flagitiorum tormenta toleraverant puritatis inimici. Sed acceſſit hoc ad manifeſtandam illic impudicitiæ damnanationem, ut Wandalis potiſſimum, id eſt, pudicis barbaris traderentur. Dupliciter in illa Hiſpanorum captivitate oſtendere deus voluit, quantum & odiſſet carnis libidinem & diligeret caſtitatem, cum & Wandalos, ob ſolam maxime pudicitiam ſuperponeret, & Hiſpanos ob ſolam vel maxime impudicitiam ſubjugaret.

(13) IDEM. IBID, 154. Ingreſſos hæc loca Wandalos quis non putet omni ſe vitiorum atque impuritatum cœno immerſiſſe, aut, ut leviſſime dicam, ſaltem illa feciſſe, quæ ab Afris jugiter facta fuerant, in quorum jura migrarant? Et certe ſi ea tantum, continentiſſimi ac modeſtiſſimi judicandi erant, quos non feciſſet corruptiores ipſa felicitas. Quotus enim quiſque ſapientum eſt, quem ſecunda non mutent, cui non creſcat cum proſperitate vitioſitas? Ac per hoc temperatiſſimos fuiſſe Wandalos certum eſt, ſiquales illi fuerunt qui capti ac ſubjugati ſunt, tales illi fuere victores. Igitur in tanta affluentia rerum atque luxuria nullus eorum

People, and look'd ſo narrowly into their Actions, that even the *Romans*, who liv'd among them, were oblig'd to be more circumſpect (14). We find among the Puniſhments they inflicted, that, in certain Caſes, the Hair of Men, as well as Women, were tore off their Heads, with a Kind of jag-

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rum mollis effectus eſt. Num quid parum videtur; Certe familiariter etiam nobiles hoc fuere Romani. Sed quid adhuc addo? Nullus vel qui Romanorum illic mollium pollueretur inceſtu? Certe hoc apud Romanos jampridem tale exiſtimatum eſt, ut virtus potius putaretur eſſe quam vitium, & illi ſe magis virilis fortitudinis eſſe crederent, qui maxime viros feminei uſus probroſitate fregiſſent. Unde etiam illud fuit, quod lixis puerorum quondam exercitus proſequentibus, hæc quaſi bene meritis expeditionibus ſtipendia laboris decernebantur, ut quia viri fortes eſſent, viros in mulieres demutarent. Proh nefas! et hoc Romani. Plus addo, & hoc Romani non hujus temporis: attamen ne veteres accuſemus, Romani, ſed non antiqui, jam ſcilicet corrupti, jam diſſoluti, jam ſibi & ſuis diſpares, & Græcis quam Romanis ſimiliores. Ut (quod ſæpe jam diximus) minime mirum ſit, ſi Romana reſpublica aliquando patitur, quod jam dudum meretur. Hæc ergo impuritas in Romanis & ante Chriſti evangelium eſſe cœpit, &, quod eſt gravius, nec poſt evangelia ceſſavit. Et quis poſt hæc non admiretur populos Wandalorum, qui ingreſſi urbes opulentiſſimas ubi hæc omnia paſſim agebantur, ita delitias corruptorum hominum indepti ſunt, quod corruptelas morum repudiarunt, & uſum bonarum rerum poſſident, malarum inquinamenta vitantes. Sufficere igitur ad laudem eorum hæc poſſunt, etiamſi alia non dicam: abominati enim ſunt virorum impuritates. Plus adhuc addo: abominati etiam feminarum, horruerunt luſtra ac lupanaria, horruerunt concubitus contactuſque meretricum.

(14) IDEM IB. p. 157. Diximus quippe, p'enas fuiſſe impuritatibus monſtruoſis Africæ civitates, & præcipue illi reginam & quaſi dominam, Wandalos autem iis omnibus non fuiſſe pollutos. Non tales ergo iſti, de quibus loquimur barbari ad emendandam noſtrarum turpitudinum labem extiterunt. Abſtulerunt enim de omni Africa ſordes virorum mollium, contagiones etiam horruerunt meretricum; nec horruerunt tantum, aut temporarie ſummoverunt, ſed penitus jam non eſſe fecerunt. O pie domine, o ſalvator bone, quantum efficiunt per te ſtudia diſciplinæ, per quæ mutari poſſunt vitia naturæ, ſicut ab illis ſcilicet immutata ſunt. At quomodo immutata? Intereſt enim, non ſolum effectus rerum, ſed etiam effectuum cauſas dicere. Difficile eſt quippe, impudicitiam verbo aut juſſione tolli, niſi fuerit ablata; & difficile eſt, pudicitiam verbo exigi, niſi fuerit exacta. Quod iſti utique ſcientes, ſic impudicitiam ſummoverunt, quod impudicas conſervaverunt; non interficientes mulierculas infelices, ne vitiorum curam crudelitate reſpergerent, & dum peccata auferre cuperent, ipſi in peccatorum reſecatione peccarent. Sed ita errantes emendaverunt, ut factum eorum medicina eſſet, pœna non eſſet, juſſerunt ſiquidem & compulerunt omnes ad maritalem thorum tranſire meretrices, ſcorta in connubia

conver-

ged Club (15). The ſame Puniſhment is preſcrib'd in the Laws of the *Burgundians* and *Franks*, and gave Riſe to the *German* proverbial Expreſſion, *an Haut und Haare kommen* (to come to Skin and Hair), or to touch to the Quick.

§ XXXVI. *HUNORIC* renew'd the Peace with *Zeno* (1) the Emperor, and was ſo far prevail'd on, by the Interceſſion of that Prince, and of *Placidia*, the Emperor *Olybrius*'s Widow, as to permit the Church of *Carthage* *Hunoric* renews the Peace with the *Roman* Empire.

converterunt; implentes ſcilicet Apoſtoli dictum atque mandatum, ut & unaquæque mulier virum haberet ſuum, & unuſquiſque vir conjugem ſuam; ut, quia cohiberi incontinentia ſine hac carnalis uſus permixtione non poſſet, ita legitimum uſum calor corporalis acciperet, ut peccatum incontinentia non haberet. In quo quidem non id tantummodo proviſum eſt, ut viros fœminæ haberent, quæ ſine viris eſſe non poſſent, ſed etiam, ut per conſervatores domeſticos ſalvæ eſſent quæ ſeipſas ſervare neſcirent; & adhærentes jugiter gubernaculo maritali, etiamſi ad improbum eas facinus conſuetudo anteactæ impuritatis inliceret conjugalis tamen cuſtodia ab improbitate prohiberet. Addiderunt quoque hoc ad libidinem comprimendam: ſeveras pudicitiæ ſanctiones, decretorum gladio impudicitiam coërcentes; ut puritatem ſcilicet utriuſque ſexus, & domi connubii reſervaret affectus, & in publico metus legum; ac ſic duplici præſidio caſtimonia niteretur, cum & intus eſſet quod amaretur, & foris quod timeretur. Leges autem ipſæ nequaquam illis ſunt legibus conſentaneæ, quæ ita partem improbitatis removent, ut partem obſcœnitatis admittant; aut ut Romana illa decreta, quæ ſcortatores quidem ab alienis uxoribus removerunt, ad omnes autem ſolitarias paſſim admiſerunt, adulteria vetantes, lupanaria ædificantes. Timuerunt videlicet, ne nimis caſti homines ac puri eſſent, ſi ab omni eos penitus impuritate prohiberent. At non ita iſti de quibus loquimur: qui ſic inhibuerunt ſcorta ut adulteria; qui & feminas nullis eſſe volunt feminas, niſi maritis ſuis; & viros nullis volunt mulieribus eſſe maſculos, niſi uxoribus ſuis; qui evagari obſcœnas libidines extra legitimum thorum non ſinunt; leges ſuas ſcilicet ad divinæ legis regulam dirigentes, ut nihil ſibi in hac re crederent licere, quod deus voluit non licere

(15) VICTOR, *L.* 2. *c.* 4. At ubi ab homine dei tale reſponſum accepit, ſtatuit in portis eccleſiæ collocari tortores: qui videntes fœminam, vel maſculum in ſpecie ſuæ gentis ambulantes, ilico palis minoribus dentatis jactis in capite, crinibuſque in eiſdem colligatis, ac vehementius ſtringentes ſimul cum capillis omnem pelliculam capitis auferebant. Nonnulli autem, dum hoc fieret, ſtatim oculos amiſerunt, alii ipſo dolore defuncti ſunt. Mulieres vero poſt hanc pœnam, capitibus pelle nudatis, præcone præeunte per plateas, ad oſtenſionem totius civitatis ducebantur.

§ XXXVI. (1) MALCHUS, *p.* 95. Eodem quoque anno legati a Carthagine Bizantium venere, quos Alexander, uxoris Alliarii [*l. Olybrii*] procurator ducebat, qui jam olim a Zenone, Placidia conſentiente, eo

Carthage, again to chuſe a Biſhop (2). *Zeno* was indeed, by Virtue of this Peace, in no Danger on the Part of the *Vandals*; but it involv'd him in the more Broils with the *Goths*. *Theodoric*, the Son of *Triarius*, even approach'd *Conſtantinople*, the Capital, in the Year 481; but died ſoon after (3). The other *Theodoric* was indeed likewiſe ſeveral Times at Variance with the Court (4); but was reconcil'd, and prov'd ſo ſerviceable, that he was created *Patricius*, and, in the Year 484, even promoted to the Conſulſhip (5).

Zeno endeavours to relieve the *Weſtern* Empire.

§ XXXVII. *ZENO*, after having, in ſome Meaſure, reſtor'd the Empire in the *Eaſt*, was at Leiſure to conſider the State of the *Weſt*. *Odoacer*'s Intereſt in the Senat was ſuch, that they ſent an Ambaſſy from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*, to congratulate *Zeno* on the Recovery of his Dignity, and at the ſame Time to remonſtrate, that it was needleſs for *Italy* to be govern'd by a ſeparate Emperor, but that it might very well be under the Adminiſtration of the Court of *Conſtantinople*; that they had all plac'd their Confidence in *Odoacer*, and therefore begg'd, the Emperor would nominate him *Patricius*, and entruſt *Italy*, and the other Countries appertaining thereto, to his Management (1). The Troops in *Gaul*, on the other Hand,

eo miſſus fuerat. Dicebant vero legati, Honorichum velle cum imperatore ſine fraude amicitiam contrahere, neque vero iſta, quæ in ſpeciem dici videbantur, quia magnam belli ſuſpicionem dederat, a veriſimilitudine abhorrebant. Etenim a morte Genſerici in omnem mollitiem devenerant, neque amplius ſollicitudini aut timori Romæ erant. Neque exercitus alere continuarant, quos Genſericus ad omnes occaſiones inſtructos habebat, ut ſemper celeritate exequendi aliorum conſilia præveniret, & interverteret. Legatos Zeno liberaliter accepit, & honore debito eſt proſecutus, & muneribus pro merito ornatos dimiſit & Alexandrum comitem privatarum rerum fecit. Pagius *places this in the Year* 480, *ad A.* 480. *n.* 3.

(2) *Conf.* Pagius, *ad A.* 480. *n.* 2.

(3) MARCELLINUS *in Chronico*, Placido *ſolo* Cos. (481). Theodoricus Triarii filius rex Gothorum, adſcitis ſuis uſque ad Anaplum, quarto urbis milliario advenit: nulli tamen Romanorum noxius, continuo reverſus eſt. Porro in Illyricum properans, dum inter ſuorum moventia plauſtra progreditur, jacentis ſuper carpentum teli acumine, & paveſcentis equi ſui impulſione, fixus tranſverberatuſque interiit.

(4) IDEM, *in chronico*, Zenone III. Cos. (479.) Sabinianus magnus Illyricianæ utriuſque militiæ ductor creatus, curiam fragilem, collapſumque juſtum reipublicæ cenſum, vel præpaventem fovit, vel dependentem tutatus eſt. Diſciplinæ præterea militaris ita optimus inſtitutor coërcitorque fuit, ut priſcis Romanorum ductoribus comparetur. Theodoricum idem Sabinianus regem, apud Græciam debacchantem, ingenio magis quam virtute deterruit.

(5) IDEM, FAUSTO Cos. (483). Idem Theodoricus rex Gothorum Zenonis auguſti munificentiis pene pacatus, magiſterque præſentis militiæ factus, conſul quoque diſignatus.

§ XXXVII. (1) MALCH. *p.* 93. *C.* Auguſtus

Hand, with the Countries and People ſtill belonging to the *Roman* Empire, were in continual Hopes, that *Julius Nepos* would recover himſelf, and they, as well as he, implor'd the Emperor *Zeno's* Aſſiſtance (2). *Zeno* could not well refuſe his Aid to *Julius Nepos*, ſince the latter had been made Emperor by *Leo*. He had himſelf met with almoſt the ſame Fate, *Nepos* now ſuffer'd; which generally excites, in Perſons of all Ranks, a Kind of Love and Compaſſion. He therefore gave good Hopes to *Nepos*'s Ambaſſadors, and returned this Anſwer to the *Roman* Senators; that during the Life of *Julius Nepos*, their lawful Emperor, they muſt act conſiſtently with the Obedience due to him. He very civilly told *Odoacer*, that he muſt apply for the *Patriciat* to the Emperor *Nepos*, who would not refuſe it him; that he hoped, at the ſame Time, he would then not only imitate the Manners of the *Romans*, but ſincere-

guſtus Oreſtis filius, ut audivit, Zenonem iterum orientis imperium, expulſo Baſiliſco, recuperaſſe, ſenatum veteris Romæ legationem ad Zenonem mittere coëgit, quæ illi ſignificaret, urbem proprio imperatore non indigere. Unum quidem imperatorem, ſed communiter illi utriuſque imperii fines tutandos eſſe, Odoacrum ſibi propoſitum aſſumſiſſe idoneum, qui ſalvas res faceret. Ille enim & ſcientia reipublicæ adminiſtrandæ & rei militaris peritia præſtat. Itaque orare, ut illum Zeno patriciatus dignitate ornet, & Italicam dioceſin regendam committat. Profecti ſunt igitur ex ſenatu veteris Romæ viri, qui hos ſermones Byzantium deferrent.

(2) IDEM, *p.* 93. *D.* Iiſdem diebus venerunt & a Nepote nuncii, qui Zenoni reſtitutum imperium gratularentur, & ipſum obteſtarentur, cum eaſdem calamitates, quas Nepos expertus eſſet, ut omni opera & ſtudio illum in recipiendo imperio promto & alacri animo adjuvaret: & pecunias & exercitus, & alia quæ opus forent, ſuppeditaret, quod illi reditum ad priſtinam fortunam elaboraret & conficeret. Hæc qui dicerent Nepos miſit. Candidus, *p.* 19. *C. mentions the Ambaſſy ſent by the* Gauls.

(3) IDEM, *p.* 94. *A.* At Zeno his qui venerant, hæc reſponſa dedit. Et ſenatoribus, illos ex duobus, qui ab oriente imperium ſuſceperant, unum exp liſſe, & Anthemium occidiſſe. Nunc quid ſibi facto opus eſſet, illos dixit perſpicere. Imperatore enim ſuperſtite non aliam debere valere ſententiam, quam illum amplecti & adhærere. Ad ea vero, quæ barbarus nunciarat, recte & juſte facturum, ſi a Nepote imperatore Odoacer patriciatus dignitatem ſuſciperet. Eam illi miſſurum, niſi Nepos præveniret. Hortari, ſimul atque eam adeptus fuerit, ut cultum Romanis convenientem aſſumat & uſurpet. Se quoque confidere fore, ut imperatorem, qui illum hoc honore affecerit, ſiquidem juſta facere voluerit, obſervet & colat. Sed tamen in litteris regiis, quibus Odoacro eam dignitatem mittere renuit, cum patricium nominavit. Quæ Zeno cum Nepoti ſtudebat, ex ſuis, Nepotis malorum commiſeratione duci, & proprio caſu communi hominum caſu ingemiſcere edoctus, faciebat. Eo quoque illum impulit Verina, quæ Nepotis uxori, cujus erat conſanguinea, favebat.

ly promote the Intereſts of the Empire. He ſtil'd him however, as it were beforehand, *Patricius*, in that very Letter.

Odoacer's Government. Extinction of the *Imperial* Title in the *Weſt.*

§ XXXVIII. *JULIUS NEPOS* loſt his Life ſoon after: *Odoacer* was therefore freed from the Oppoſition he fear'd from his Side (1). With the Death of *Nepos*, the Imperial Title in the *Weſt* became properly extinct; and this Empire at laſt underwent the ſame Fate which all terreſtial Things are ſubject to. *Odoacer* indeed declin'd the Imperial Title; but govern'd nevertheleſs as abſolutely in *Italy* as if he had aſſumed it. Such Devaſtations had already been made in this Country, that ſome Provinces were almoſt wholly depopulated (2). *Rome* had herſelf ſuffer'd as much, and perhaps more, by the inteſtine Wars between *Anthemius* and *Ricimer*, than by the *Goths* and *Vandals* (3). *Odoacer* endeavoured now to render his Government as agreable as poſſible to the Publick. *Baronius* ſays, in Praiſe of him, that tho' he was of the *Arian* Sect, yet he never perſecuted thoſe who were of the *Roman* Church (4): And *Ennodius* relates, that he exempted the City of *Pavia* from Taxes, for five Years, at the Interceſſion of *Epiphanius*, their Biſhop (5). *Genſeric* likewiſe allow'd him, at firſt, on certain Conditions, the quiet Poſſeſſion of *Sicily* (6).

The Hiſtory of the *Franks* reſumed.

§ XXXIX. THE *Vandals*, *Goths*, and *Suevi*, had, for ſome Time, ſo employed the *Roman* Hiſtorians, that they could hardly ſo much as think of the *Franks*. *Germany* was, indeed, ſtill the proper Seat of their

§ XXXVIII. (1) MARCELLINUS *in chron. ad conſulatum* Baſilii. Nepos, quem dudum Oreſtes imperio abdicaverat, Viatoris & Ovidæ comitum ſuorum inſidiis, haud longe a Salonis, ſua in villa occiſus eſt.

(2) GELASIUS *papa adverſus Andromachum ſenatorem: apud* Baronium, *ad A.* 496. *n.* 36. Quid Tuſcia, quid Æmelia; cæteræque provinciæ, in quibus hominum prope nullus exiſtit: ut bellica neceſſitate conſumerentur, Lupercaliorum fecit offenſio, quæ longe ante vaſtatæ ſunt, quam Lupercalia tollerentur?

(3) IDEM, *l. c. n.* 42. Num quid Lupercalia deerant, cum urbem Alaricus evertit? & nuper cum Anthemii & Ricimeris CIVILI FURORE SUBVERSA EST, ubi ſunt Lupercalia? cur iſtis non profuerunt?

(4) BARONIUS *ad A.* 476. *n.* 11.

(5) ENNODIUS, *p.* 389. Nam directa legatione ad Odoacrem, quinquennii vacationem fiſcalium tributorum impetravit.

(6) VICTOR VITENSIS, *L.* 1. *c.* 4. Siciliam Odoacro Italiæ regi, poſtmodum tributario jure conceſſit, ex qua ei Odoacer ſingulis quibuſque temporibus, ut domino tributa dependit, aliquam tamen ſibi reſervans partem.

their

their Power; where, on the right Banks of the *Rhine*, they now not only poſſeſſed the *Inſula Batavorum*, but likewiſe the Countries about the *Lippe*, *Roer*, *Sieg*, and *Lane*. We obſerved before (1), that under *Clodio* they gained a ſure Footing in *Germania ſecunda* and *Belgica ſecunda*, and, in particular, that the City of *Cologn* remained in the Hands of the *Franks*; that *Clodio* had taken *Cambray*, and ſubjected to his Dominion all the Country as far as the *Somme*. Theſe Conqueſts they ſeem to have retained, and thereby to have been induced to engage in thoſe Treaties with the *Wiſi-Goths*, which we mentioned above (2). *Sidonius Apollinaris*, in a Poem, addreſs'd to the Emperor *Majorianus*, gives them the Dominion of both Sides of the *Waal* (3); and, in a Letter to *Arbogaſtes*, Count of *Triers*, a Succeſſor of the famous General of that Name, he complains, that the *Roman* Language and Laws were quite loſt on the *Rhine* (4). Thus we have continued the Series of the firſt Kings of the *Franks*, as well as our Materials would admit, down to *Meroveus* (5). This Prince is ſaid to have died in the Year 456 (6). *Gregorius* gives many Romantick Stories of *Childeric*, his Son, which *F. Daniel* ſufficiently proves to be groundleſs (7). A much more authentick Monument of this King was found in the Year 1653, when his Sepulcher was accidentally diſcover'd in the City of *Tournay*, at a Place which is indeed, at preſent, within the Wall, but was, probably, in the

King *Childeric*. The Beginning of *Clovis's* Reign.

§ XXXIX. (1) *See above, Book* 9. § 21.

(2) *See above*, § 17.

(3) SIDONIUS APOLL. *carmine* 13. *ad Majorianum auguſtum*, *v.* 30.

Sic RIPÆ DUPLICIS tumore fracto
Detonſus VACALIM bibat Sicamber.

(4) IDEM, *L.* 4. *ep.* 17. Sic barbarorum familiaris, quod tamen neſcius barbariſmorum. par ducibus antiquis lingua manuque; ſed quorum dextera ſolebat non ſtylum minus tractare, quam gladium. Quocirca ſermonis pompa Romani, ſi qua adhuc uſpiam eſt, Belgicis olim ſive Rhenanis abolita terris, in te reſedit: quo vel incolumi, vel perorante, etſi apud limitem ipſum Latina jura ceciderunt, verba non titubant.

(5) *See* L. 9. § 29.

(6) *See* PAGIUS, *ad A.* 456. *n.* 8.

(7) *In the Preface to his* hiſtoire de France, *p.* 75.

open Field formerly (8). But *Clovis*, or *Lewis*, his Son, was the firſt who truly exalted the Name of the *Franks*, and founded that Monarchy, under which *Gaul* and the People of *Magna Germania* were united: His Reign therefore opens a freſh Period in the *German* Hiſtory.

The State of the *German* Nations at the Concluſion of this Period.

§ XL. The Series of the Kings of the *Franks* may therefore, in the Sequel, ſerve for a Foundation to the *German* Hiſtory; and from thence properly flow that of the *Alemanni*, *Bavarians*, *Friſii*, *Saxons* and *Thuringians*, whom we left all in *Germania Magna*. In the mean Time, as we make a Pauſe at the Downfall of the *Roman* Empire, let us once more look back on the *Germans*, who were diſpers'd in the Dominions formerly thereunto belonging. *Odoacer* was Maſter of *Italy*, together with the Provinces on this Side of the *Alps*, which were accounted a Part thereof, and the Iſland of *Sicily*. *Theodoric*, in the mean While, waited, in *Illyricum*, for an Opportunity of depriving him of thoſe Dominions. That Spirit and Induſtry, to which *Genſeric* ow'd his Riſe, begun, by Degrees, to ſlacken in the *Vandals*, in *Africa*, under the Reign of *Hunoric*. The *Saxons* remain'd Maſters of the *Southern* Part of the Iſland of *Britain*. *Gallicia* and *Luſitania* was inhabited by the *Suevi*. The remaining Part of *Spain*, and thoſe Countries in *Gaul*, which reach from the *Pyrenees* as far as the *Loire* and the *Rhone*, were in the Poſſeſſion of the *Wiſi-Goths*. Adjacent to theſe, we find the Kingdom of the *Burgundians* flouriſhing in the Countries, ſituate on the other Side of the *Rhone*, and about the Rivers *Iſere* and *Durance* (1). The other Part of *Gaul* was partly inhabited by the fugitive *Britons*, who fix'd their Habitation, on that Coaſt, which from them received the Name of *Bretagne*; partly by the *Franks* on the *Waal*, and in *Belgica Secunda*. Thoſe Troops and States which 'till then acknowledged the *Roman* Dominion and Name, were, by Reaſon of the Fluctuation of the Affairs of

(8) V. Chifletii *anaſtaſis Childerici*. Mabillon *ſur les anciennes ſepultures des rois de France*, p. 375.

§ XL. (1) *See above*, § 15. n. 4.

the

the Empire, dubious which Party to declare for, 'till they were reliev'd from this Uncertainty by the Valour of *Clovis*.

§ XLI. FROM the Hiſtories of theſe new Kingdoms, we may form ſome Idea of the yet more ancient Migrations of the Nations, recorded in Hiſtory. To conclude, let us here add ſome Reflexions on the Circumſtances, that promoted the Eſtabliſhment of theſe States, and on the Conſequences of thoſe Revolutions. As to the former, all ancient *Chriſtian* Writers have therein acknowledg'd the Hand of Providence; but ſome modern Authors proceed too raſhly, and have atttempted to prove the particular Cauſes of each Event, by which they have manifeſtly involv'd themſelves in many abſurd Contradictions. The Circumſtances however, a Connection of which was here ſubſervient to the Views of Heaven, appear, partly, on the Side of the *Germans*, and partly on that of the *Roman* Empire. Hiſtory has hitherto ſufficiently ſhewn, how inexhauſtible the Number of the *Germans* was, and how great was their Propenſity to War, and their Valour. Their natural Vigour, their Education, and their whole Method of Life, turn'd their Genius that Way. They were, beſides, often drawn into the Field, by Neceſſity; and, as Liberty frequently infuſes and ſupports magnanimous Reſolutions, ſo were they often excited thereto by a Thirſt after Glory. What was there then, that ſuch a People could not perform, whoſe Number of Soldiers equall'd that of their Men, and whoſe Temerity bid Defiance, even to Death (1)? As their Wives and Children follow'd them to the Camp, an Army might, wherever it pitch'd its Tents, immediately form a new Nation, and the Prince, by whom it was commanded, eſtabliſh a ſeparate Kingdom. By their many Wars, they, at the ſame Time, acquir'd a Knowledge of the Art of War, and of the Advantages thence ariſing; ſo that they learned not only to conquer, but likewiſe to maintain their Conqueſts (2). The *Romans*, on

Reflections on the Foundation of the *German* Kingdoms in the *Roman* Provinces:

§ XLI. (1) *See above*, L. 2. § 37. (2) *Conf.* L. 9. § 49.

the other Hand, who had loſt the Affection of the Inhabitants of their Provinces, without which no Army is capable of protecting a State, were now made ſenſible of thoſe Chaſtiſements which Injuſtice, at Length, brings upon itſelf, and combines in revenging the ſo long contemptuouſly diſregarded Groans of the Subject. Their Earneſtneſs for War was ſo ſtrangely vaniſh'd, that one might with Reaſon have ask'd, where are now thoſe *Romans*, who formerly conquer'd great Part of the World? Many of the brighteſt Genius's devoted themſelves to the Church; many others choſe rather to ſpend, in Indolence, the Riches, amaſs'd by their Anceſtors. The Debility of the Government, under *Honorius* and *Valentinian*, III; the frequent Revolutions after the Death of the latter; the mutual Jealouſies of the Nations, which appear'd on thoſe Occaſions; the bad Underſtanding with the *Grecian* Court, and the Diſſentions among the Great, haſtned, at laſt, the Subverſion of the Empire; which appears the leſs ſurprizing in Hiſtory, as it had been long foreſeen. The Countries themſelves experienc'd, at Length, the Advantages they gain'd by their new Maſters. The external good Appearance of the Conquerors gain'd them a Confidence, which their Manners prov'd afterwards not to have been miſplac'd. *Salvianus* declares frankly to the *Romans*, that the *Germans* were, in many Reſpects, more virtuous, than they (3); and that the Subjects were happier under their Dominion,

(3) Salvianus *takes frequent Notice of this; and, particularly*, p. 88. Porro autem quantum ad converſationem Gothorum aut Wandalorum pertinet, quid eſt in quo eis aut præponere nos aut etiam comparare poſſimus? Ac primum ut de affectu & caritate dicam, (quam præcipuam dominus docet eſſe virtutem, & quam non ſolum per omnes ſcripturas ſacras, ſed etiam, per ſe ipſe commendat, dicens: In hoc ſcietur quod diſcipuli mei eſtis, ſi vos invicem diligatis,) omnes ſe fere barbari, qui modo ſunt unius gentis & regis, mutuo amant, omnes pene Romani ſe mutuo perſequuntur. Quis enim civis non invidet civi? quis plenam vicino exhibet caritatem? omnes quippe a ſe, etſi loco non abſunt, affectu abſunt; etſi habitatione junguntur, mente disjuncti ſunt.

than

than under that of the *Romans* (4), and therefore desir'd never to fall into their Hands again (5).

§ XLII. Now, as the Inhabitants of *Italy*, *Gaul* and *Spain*, after being united with these Aliens, and become one People, changed, in some Measure, by that Mixture, their Blood and Temper; so likewise it happen'd in their Constitution, Laws, Arms, Languages, Apparel and Manners. The frequent Revolutions had brought many Calamities upon the *Roman* Provinces. If eminent Services had sometimes pav'd the Way to the *Imperial* Throne, or at least to Stations, which even Kings condescended to; the *Germans*, on the other Hand, now introduc'd a Liberty, which the whole Nation enjoy'd. Hence it was, that Kings sought Advice in their national Conventions; and the Bishops, who, at this Time, took a considerable Share in the Management of the Affairs State, had the first Vote in those Conventions. The Veneration, which the *Germans* paid their *Pagan* Priests, caus'd them the more readily to allow

And on the Revolutions thereby caus'd in *Europe*.

(4) IDEM, p. 90. Inter hæc vastantur pauperes, viduæ gemunt, orphani proculcantur, in tantum, ut multi eorum & non obscuris natalibus editi, & liberaliter instituti, ad hostes fugiant, ne persecutionis publicæ afflictione moriantur; quærentes scilicet apud barbaros Romanam humanitatem, quia apud Romanos barbaram inhumanitatem ferre non possunt. Et quamvis ab his ad quos confugiunt discrepent ritu, discrepent lingua, ipso etiam, ut ita dicam, corporum atque induviarum barbaricarum fœdore dissentiant, malunt tamen in barbaris pati cultum dissimilem, quam in Romanis injustitiam sævientem.

(5) IDEM, p. 95. Ubi enim, aut in quibus sunt, nisi in Romanis tantum, hæc mala? quorum injustitia tanta, nisi nostra? Franci enim hoc scelus nesciunt. Chuni ab his sceleribus immunes sunt. Nihil horum est apud Wandalos, nihil horum apud Gothos. Tam longe enim est, ut hæc inter Gothos barbari tolerent, ut ne Romani quidem, qui inter eos vivunt, ista patiantur. Itaque unum illic Romanorum omnium votum est, ne unquam eos necesse sit in jus transire Romanorum. Una & consentiens illic Romanæ plebis oratio, ut liceat eis vitam quam agunt agere cum barbaris. Et miramur, si non vincuntur a nostris partibus Gothi, cum malint apud eos esse quam apud

allow the ſame Prerogatives to the *Chriſtian* Teachers. As they were not fond of living in Cities, being unaccuſtom'd to the mechanick Arts and Trade practis'd in them, and were oblig'd to be always in a Readineſs to ſupport their Conqueſts; they left moſt of the Cities to their former Inhabitants, and even confirm'd their Conſtitutions, appointing only certain Counts, or other Officers, to keep them in Subjection. They themſelves remain'd in the Field, and divided the Lands in Proportion to the Services, each Poſſeſſor was to perform. This, their Regulation, gave Riſe to Feodal Tenures; to the Creation of Nobles; to Orders of Knight-hood; to military Exerciſes and Turnaments; all which Things differ'd widely from the Cuſtoms of the ancient *Romans*. They long preſerved their Language, as well as their Manners and Apparel, and thoſe *Romans*, who hoped to make their Fortunes among the *Germans*, were forc'd to conform thereunto (1). Wherever they exceeded the ancient Inhabitants in Number, there their Language, likewiſe, prevail'd, as the *Anglo-Saxon*, for Inſtance, in *Britain*, and that of the *Franks* in *Belgica*: But in other Countries, where the Number of the Conquerors was inferior to that of the conquer'd there the former accuſtom'd themſelves in Time to the Language of the Country; but at the ſame Time intermix'd much of the Idiom, and many Words of their own. Thus *Altrede* acknowledges (2), that the *Spaniſh* Tongue was, in ſome Meaſure, corrupted by the *Germans*, eſpecially the *Goths*, but not ſo greatly, as afterwards by the *Saracens*. The Caſe was the

apud nos Romani. Itaque non ſolum tranſfugere ab eis ad nos fratres noſtri omnino nolunt; ſed ut ad eos confugiant; nos relinquunt. Et quidem mirari poſſim quod hoc non omnes omnino facerent tributarii pauperes & egeſtuoſi, niſi quod una tantum cauſa eſt quare non faciunt, quia transferre illuc reſculas atque habitatiunculas ſuas, familiaſque non poſſunt.

§ XLII. (1) *See, for Inſtance, what we obſerv'd before of the* Burgundians, § XXII. *and of the* Vandals, § XXXV.

(2) Altrede, *c.* 11. *p.* 66.

ſame

ſame with Regard to the *French* and *Italian* Tongues. Their Laws underwent almoſt the like Change; in ſome Countries thoſe of the *Germans* only took Place, in others, the ancient Inhabitants retain'd indeed the *Roman* Laws, but thoſe were, in many Reſpects, oblig'd to give Way to the *German* Cuſtoms. The *Roman* Dreſs was almoſt entirely changed for theirs. But, what is moſt ſurprizing, their military Art was preferr'd to that of the *Romans*, as well with Regard to the Regulation of their Armies, as to their Manner of fighting and their Arms: And the Origin of the preſent Art of War is, in many Reſpects, to be found, in the ancient Wars of the *Germans*.

The End of the firſt VOLUME.

AN

AN

INDEX,

Explaining the principal PROPER NAMES of PERSONS, PLACES and THINGS, contain'd in the First VOLUME.

NB. THIS *Index*, tho' not in the Original, I thought a very neceſſary Addition to ſuch a Work as the preceding Hiſtory; without which it would be impoſſible for a Reader, who is not already perfectly vers'd in Antiquity, Hiſtory, and Geography, to form a clear Idea of many Things contain'd in it; and therefore would not omit it, tho' it has been collected with an infinite Labour. The Reader muſt not, however, expect to find in it an Explanation of every proper Name he will meet with in the Work itſelf; that would have furniſh'd a Volume alone: I have been oblig'd to confine myſelf to the principal and moſt remarkable. As to the Names of Places and Nations, I have, nevertheleſs, omitted very few, or perhaps none of any Note; and for the former, I have given a ſhort Deſcription of thoſe more modern Places, by the Names of which I have explain'd thoſe of the Ancients: But for Perſons, it would have been endleſs to have inſerted the Names of the *Roman* Conſuls, and other Magiſtrates and Officers; and the ſame of the *German* Chiefs, and of Authors that are but ſeldom quoted: I have, therefore, of the former, only inſerted ſuch as are remarkable for ſome extraordinary Action; and, of the latter, only taken Notice of thoſe that are frequently mention'd, or are moſt conſulted. I have ſometimes given Place, in this Index, to Proper Names, which are actually explain'd in the Work itſelf; and I have thought it highly neceſſary ſo to do, where the ſame Names frequently occur, in different Parts of it, tho' generally but once explain'd.

A

ABARITANA, a Province of *Africa.*

ABGANDESTRIUS, a Prince of the *Catti.*

ABOTRITES } A People of *Dacia*, who
ABOTRITI } were likewiſe called *Predene centri.*

ACHAIA,

ACHAIA, ſometimes taken for all *Greece*; ſometimes for a Part of it only, in *Peloponneſus*.
ACIMINICUM, by ſome ſuppoſed to be *Salankemen*, a little Town in *Upper-Hungary*, on the *Danube*, near *Belgrad*.
ACQUITAIN, the third Part of *Ancient Gaul*, now containing *Guienne*, *Gaſcony*, &c.
ACQUITANI, the People of that Country.
ACRUMAR, a Prince of the *Catti*.
ACTIUM, a Promontory of *Epirus*, now call'd the *Cape of Figalo*, famous for a Naval Victory gain'd near it, by *Auguſtus*, over *M. Anthony*.
ADDA, a River that ariſes in the *Alps*, and parting the Duchy of *Milan*, from the State of *Venice*, falls into the *Po*, above *Cremona*.
ADGANDESTER, a Prince of the *Catti*.
ADIGE, a River of *Gallia Ciſalpina*, (now *Italy*) which has its Source in the Mountains, on the Borders of *Tyrol*, and falls into the Sea near the *Po*, in the *Adriatick Gulph*.
ADRANA, ADRANUS } a River in *Heſſe*, which falls into the *Fuld*, about ſix Miles from *Caſſel*.
ADRIAN, the fifteenth *Roman* Emperor, the Succeſſor of *Trajan*, a great Favourer of Learning.
ADRIANOPLE, (by the *Turks* call'd *Endren*) a City in *Thrace*, on the River *Hebrus*; ſometime the Seat of the *Turkiſh* Empire.
ADRIATICK-SEA (or *Gulph*) the *Gulph* of *Venice*, at the Bottom of which that City is ſituate.
ADUATICA, v. *Atuatica*.
ADUATICI, v. *Atuatici*.
ÆDUI, a People of *Gaul*, near *Autun*, in the Country now call'd *Lower Burgundy*.
ÆGEAN *Sea*, a Part of the *Mediterranean*, which lies between *Greece*, *Aſia-Minor*, and the Iſle of *Crete*.
ÆMILIA (*Æmilia Via*) a *Roman* Road in *Italy*, from *Rimini* to *Aquileia*, and from *Piſa* to *Dertona*.
ÆMILIANUS, a *Moor* by Birth, proclaim'd Emperor, by the Army, in *Pannonia*, but three Months after kill'd by the ſame Army: He was, however reckoned the 32d *Roman* Emperor.
ÆNOBARDUS, v. *Domitius*.
ÆRA (*Roman*) the Period from which the *Romans* reckon'd; *viz.* the Building of *Rome*.
ÆSTII, an ancient *Northern* Nation, that inhabited the Coaſts of the *Eaſt-Sea*, particularly a Part of *Pruſſia*, *Curland*, and *Livonia*.
ÆTIUS, a *Roman* Conſul, a Nobleman of *Rome*, ſlain by *Valentinian*.
AGANARIC, a Prince of the *Alemanni*, v. *Serapio*.
AGATHIAS, a *Greek* Poet and Hiſtorian, in the 6th Century.
AGRARIÆ, v. *Leges*.
AGRI DECUMATES, certain Fields in *Germany*, in or about the Duchy of *Wittemberg*; or, in general, ſuch Lands as the *Romans* tax'd a tenth Part of their Produce, particularly the *Limites*.
AGRIPPA, Son-in-Law of *Auguſtus*, a victorious Prince.
AGRIPPINA, the Daughter of *Germanicus*, Wife of *Domitius* and *Claudius*, and Mother of *Nero*: Alſo another of the ſame Name, the Mother of this, and Wife of *Germanicus*.
AHENOBARBUS, v. *Domitius*.
AISNE, v. *Aſſona*.
AIX, a City in *Provence*, anciently in *Gallia Narbonenſis*.
ALANI, a warlike People of the ancient *Scythians*, near the Lake *Mæotis*, in *Muſcovy*.
ALARIC, a Prince of the *Heruli*.
ALARIC, a King of the *Suevi*, about the Middle of the 5th Century.
ALARIC, a Native of the Iſland of *Peuce*, and King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, who took *Rome* about the Year 410.

ALAVIUS, a Prince of the *Goths*, by ſome call'd King.

ALBIS, v. *Elb.*

ALBINUS (*Claudius*) proclaimed *Roman* Emperor, by the Army in *Gaul*, at the ſame Time that *Julian Didius* was by the Senat, and *Septimius Severus* in *Pannonia*, but could not ſupport that Dignity.

ALEMANNI, a People of *Ancient Germany*, who inhabited between the *Mayn*, the *Rhine*, and the *Danube*, and from whom the *French* call all the *Germans* ſo. They took their Riſe from the *Suevi*, who remained after *Maraboduus*'s Retreat, mixt with Strolers of all Nations.

ALEMANNIA, the Country inhabited by that People.

ALEXANDER *Severus*, the 25th *Roman* Emperor, who, by his Virtue and Prudence, very much reſtored the then diſorder'd State of *Rome*.

ALEXANDRIA, a famous City of *Egypt*, built by *Alexander*, the *Great*, 330 Years before *Chriſt*.

ALISO, by ſome ſuppos'd to be the Town now call'd *Iſelburg*; or, according to *Junius*, *Weſel*, in the Duchy of *Cleves*; but more probably *Elſen*, v. *Elſen*.

ALLECTUS, an Uſurper of the Imperial Dignity in *Britain*, after the Murder of *Carauſius*.

ALLOBROGES, an ancient People of *Gallia Tranſalpina*, who inhabited that Country, which is now call'd the *Dauphiny*, *Savoy*, and *Piedmont*.

ALPS, a Ridge of High Mountains, which ſeparate *France* and *Germany* from *Italy*.

ALPS (the *Cottian*, or *Cottiæ Alpes*) that Part of them which ſeparate the *Dauphiny* from *Piedmont*.

ALRUNES, ALRUNÆ } certain Sorcereſſes among the *Goths*.

ALSATIA, a Province of *Germany*, in the Upper Circle of the *Rhine*, divided into three Parts; *Alſatia Proper*, and the *Upper* and *Lower Alſatia*, which two latter, were yielded to *France* by the Peace of *Munſter*.

ALTINGIUS, a noted Burghermaſter of *Groningen*, in the ſeventeenth Century, who, among other Works, publiſh'd a *Notitia Germaniæ Inferioris*.

ALTINUM, an ancient City of *Italy*, within the State of *Venice*, long ſince in Ruins.

AMALI, a Royal Family among the *Oſtro-Goths*.

AMASIA, AMASIUS } *v. Ems.*

AMAZONS, a Warlike People of *Scythia*, who are ſaid to have cut off their Right Breaſts, that it might not hinder their Shooting. The ancient Warlike Women, call'd *Amazons*, dwelt where now the Province of *Amaſia* is, in *Natolia*, on the *Black Sea*.

AMBIANI, AMBIANIENSES } The People of *Amiens*.

AMBIGATUS, a King of the *Celtæ*.

AMBIORICUS, AMBIORIX } A Prince of the *Eburones*, and afterwards General of the *Gauls*, in the Time of *Julius Cæſar*.

AMBIVARITI, an ancient People of *Brabant*, between the *Rhine* and the *Maeſe*.

AMBRONES, an ancient People, who lived in that Country, which is now call'd the *Canton* of *Bern*, in *Swiſſerland*.

AMBROSIUS, a Biſhop of *Milan*, in the fourth Century.

AMIENS, an ancient City of *Gaul*, built by the Emperour *Antoninus Pius*, now the chief City of *Picardy*, on the River *Somme*, anciently *Samara*.

AMISIA, AMISIUS } *v. Ems.*

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, a famous *Latin* Hiſtorian, in the Reigns of the Emperours *Valentinian*, *Valens* and *Gratian*: Of the thirty-one Books he wrote, the firſt thirteen are loſt.

AMSIVARII, *v. Anſibarii.*

ANCHIALOS, a City of *Thrace*, near the *Euxine* Sea, now call'd *Kenkis*.

ANCHILE } a Sort of ſhort Shield, re-
ANCHILIUM } ported to have fallen from Heaven, in the Time of *Numa Pompil.*

ANCHISES, a *Trojan*, the Son of *Capys*, and Father of *Æneas.*

ANDERNACH, a Town upon the *Rhine*, in the Archbiſhoprick of *Cologn.*

ANDES, *Angers*, in *France*, the Capital of the Duchy of *Anjou.*

ANDES, the ancient Inhabitants of the Duchy of *Anjou.*

ANDOMADUNUM LINGONUM, *v. Langres.*

ANGERS, *v. Andes.*

ANGLES } an ancient People, dwelling
ANGLI } near the *Baltick*, who being driven thence by the *Danes*, together with the *Saxons*, were afterwards invited by the *Britains* to the *Southern* Part of the Iſland now call'd *Great Britain*, which they in Time peopled.

ANGRIVARII, an ancient People of *Lower Germany*, who dwelt between the *Ems* and the *Weſer*, below the *Lippe.*

ANNIUS, (*Joh.*) of *Viterbo*, a *Dominican* Monk, towards the End of the fifteenth Century, who is reckon'd among the learned Impoſtors.

ANSIBARII } an Ancient People of *Low-*
ANSIVARII } *er Germany*, of and about the Town of *Anſeſtaet*, or *Amſtin.*

ANTHEMIUS, a *Roman* Emperour, in the *Weſt*, who ſucceeded *Libius Severus*, after an *Interregnum* of two Years.

ANTIOCH, an ancient and famous City, once the Capital of *Syria*, or rather of the *Eaſt*: It is ſituate on two Rivers, the *Orontes* and the *Phaſpar*, not far from the *Mediterranean.*

ANTONINUS, *v. Caracalla.*

ANTONINUS *Pius*, the ſixteenth *Roman* Emperor, a good and worthy Prince.

ANTONIUS (M. or *Mark Anthony*) who with *Octavius* and *Lepidus* form'd the ſecond *Triumvirate.*

APAMEA, a City of *Bithynia*, built by *Nicomedes*, the Son of *Pruſias.*

APENNINE *Alps*, Part of the *Alps* ſo call'd, which run from the other *Alps* thro' the Middle of *Italy.*

APOLLO (or *Phœbus*) feign'd the Son of *Jupiter*, by *Latona*, the Twin-Brother of *Diana.*

APOLLO *Hyperboreus*, the *Northern Apollo.*

APPIA VIA (the *Appian* High Way) which led from *Rome*, into *Campania*, and from the Sea to *Branduſium.*

AQUÆ MATTIACÆ, the Baths of *Wiſbade*, within four *German* Miles of *Francfort* on the *Mayn*, and two of *Mentz.*

AQUILEJA, formerly a Patriarchal and famous City of *Italy*, not far from the *Adriatick*, now little more than a Heap of Ruins.

ARA UBIORUM, *v. Bonn.*

AQUÆ SEXTIÆ, *v. Aix.*

ARAR } *v. Saone.*
ARARIS }

ARBOGASTES, a *Frank* by Birth, but General in the *Roman* Army.

ARCADIUS, a Son of *Theodoſius*, who ſhared the Empire with his Brother *Honorius*, the fifty-fourth Emperor of *Rome.*

ARCHIAS, a famous Poet of *Antioch*, much beloved by *Tully.*

ARCHIPELAGUS, v. *Ægean Sea.*

ARDARICUS, a King of the *Gepidæ.*

ARDENNE (the *Foreſt* of,) in *France*, reaching from the *Rhine*, to the City of *Tournay*, in the *Low Countries.*

ARDUENNIAN *Foreſt*, *v. Ardenne.*

ARGENTUARIA, the Caſtle of *Horburg*, near the City of *Colmar*, in *Upper Alſace.*

ARGENTORATUM, *v. Straſsburg.*

ARGONAUTS, *Jaſon*, and his Companions, who ſail'd in the Ship call'd *Argo*, to *Colchis*, to fetch the Golden Fleece.

ARGOS, a noted City of *Peleponneſus*, of which *Juno* was tutelar Goddeſs.

ARIANS, the Diſciples and Followers of *Arius*, a noted Heretick, in the Time of

of *Conſtantine*, the Great, who denied our Saviour to be conſubſtantial and co-equal with GOD the FATHER.

ARIARIC, a King of the *Goths*, in the Reign of *Conſtantine*.

ARIOGESUS, a King of the *Quadi*.

ARIOVISTUS, a King of the *Suevi*, noted for his Bravery, in the Wars againſt *Julius Cæſar*.

ARLES, a City in *Provence*, in *France*, on the *Rhone*, formerly the Capital of a Kingdom of that Name, and famous for a Council held there, in 312, or 14.

ARMENIA, a Country of *Aſia*, divided into *Major* and *Minor*, now call'd *Turcomania*.

ARMINIUS, a valiant and ſucceſsful Prince and General of the *Cheruſci*, who vanquiſh'd *Q. Varus*.

ARMORICI, the ancient People of *Armorica*, a Part of *Gallia Celtica*, now *Bretagne*.

ARPUS, a Prince of the *Catti*.

ARRAS, the Capital of *Artois*, upon the *Scarpe*.

ARTESIA, *v. Artois*.

ARTOIS, a Province of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*.

ARVERNI, an ancient People of *France*, on the *Loire*, whoſe chief City was *Arvernum*, now *Clermont*, the Capital of *Guienne*.

ASCIBURGUM, a City of *Ancient Germany*, between *Vetera* and *Gelduba*. The preſent City *Aſchaffenburg*, in *Franconia*, is ſo call'd; but, by the Situation, does not ſeem to be this.

ASDINGI, a Royal Family among the *Vandals*.

ASPAR, a *Goth*, by Birth; but *Patricius* and *Magiſter Militum*, in *Rome*.

ASSONA, a River of *Champagne*, in *France*, which runs into the *Oiſe*, near *Compeigne*, now call'd the *Aiſne*.

ASTI, the Capital of a County of the ſame Name, on the River *Tanaro*, in *Piedmont*.

ASTIGI } A People of *Andaluſia*, in
ASTINGI } *Spain*.

ASTORGA, a City of *Spain*, in the Kingdom of *Leon*.

ASTURES, the Inhabitants of *Aſturia*, in *Spain*.

ATAULPH, v. *Athaulph*.

ATAX, a King of the *Alani*.

ATHANARIC, a Prince of the *Wiſi-Goths*.

ATHANASIUS, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, in the 4th Century, a great Oppoſer of *Arianiſm*.

ATHAULPH, a King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, who intended to have ſack'd *Rome*, and call'd it *Gothia*; but was diſſuaded from it by his Wife *Placidia*.

ATHENS, one of the moſt ancient and noble Cities of *Greece*, the Capital of *Attica*.

ATHOS (*Mount*), a Mountain in *Macedonia*, in the Province of *Jamboli*, which runs into the *Ægean Sea*, like a *Peninſula*, and is 90 Miles in Compaſs.

ATREBATES, an ancient People of *Gaul*, who lived in that Part of the *Netherlands*, which is now call'd *Artois*.

ATTALUS, proclaim'd Emperor by *Alaric*, but ſoon depoſed by him.

ATTICA, a Country of *Greece*, between *Achaia* and *Macedonia*, famous on Account of its Capital *Athens*.

ATTILA, a warlike *Scythian* Prince, who, among other pompous Titles, gave himſelf that of *Hunnorum, Medorum, Gothorum, ac Danorum rex, metus orbis, Deique flagellum*.

ATTUARII, a People of *Ancient Germany*, who inhabited between the *Maeſe* and the *Rhine*, whoſe Country is now a Part of the Duchy of *Gueldres*.

ATUATICA, the Capital of the *Eburones*, now *Tongres* in *Brabant*.

ATUATICI, the Inhabitants of thoſe Parts; the Remains of the *Cimbri*.

AUGSBURG (q. d. *Auguſtus Burg*) a famous City of *Germany*, and a Place of great Trade, a free Imperial City, the Capital

Capital of *Swabia*, on the *Lech*, not far from the *Danube*; famous for the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion.

AUGST, now a Village only; but a famous Paſs, in *Swiſſerland*, on the *Rhine*, two *German* Miles from *Baſil*.

AUGUSTA *Nemetum*, *v. Spire*.

AUGUSTA *Rauracorum*, *v. Augſt*.

AUGUSTA *Trevirorum*, *v. Triers*.

AUGUSTA *Vangionum*, *v. Worms*.

AUGUSTA *Vindelicorum*, *v. Augsburg*.

AUGUSTONEMETUM, *v. Clairmont*.

AUGUSTUS, (*Auguſtus Cæſar*, or *Octavius*) the ſecond Emperour of *Rome*, the Son of *Octavius*, a Senator, and Nephew of *Julius Cæſar*.

AVITUS, a *Roman* Lieutenant, in *Lower Germany*, who aſſumed the Imperial Dignity, in *Gaul*.

AURELIANUS, the thirty-ſeventh *Roman* Emperour, famed for his Liberality, but was withal cruel and bloody.

AURELIUS VICTOR, a *Roman* Hiſtorian, in the fourth Century.

AURELIUS, (*M. Antoninus*,) with *L. Verus* made the ſeventeenth *Roman* Emperour, he was ſurnamed the *Philoſopher*, and endued with all the Virtues becoming a Prince.

AURINIA, a famous *German* Sorcereſs.

AUSONIUS, an excellent Poet of the fourth Century, of *Bourdeaux*, in *France*.

AUSTRIA, a Province, and one of the ten Circles of *Germany*, divided into two Parts, the *Upper* and *Lower*, by the *Ens*, which flows into the *Danube*.

AUTUN, (or *Auguſtodunum*,) a very ancient City of *Burgundy*, on the River *Arroux*.

AUXERRE, a large and beautiful City of *Burgundy*, in *France*, on the River *Yonne*, about twelve Leagues from *Sens*.

AXONA, *v. Aſſona*.

B

BABAI, a King of the *Sarmatæ*.

BACCHUS, the God of Wine, by the *Heathens*, feign'd the Son of *Jupiter* and *Semele*.

BACENIS, a Foreſt of *Ancient Germany*, which parted the *Suevi* from the *Cheruſci*, by ſome ſuppoſed to be the Foreſts of *Thuringia*, by others the *Black Foreſt*.

BADEN, a ſmall, but very populous Marquiſate of *Germany*, on the *Rhine*.

BÆTICA, in the ancient Geography, about a third Part of *Spain*, containing *Andaluſia*, and a Part of *Granada*.

BÆTIS, a River of *Spain*, now call'd *Guadalquivir*.

BAGAUDÆ, an ancient People of *Gaul*, who twice revolted from the *Romans*, and were both Times defeated.

BAITORITUS, a Prince of the *Sicambri*, the Brother of *Melo*.

BALBINUS (*Clodius*) with *Pupienus* made the twenty-ſeventh *Roman* Emperor; but they were both ſlain by the Soldiers, after they had reign'd only nine or ten Months.

BALEARES } ſeveral Iſlands in
BALEARIAN *Iſlands* } the *Mediterranean*, formerly ſo call'd, of which *Majorca* and *Minorca* are the chief.

BALLOMAR, a King of the *Marcomanni*.

BALTÆ, a Royal Family among the *Goths*.

BALTICK, (the *Eaſt-Sea*, *Mare Balticum*, or *Sinus Codanus*) a very large Gulph; the principal Paſſage to which, out of the *German* Ocean, is thro' the *Sound*; it waſhes Part of the *German*, *Daniſh*, *Swediſh* and *Poliſh* Coaſts, and is remarkable for having no Ebb nor Flood.

BARCELONA, a City of *Catalonia*, in *Spain*, with an excellent Port upon the *Mediteranean*.

BASIL } a City of *Ancient Germany*,
BASILEA } now the principal City of all *Swiſſerland*, on the *Rhine*.

BASILIUS MAGNUS, an Archbiſhop of *Cæſarea*, in the 4th Century

BASTARNÆ } an ancient People of *Sar-*
BASTARNI } *matia Europæa*.

BATAVA CASTRA, v. *Paſſau.*
BATAVI, the ancient Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Batavia.*
BATAVIA, now *Holland*, a Part of which ſtill retains the Name of *Betowe* or *Betewe.*
BAVARI, BAVARIANS } the Inhabitants of *Bavaria.*
BAVARIA, one of the ten Circles of *Germany*, which had anciently its own Kings, and afterwards Dukes, who are now Electors.
BAVAY, (or *Bavais*, *Bagacum Nerviorum*) a very ancient Town in *Hainault*, in *Flanders.*
BAUTO, a *Frank* by Birth, but a General in the *Roman* Service.
BAZAS, the chief City of a ſmall Territory of that Name, in the Lower *Guienne*, in *France.*
BEDRIAC, a Village between *Verona* and *Cremona*, famous for a Battle between *Otto* and the Army of *Vitellius.*
BELGÆ, now the *Low-Dutch:* The Original *Belgæ* were ſuppoſed to be of *German* Extraction; but paſſing the *Rhine*, ſettled themſelves in *Gaul.*
BELGIA, the *Low Countries*, or *Netherlands*, containing 17 Provinces, ſometimes call'd *Gallia Belgica.*
BELGICA, (*Gallia Belgica*) *Belgic Gaul.*
BELGRADE, a great and ſtrong City of *Hungary*, on the South-ſide of the *Save*, where it falls into the *Danube*, the *Metropolis* of the Kingdom of *Servia*, in the Principality of *Raſcia*; ſometimes the Bulwark of *Chriſtendom.*
BELIZONE, a little Town, in the Duchy of *Milan*, on the River *Teſin*, with two ſtrong Caſtles, which defend the Paſſes of the *Alps.*
BELLOVACI, an ancient renown'd People, among the *Belgæ*, the Inhabitants of *Bellovacum*, now call'd *Beauvais*, in *France*, formerly *Cæſaromagus.*
BELLOVESUS, a Prince of the *Celtæ*, Nephew of *Ambigatus.*
BERGAMO, a City of *Italy*, belonging to the *Venetians*, but formerly to *Milan.*
BERCEA, a City of *Macedonia*, now call'd *Veria.*
BEROSUS, a *Chaldæan* Hiſtorian, and Prieſt of *Belus*, whom ſome pretend to have been co-eval with *Moſes*; but is generally ſuppoſed to have liv'd in the Time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, 276 Years before the Birth of *Chriſt.*
BESANÇON, the Capital of the *Sequani*, now the chief City of *Burgundy.*
BETHASII, a People of *Belgium*, about *Juliers.*
BETHLEHEM, of *Judea*, the Place of the Nativity of our Saviour.
BEUGA, a King of the *Sarmatæ.*
BIBRACTE, a Town of *Burgundy*, now call'd *Autun*, the Capital of the *Ædui.*
BINGEN, an ancient City of *Upper Germany*, in the Archbiſhoprick of *Mentz*, near the *Rhine*, four *German* Miles from that Capital.
BITHYNIA, a Country of *Aſia Minor*, adjoining to *Troas*, over againſt *Thrace.*
BITURICES, BITURIGES } a People of *Guienne*, in *France*, of the Country of *Berry.*
BLACK SEA, the *Euxine Sea*, up from the *Ægean*, along the *Helleſpont*, to the *Mæotick Lake*, and that which is peculiarly call'd *Pontus.*
BLEDA, the Brother of *Attila*, a King of the *Hunns.*
BLEMMYÆ, an ancient Nation of *Æthiopia*, of whom, from a Cuſtom of holding down their Heads, it was fabulouſly reported, that they had Eyes in their Breaſts.
BOEOTIA, a Country in *Greece*, parted from *Attica*, by Mount *Citheron.* It had formerly ſeveral other Names, and was famous for its Capital *Thebes*; but is now call'd *Stramulipa.*
BOHEMIA, a great Kingdom, belonging to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which, tho' almoſt

moſt encompaſs'd by the *German* Territories, is properly no Part of *Germany*, tho' generally eſteem'd ſo. It has been a ſeparate Kingdom ever ſince 1086, and has a particular Language. The Kings of *Bohemia* have, however, a Vote in the Electoral College.

BOJARES, BOJARII } v. *Boji.*

BOIEMUM, v. *Bojohemum.*

BOJI, an ancient People of *Germany*, who were afterwards call'd *Bojarii*, ſuppos'd the ancient Inhabitants of *Bavaria*: According to *Tacitus*, anciently a Nation of *Gaul.*

BOJOCALUS, a Leader of the *Anſibarii.*

BOJOHEMUM, v. *Bohemia.*

BOJORIX, a King of the *Cimbri*, conquer'd by *Marius.*

BOLOGNA, a City of *Romandiola*, in *Italy*, heretofore a *Roman* Colony, ſituate at the Foot of the *Appennines*, on the little River *Reno.*

BOLUS, a King of the *Cimbri.*

BOLZANUM, a City on the River *Eiſack*, in the Biſhoprick of *Trent.*

BONITUS, a General of the *Franks.*

BONN, BONNA } an ancient City of *Germany*, on the *Rhine*, the uſual Reſidence of the Elector of *Cologn.* It was anciently a *Roman* Colony, call'd *Colonia Julia Bonna.*

BONOSUS, a Governor of *Rætia*, who aſſuming the Title of *Roman* Emperor, in that Country, in the Reign of *Probus*, was by him defeated, taken Priſoner and hang'd.

BORADES, v. *Borani.*

BORANI, an ancient People ſuppoſed by ſome to be the ſame as the *Burii*, v. *Burii.*

BORBETOMAGUS, v. *Worms.*

BORCKHUM, (*the Iſland of*) on the *German Ocean*, not far from the Province of *Groningen*, to which it belongs.

BOSPHORUS, two Streights of the Sea ſo call'd, one *Boſphorus Thracius*, or the Streights of *Conſtantinople*, the other *Boſphorus Cimmerius*, or the Streights of *Caffa*, otherwiſe call'd *Os Mæotidis.*

BOTZEN, v. *Bolzanum.*

BOULOGNE, a ſmall County of *France*, on the *Britiſh* Sea, in the Province of *Picardy.*

BOURDEAUX, the Capital of the Province of *Guienne*, in *France*, a rich and populous City, with a fine Haven, at the Mouth of the River *Garonne.*

BRAGA, a City of *Portugal*, on the River *Morillo.*

BREGENTZIAN *Lake*, the Lake of *Conſtance.*

BRENNER, a Mountain in *Tyrol*, between the Rivers *Inn*, *Aycha* and *Adige*, beyond *Inſpruck.*

BRENNI, v. *Breuni.*

BRENNUS, a Commander of the *Galli Semnones*, who took *Rome*, and beſieg'd the Capital; but for a large Sum of Mony rais'd the Siege.

BRESCIA, a City of *Italy*, now under the *Venetians*, the Metropolis of the Territory of *Breſciano.*

BREUNI, a People of *Rætia proper*, or *prima.*

BRINNO, a Duke and General of the *Caninefati.*

BRISGOW, a Province of *Germany*, on the *Eaſt* of the *Rhine*, now belonging Part to the Empire, and Part to *France.*

BRITAIN, the Iſland containing *England*, *Scotland* and *Wales.*

BRITONS, the Inhabitants of that Iſland.

BRIXEN, the Capital of a Biſhoprick of that Name, in *Tyrol.*

BRIXENTES, a People of *Rætia proper*, or *prima.*

BRIXIA, v. *Breſcia.*

BRIXINUM, v. *Brixen.*

BRUCTERI, an ancient People of the *Netherlands*, in *Eaſt-Frieſland*, afterwards call'd *Broeckmoreland.*

BUCHERIUS (*Ægidius*) an Hiſtorian of the County of *Artois*, in the *Low-Countries*, in the 17th Century, who wrote a very valuable Work call'd *Belgium Romanum*, &c.
BUCINOBANTES, an ancient People of *Germany*, who liv'd oppoſite to *Mentz*.
BUDA, a famous City in *Lower Hungary*, the Capital of all *Hungary*, on the *Weſt* Side of the *Danube*, with a ſtrong Caſtle, on the *Weſt* Side of it; and a Citadel reckon'd almoſt impregnable.
BULGARIA, a Part of the *Lower Moeſia*, between Mount *Hæmus* and the *Danube*.
BURGUNDI } the ancient Inhabitants
BURGUNDIANS } of *Burgundy*.
BURGUNDIONES, v. *Burgundi*.
BURGUNDY, the *Upper* and *Lower*; the former once poſſeſs'd by the *Sequani*, now *Franche Comte*; the latter formerly inhabited by the *Hædui*, now the Duchy of *Burgoin*.
BURII, an ancient People of *Germany*, who inhabited the Iſland of *Bornholm*.
BYZANTIUM, a City of *Thrace*, call'd at ſeveral Times, *Ligos*, *Nova Roma*, and now *Conſtantinople*; v. *Conſtantinople*.
BYZAZYNA, a City and Province of *Africa*, within the Kingdom of *Tunis*.

C

CÆCINUS, a River of *Locris*.
CÆNOMANI, *v. Cenomani*.
CÆRÆSI, a People of *Belgic Gaul*.
CÆSAR, the Surname of the *Julians*, in *Rome*, afterwards given in general to all the *Roman* Emperours.
CÆSAR (*Julius*) the firſt *Roman* Emperour.
CÆSAREA, the chief City of *Cappadocia*.
CÆSIAN *Foreſt* (*Cæſia Sylva*) ſuppoſed to be a Part of the *Hercynian* Foreſt, about the Duchy of *Cleves* and *Weſtphalia*.
CALAIS, *v. Caletum*.
CALETES } an ancient People of *Belgic*
CALETI } *Gaul*, inhabiting the Country call'd *Le Païs de Caulx*, in *Normandy*, betwixt the *Seine* and the Sea.
CALETUM, the Town of *Calais*, in *Picardy*, over-againſt *Dover*.
CALIGULA, the 4th *Roman* Emperour, the Succeſſor of *Tiberius*, and Son of *Germanicus*, a very wicked Prince.
CAMBRAY, a City in *Hainault*, upon the *Scheld*, on the Borders of *Picardy*.
CAMERACUM, v. *Cambray*.
CAMILLUS, a valiant and noble *Roman*, who, after he was baniſh'd, was choſen Dictator, and ſaved *Rome* from Ruin by the *Gauls*.
CAMPANIA, the pleaſanteſt Part of *Italy*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, now called *Terra di Lavoro*.
CAMPI CANINI, a Place in the *Milaneſe*, in *Italy*, not far from *Belizona*.
CAMPI CATALAUNICI, ſuppoſed to be the large Plain, which begins about two Miles from *Chalons ſur Marne*.
CANDAX, a King of the *Alani*.
CANINEFATES } an ancient People of the
CANINEFATI } Lower Part of *Germany*, near *Batavia*, about where *Gorckum*, on the *Maeſe*, in *South Holland*, now is.
CANNABAUDES, a Duke of the *Goths*.
CANNÆ, a poor Village in *Apulia*, famous only for a great Overthrow of the *Romans* there by *Hannibal*.
CANTABRI, an ancient warlike People of *Spain*, properly of the Provinces of *Guipuſcoa* and *Biſcay*.
CAPITOL, one of the 7 Hills in ancient *Rome*, on which the *Romans* had a famous Fortreſs, founded by *Tarquinius Priſcus*, A. U. C. 139, and perfected by *Tarquinius Superbus*, A. U C. 221.
CAPITOLINUS (*Mons Capitolinus*) v. *Capitol*.
CAPITOLINUS (*Julius*) a *Roman* Hiſtorian, towards the Concluſion of the 3d, and the Beginning of the 4th Century.
CAPITOLIUM, v. *Capitol*.
CAPA Boco, a City of *Sicily*, built by the *Romans*,

Romans, on the moſt Weſtern Promontory of that Iſland.

CAPPADOCIA, a large Country in *Aſia Minor*, upon the *Euxine* Sea.

CAPREÆ } an Iſland on the Coaſt of *Cam-*
CAPREA } *pania.*

CAPUA, a City in the Kingdom of *Naples*, in the Province *di Lavoro.*

CARACALLA (*Antoninus*) who with his Brother *Geta* are reckon'd the 22d *Roman* Emperour; but he barbarouſly ſlew *Geta*, in the 2d Year of their Reign; and ſo remain'd Emperour alone.

CARAUSIUS, a *Menapier*, by Birth, and an experienc'd Seaman, in the Reign of *Dioclesian*, who ſeizing the *Roman* Fleet, under his Command, went over to *Britain*, and caus'd himſelf to be proclaimed Emperour there, which Dignity he enjoy'd for ſeveral Years.

CARBILLO } a City of *Spain*, near *Car-*
CARBULO } *duba.*

CARINUS, the 43d *Roman* Emperour, and eldeſt Son of *Carus*, proud, cruel, and very diſſolute.

CARIOVALDUS } a General of the *Che-*
CARIOWALD } *ruſci.*

CARNI, an ancient People, who inhabited a Part of *Noricum*, whoſe Country is yet call'd *Carniola.*

CARNUNTUM, a *Roman* Fort in *Pannonia.*

CARNUTES } an ancient People of *France*,
CARNUTI } inhabiting the Territory, yet call'd *Chartrain.*

CARPI, an ancient People near the *Danube.*

CARTHAGE, once the moſt famous City of *Africa*, the Rival of *Rome*, built by Queen *Dido*, about 70 Years after *Rome*, according to ſome; but *Juſtin* will have it built before *Rome*; *Appian* before the Deſtruction of *Troy*; and *Voſſius* before *Tyre* itſelf.

CARTHAGENA, a City of *Murcia*, in *Spain*, built by *Aſdrubal*, General of the *Carthaginians.*

CARTHAGO, v. *Carthage.*

CARTHAGO NOVA, v. *Carthagena.*

CARUS, the 41ſt Emperour of *Rome*, who, being found dead in his Tent, after a terrible Tempeſt, was ſaid to have fallen by the Divine Vengeance, for attempting to carry his Victories beyond *Cteſiphon.*

CASAUBON, two famous *French* Writers, Father and Son, of the 16th and 17th Century, both very well known in *England.*

CASPIAN *Sea*, a vaſt Lake between *Perſia*, *Great Tartary*, *Muſcovy* and *Georgia*, ſaid to be 600 Miles long, and near as broad.

CASSANDRIA, a City of *Macedonia.*

CASSIODORUS, a learned Hiſtorian of *Lucania*, in the 6th Century.

CASTELLUM *Menapiorum*, v. *Keſſel.*

CASTOR (and *Pollux*) two Brothers, who are ſaid to have freed the Seas from Pirates, and, according to the *Mythology* of the Ancients, to have been converted into Stars: Alſo the *Gemini*, or Twin-Stars.

CASTRA VETERA, an ancient City in *Lower Germany*, in the Duchy of *Cleves*; ſome ſay where *Santen*, others where *Byrthen* now is.

CASTRA ULPIA, v. *Cleves.*

CASTRUM ALISONIS, v. *Elſen.*

CASTRUM MARTENA, v. *Martena.*

CATALAUNIA } a Province and Princi-
CATALONIA } pality of *Spain*, belonging to the Kingdom of *Arragon.*

CATIVULCUS, a Prince of the *Eburones*, who poiſon'd himſelf rather than to fall into *Cæſar's* Hands.

CATTI, an ancient People of *Germany*, who inhabited Part of the Country, now call'd *Heſſe*, and *Thuringia*, from the Mountains of *Hartz*, to the *Weſer* and the *Rhine.*

CATUALDA, a Perſon of Diſtinction among the *Gothones.*

CA-

CATULUS, (*Luctatius*) a learned *Roman* Citizen, the Companion of *Marius*.
CATZENELLENBOGEN, a Country in the Province of *Wetterau*, in *Germany*, anciently inhabited by the *Catti*.
CELEJA, a City of *Noricum Mediterraneum*, now *Cilley*.
CELETÆ, a People of *Thrace*, about the Mountains of *Rhodope* and *Hæmus*.
CELLARIUS, a famous Critick of the foregoing Century, particularly skill'd in ancient Hiſtory and Geography.
CELTÆ, an ancient People of *Gaul*, in that Part call'd *Gallia Cometa*, between the River *Garamna* and *Sequana*, from whom that Country was likewiſe call'd *Gallia Celtica*.
CELTIBERI, an ancient People of *Spain*, deſcended from the *Celtæ*, who ſettled about the River *Iberus*, or *Ebro*.
CELTIBERIA, the Country they inhabited, now call'd *Arragon*.
CELTICK *Gaul*, v. *Celtæ*.
CENIS, (*Mount*) that Part of the *Alps* which parts *Savoy* from *Piedmont*.
CENNI, an ancient People of *Celtick* Extraction.
CENOMANI, a People of *Gallia Celtica*, in the Country now call'd *Le Manſeau*, next adjoining to that of the *Inſubres*.
CENTRONES, an ancient People of *Flanders*, about the City of *Courtray*.
CEPIO (*Q. Servilius*) a *Roman* Conſul, who coming to a miſerable End, it was accounted to him as a Judgment for a Sacrilege he committed at *Tholouſe*.
CHAIBONES, an ancient People, who inhabited on the Coaſts of the *Eaſt Sea*.
CHALCEDON, a City of *Bithynia*, oppoſite to *Byzantium*.
CHALONS (on the *Marne*) a City of *France*, in the Middle of *Champagne*, not far from *Rheims*, anciently call'd *Civitas Catalaunorum*.
CHALONS *ſur Saone*, a City of *Burgundy*, in *France*, anciently call'd *Cabillo Eduorum*.
CHARIOMER, a King of the *Gheruſci*.
CHATTI, v. *Catti*.
CHAUCI, an ancient People of *Lower Germany*, who inhabited Part of the Countries now call'd *Bremen*, *Lunéburg*, *Frieſland* and *Groningen*.
CHERSONESUS *Cimbrica*, a *Peninſula* on the *Baltick*, now *Jutland*, Part of *Holſtein*, *Ditmarſh* and *Sleſwic*.
CHERUSCI, a great and warlike People of *Ancient Germany*, between the *Elb* and the *Weſer*, about the Country now call'd *Mansfield*, Part of the Duchy of *Brumſwic*, and the Dioceſes of *Hildeſheim* and *Halberſtadt*.
CHIAVENNA, the Capital of a County of that Name, on the River *Meira*, with a ſtrong Caſtle, in *Swiſſerland*.
CHILDEBERT, a King of the *Franks*, ſuppos'd to be Son of *Pharamond*.
CHILDERIC, a King of the *Franks*.
CHILPERIC, a King of the *Burgundians*, in *Gaul*.
CHLODIO, a King of the *Franks*.
CHLODOVIUS, v. *Clovis*.
CHNODOMAR, a King of the *Alemanni*.
CHODOMARIN, a Prince of the *Alemanni*.
CHRYSOPOLIS, a City of *Bithynia*, now call'd *Scutari*, oppoſite to *Conſtantinople*.
CHRYSOSTOM (St.) Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who died *Anno* 407.
CHUS, *Cauſas Annis*, v. *Vagus*.
CICERO (M. T.) the greateſt Orator the *Roman* State ever bred.
CICERO, (Q.) the Brother of *M. T. Cicero*, the famous Orator, and *J. Cæſar*'s *Legatus* in *Gaul*.
CILICIA, a Country in *Aſia Minor*, now call'd *Caramania*.
CILLEJA, v. *Cilley*.
CILLEY, the Capital of a Country of that Name, in *Auſtria*, ſituated on the River *Saine*.
CIMBERIUS, a King of the *Suevi*, and Brother of *Naſua*.
CIMBRI, a very ancient *Northern* People, who inhabited *Cherſoneſus Cimbrica*.

CIMMERII, an ancient People near the *Euxine Sea*, whence the *Bosphorus Cimmerius*.
CINGETORIX, a Prince of the *Treviri*.
CIVILIS (*Claudius*) a Prince of the *Batavi*.
CIVITAS NEMETUM, v. *Spire*.
CIVITAS VANGIONUM, v. *Worms*.
CLAIRMOND, (or *Clermont*) there are several Places of this Name in *France*.
CLASSICUS, a Prince of the *Treviri*.
CLAUDIAN } a famous Poet under *Theodosius* and *Honorius*, born
CLAUDIANUS } at *Alexandria*, in *Eygpt*, and call'd *Præglorioſiſſimus Poetarum*.
CLAUDIUS (*Cæſar*) the 5th *Roman* Emperor, who ſucceeded *Caligula*:
CLAUDIUS, II. the 35th *Roman* Emperour, a great and accompliſh'd Prince.
CLEVES, the Capital of a Duchy of that Name, in *Lower Germany*, not far from the *Rhine*, by ſome ſuppos'd to have been built by *Julius Cæſar*.
CLODIUS, v. *Chlodio*.
CLOTARIUS, a King of the *Franks*, ſuppos'd to be the Son of *Pharamond*.
CLOVIS, a King of the *Franks*, the firſt who founded that Monarchy under which *Gaul*, and the People of *Germania Magna*, were united.
CLUVERIUS, a noted Geographer of *Dantzig*, in the Beginning of the 17th Century.
CNIVA, a King of the *Goths*.
COIMBRA, an ancient City of *Portugal*, once deſtroy'd, but now rebuilt, on the River *Mendego*.
COLCHIS, a Country in *Aſia*, near the *Pontus*, including the preſent *Mingrelia* and *Georgia*.
COIRE, the Capital of the Country of the *Griſons*.
COLIAS, a Duke of the *Goths*.
COLOGN, a City and Univerſity, in *Germany*, the Metropolis of the Archbiſhoprick of that Name, on the *Rhine*, and in the Circle of the *Lower Rhine*; ſo call'd on Account of *Agrippina*, *Nero*'s Mother, ſettling a Colony there.
COLONIA *Agrippina* } v. *Cologn*.
COLONIA *Ubiorum* }
COLONIA *Julia Bonna*, v. *Bonn*.
COLONIA *Trajana*, an ancient *Roman* Colony, in *Lower Germany*, according to ſome now *Keyſerſwaert*, on the *Rhine*; but, as others will, *Kellem*, now a Village in the Duchy of *Cleve*; and again, according to others, now *Santen*.
COLONIA *Ulpia*, v. *Cleves*.
COLUMNÆ *Milliaria*, certain Columns on the *Roman* High Ways, placed at the Diſtance of every Mile or 1000 Paces.
COMIUS, a King of the *Atrebates*.
COMMODUS, the 18th *Roman* Emperor, the Son and Succeſſor of M. *Aurelius*, a very profligate Prince.
COMO (*the Lake of*) a great Lake, in the Duchy of *Milan*.
CONCORDIA, an ancient City of the Province of *Friuli*, in *Italy*, now in Ruins.
CONDRUSI, (*Clientes Trevirorum*) an ancient People of *Belgium*, whoſe Country is yet call'd *Condrotz*, between *Liege* and *Namur*.
CONSTANCE (*the Lake of*) thro' which the *Rhine* flows. It is near 30 Miles long, and ſituate between *Swabia*, and *Swiſſerland*.
CONSTANS, who with his two Brothers, made the 47. *Roman* Emperour, Son of *Conſtantine* the *Great*: A good Prince; but was unfortunately ſlain by *Magnentius*, when but 30 Years of Age.
CONTANS, the Son of *Conſtantine*, the Uſurper.
CONSTANTINE the *Great*, the 46th *Roman* and the firſt *Chriſtian* Emperour, the Son of *Conſtantius* and *Helena*.
CONSTANTINE, the Younger, the Son of *Conſtantine* the *Great*, who, with his two Brothers, made the 47th *Roman* Emperour,

Emperour, and was ſlain in *Italy*, in a War with his Brother *Conſtans*.

CONSTANTINE, an Uſurper of the Imperial Dignity in *Britain*, at the Beginning of the 5th Century; but put to Death by Orders of *Honorius*.

CONSTANTINOPLE, formerly the Seat of the *Eaſtern Roman* Empire, now the Reſidence of the *Ottoman Porte*, and the Capital of *Romania*; by the *Turks* it is call'd *Stamboul*.

CONSTANTIUS (*Chlorus*) who with *Galerius*, made the 45th *Roman* Emperour, the Father of *Conſtantine* the *Great*.

CONSTANTIUS, the Younger, who, with his two Brothers, made the 47th *Roman* Emperour, the Son of *Conſtantine* the *Great*, a wicked Prince, but the laſt Survivor of the three.

CONSTANTIUS, a Native of *Pannonia*, who having aſſum'd the Imperial Dignity in the *Weſt*, in the Reign of *Honorius*, was at Length admitted a Sharer with him in the Empire.

CONSUL, a *Roman* Magiſtrate, whereof two were choſen annually, to govern, (after the Kings were depos'd) for the Space of a Year.

CORBULO, a *Roman Procunſul* of *Syria*, noted for having caus'd the Trench call'd *Foſſa Corbulonis* to be made.

CORINTH, a famous and rich City of *Achaia*, in the Middle of the *Iſthmus*, going into the *Peleponneſus*.

CORSICA, a conſiderable Iſland in the *Mediteranean*, near *Sardinia*, belonging to the *Genoeſe*.

COTINI, v. *Gothini*.

COURTRAY, a Town in *Flanders*, on the *Lys*.

CRASSUS (P.) a skilful Lawyer, Brother of *L. Craſſus*, the Orator.

CREMONA, an ancient City of *Gallia Ciſalpina*, which retains its Name to this Day, and is the Metropolis of the *Cremoneſe*, in *Italy*.

CRETA } one of the nobleſt Iſlands in the
CRETE } *Mediterranean*, now call'd *Candy*, at the Mouth of the *Sigean* Sea.

CRISPUS, the Son of *Conſtantine* the *Great*, by his firſt Wife, who was put to Death on a falſe Accuſation of his Mother-in-Law.

CTESIPHON, a Town of *Aſſyria*, called *Calamio*, over-againſt *Seleucia*.

CYPRUS, an Iſland in the *Mediterranean Sea*, between *Syria* and *Cilicia*, which was conquer'd by our K. *Richard*, I, when he was going to the *Holy Land*.

CYRENE, an ancient and once fine City of *Africa*, ſituate over-againſt *Matapan*, the moſt *Southern* Cape of *Morea*.

CYZICUS, formerly one of the largeſt Cities of *Aſia Minor*, in an Iſland of the ſame Name, on the *White Sea*.

D

DACI, the Inhabitants of *Dacia*.

DACIA, an ancient Country of *Scythia*, beyond the *Danube*, containing Part of *Hungary*, *Tranſylvania*, *Walachia*, and *Moldavia*.

DACII, v. *Daci*.

DALMATIA, a Part of *Illyricum*, now call'd *Sclavonia*, lying between *Croatia*, *Boſnia*, *Servia*, and the *Adriatick Gulph*.

DALMATIANS, the Inhabitants of that Country.

DANES, the Inhabitants of *Denmark*.

DANIA, v. *Denmark*.

DANUBE, the largeſt River in *Europe*, which has its Riſe in *Swabia*, and after flowing thro' that Country, *Bavaria*, *Auſtria*, *Hungary*, *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Moldavia*, *Beſſarabia*, and Part of *Tartary*, taking in its Courſe a great Number of noted Rivers (ſome ſay 60) falls into the *Black* or *Euxine* Sea, in two Arms.

DARDANIA, the ancient Name of a Country in the *Upper Moeſia*, which became afterwards a Part of *Dacia*.

DE-

DECEBALUS, a King of the *Daci*.
DECIUS, the 30th *Roman* Emperour, a cruel Perſecutor of the *Chriſtians*; but otherwiſe poſſeſſed of many good Qualities.
DECUMATES, v. *Agri Decumates*.
DEMER, a River of *Brabant*.
DENGEZIC, the Son of *Attila*, a King of the *Hunns*.
DENMARK, a Kingdom to the North of *Germany*, chiefly on the *Baltick*.
DEXIPPUS (*Herennius*) a famous Orator, Hiſtorian, and Philoſopher of *Athens*, in the 3d Century.
DIANA, a Heathen Goddeſs, the Daughter of *Jupiter* by *Latona*.
DICENÆUS, a famous *Gothick* Philoſopher.
DICENIUS, a *Grecian* Philoſopher.
DIO *Caſſius*, a *Greek* Hiſtorian and *Conſul* of *Rome*.
DIOCLETIAN, ſurnamed *Jovianus*, with *Maximian*, made the 44th *Roman* Emperor, who both reign'd with great Succeſs, near 20 Years, and then reſign'd the Empire.
DIODORUS SICULUS, an ancient Hiſtorian of *Sicily*, who lived in the Reigns of *Julius Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*.
DISPARGUM, the Reſidence of *Chlodio*, King of the *Franks*.
DIVITIACUS, a Nobleman among the *Sequani*, devoted to *Cæſar* and *Cicero*.
DOESBURG, a Town in the County of *Zutphen*, at the Mouth of the *Foſſa Druſi*.
DOMITIAN, the 12th *Roman* Emperour, the Son of *Veſpaſian*, and a cruel Perſecutor of the *Chriſtians*.
DOMITIUS *Abenobarbus*, the Father of *Nero*.
DON, v. *Tanais*.
DONATISTS, the Diſciples and Followers of *Donatus*, Biſhop of *Carthage*, a Heretick, who taught that the true Church was in *Africa*, and that, in the *Trinity*, the *Son* was leſs than the *Father*, and the *Holy Ghoſt* than the *Son*.
DONAU, v. *Danube*.
DRAW (or *Drave*) a River ariſing in the *Alps*, in *Tyrol*, which, after having ſeparated *Lower Hungary* from *Sclavonia*, falls into the *Danube* near *Eſſeck*.
DRUIDS, the Prieſts of the *Ancient Gauls*.
DRUMA, a *Goth* by Birth, but a General in the *Roman* Service.
DRUSUS, a Son-in-Law of *Auguſtus*.
DUITZ, a Town of *Germany*, on the *Rhine*, oppoſite to *Cologn*, ſuppos'd by ſome to be built by *Conſtantine*, the *Great*.
DUNKIRK, a large, and till of late a very ſtrong and well fortified Town, Caſtle and Sea-Port of *Flanders*; the Harbour and Fortifications of which were demoliſh'd purſuant to the Treaty of *Utrecht*.
DUNMORIX, one of the *Chiefs* of the *Ædui*.
DURANCE, a very rapid River of *Provence*, in *France*, ariſing in the *Cottian Alps*, and unites with the *Rhoſne*, below *Avignon*.
DYRRHACHIUM, a City of *Macedonia*.

E

EBURONES, an ancient People of *Germany*, inhabiting Part of the Country now the Biſhoprick of *Liege*, and the County of *Namur*.
EGYPT, one of the moſt ancient, fertile and celebrated Kingdoms in *Africa*.
EICHELSTEIN, an ancient Monument of Stone in the Vineyards, near *Mentz*, by ſome ſuppos'd to be *Druſus*'s Monument; but the Vulgar have various other Traditions of it.
EDER, v. *Adranus*.
ELB, a large and noble River in *Germany*, which has its Source in the *Rieſen Gebirge* (or Giants Mountains) in *Sileſia*, on the Confines of *Bohemia*, and paſſing thro' *Bohemia*, *Upper* and *Lower Saxony*, falls into the *North Sea*, at *Ritzbuttel*, about 60 Miles below *Hamburg*.
ELITOVIUS, a General of the *Cenomani*.

ELSE (or *Alms*) a ſmall River in *Weſtphalia*, which falls into the *Lippe* at *Elſen*.
ELSEN, ſuppoſed by ſome to be the Caſtle of *Aliſo*, built by *Druſus*, (v. *Aliſo*) now a ſmall Town at the Conflux of the *Alms* and the *Lippe*, in the Biſhoprick of *Paderbon*.
ELVE, v. *Elb*.
ELYSIAN *Fields*, a fictitious Place, where the Heathen Poets feign'd the Souls of the Bleſſed inhabited after this Life.
ELYSII CAMPI, ELYSIUM } v. *Elyſian Fields*.
EMBDEN, a City of *Lower Germany*, in the Circle of *Weſtphalia*, the Metropolis of the Principality of *Eaſt Frieſland*, on the River *Ems*.
EMS, a River in *Lower Germany*, which has its Riſe in the Biſhoprick of *Paderborn*, and paſſing by *Embden*, and the Bay of *Dullert*, falls into the *German Ocean*.
ENNODIUS, a Biſhop of *Pavia*, in the 6th Century.
EOCHARIS, a King of the *Alemanni*.
EPIRUS, a Country in *Greece*, between *Macedonia*, *Achaia*, and the *Jonian* Sea, by ſome now call'd *Albania Inferior*.
ERASMUS, (*Deſiderius*) otherwiſe call'd *Roterodamus*, from the Place of his Birth, a very learned and famous Writer, of the 15th and the Beginning of the 16th Century.
ERFURT, an ancient City of *Germany*, yet the Capital of *Thuringia*, on the River *Jera*.
ERMANARIC, a King of the *Greuthungi*.
ERMERIC, v. *Ermaneric*.
ESATECH, a General of the *Franks*.
ETSCH, v. *Adige*.
EUGENIUS, an Uſurper of the Title of *Roman* Emperour, in the Reign of *Theodoſius*; but being taken Priſoner, by him, was beheaded.
EUMENIUS, an ancient *Latin* Panegyriſt, of *Autun*, towards the Concluſion of the 3d, and the Beginning of the 4th Century.
EUNAPIUS, an Hiſtorian of *Sardis*, who lived in the Reigns of *Valentinian*, *Valens* and *Gratian*.
EURICUS, a King of the *Wiſi-Goths*.
EUSEBIUS, (*Pamphili*) an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian, and Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, in the 3d Century, a great Propagator of *Arianiſm*
EUTROPIUS (*Flavius*) an Hiſtorian, and Secretary of *Conſtantine*, the *Great*, who wrote the *Roman* Affairs, to the Time of *Flavius Valens*.
EUTROPIUS, an Eunuch, who bore great Sway at the Court of the Emperour *Arcadius*, at *Conſtantinople*.
EYDER, a River in *Holſtein*, ariſing not far from the *Eaſt Sea*; but having ſeparated *Holſtein* from *Sleſwick*, falls into the *German Ocean*, below *Tonningen*.
EYSENAC, a ſmall City and Univerſity of *Germany*, in *Thuringia*, belonging to Duke of that Name, of the Houſe *Saxony*.

F

FANO, a Papal City, in the Duchy of *Urbino*, in the Gulph of *Venice*.
FANUM *Fortunæ*, v. *Fano*.
FARNOBIUS, a Prince of the *Oſtro-Goths*.
FASTI *Capitolini*, a ſort of *Roman* Calendar or Annals, kept in the *Capitol*.
FASTIDA, a King of the *Gepidæ*.
FELETHEUS, a King of the *Rugii*.
FERETRIUS, v. *Jupiter*.
FESOLE, an ancient City in the Duchy of *Florence*, anciently one of the 12 conſiderable Cities of *Hetruria*.
FESTUS (*Sextus Pompejus*) a *Latin* Writer, who wrote 20 Books *de Verborum ſignificatione*.
FILIMER, a King of the *Goths*.
FINNI, an ancient People of *Pruſſia*.
FLANDERS, the largeſt and nobleſt of the 17 Provinces call'd the *Low-Countries*.
FLAVIUS, a Prince of the *Cheruſci*, and Brother of *Arminius*.
FLAVUM, anciently reckon'd the Eaſtern Mouth of the *Rhine*, now called the *Vlie*,

Vlie, and is a Paſſage out of the *Zuyder Sea*, into the *North Sea*; likewiſe anciently a Caſtle at the Mouth of it.

FLORENCE, one of the principal Cities of *Italy*, the Capital of *Tuſcany*, and the Reſidence of the Great Duke, built 70 Years before the Birth of Chriſt, on the River *Arno*.

FLORIANUS, the 39th *Roman* Emperour, who ſucceeded *Tacitus*, but reign'd only two or three Months.

FLORUS (L. A.) an Hiſtorian, in the Reigns of the Emperours *Trajan* and *Adrian*, with the latter of whom he was in great Favour.

FORUM *Flaminii*, a City of *Umbria*, three Miles from *Fulginium*, yet call'd *Forflamine*.

FORUM *Hadriani*, a Town in the Iſland of *Batavia*.

FORUM *Julium*, *Frejus*, an ancient Town on the Coaſt of *Provence*, in *France*.

FOSI, an ancient People of *Germany*, about *Ditmarſch*.

FOSSA *Corbulonis*, a Canal, in *Holland*, call'd the *Leek*, which makes a Communication between the *Rhine* and the *Moſa*, made by *Corbulo*.

FOSSA *Druſi*, (or *Druſiana*) the new *Yſſel*, in *Guelderland*, being a Canal made by *Druſus*, for a Communication between the Old *Yſſel*, and the *Rhine*.

FOSSA *Mariana*, a Canal made by *C. Marius*, near *Marſeilles*, for the Conveyance of Ships from the Sea, into the *Rhone*.

FOSSÆ MARIANÆ, a City of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, now call'd *Aigues Mortes*.

FRANCI, FRANCONES } v. *Franks*.

FRANCIA (*Orientalis*) a Country in *Germany*, about the Rivers *Lippe* and *Siege*, ſo call'd by the *Franks*, when they inhabited thoſe Parts, before they paſs'd the *Rhine*.

FRANCONIA, firſt probably ſo nam'd by the *Franks*, now one of the ten Circles of *Germany*.

FRANKS, an ancient powerful Nation of *Germany*, who inhabited about the *Rhine*, and in the *Netherlands*; but going afterwards into *Gaul*, gave their Name to that Country and People.

FRAOMARIUS, a King of the *Bucinobantes*.

FRAOMARIUS, a King of the *Suevi*, in *Spain*.

FRATANES, a King of the *Suevi*, in *Spain*.

FREA, v. *Fria*.

FREINSHEIMIUS, a famous *German* Writer in the 17th Century.

FRIA, a Goddeſs of the *Northern* Nations, by ſome ſuppoſed to be the *Venus* of the *Romans*.

FRIDIBALUS, a King of the *Vandals*.

FRIEDEGILD, a Queen of the *Marcomanni*.

FRIEDERIC, a Prince of the *Wiſi-Goths*.

FRIESLAND, a Country now divided into *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, the former of which is in *Germany*, but the latter one of the ſeven United Provinces.

FRISII, the ancient Inhabitants of *Frieſland*.

FRITIGERN, a Prince of the *Goths*, by ſome call'd King.

FURTIUS, a King of the *Quadi*.

G

GABINIUS, a King of the *Quadi*.

GAINA, a *Goth* by Birth, but a General of the *Roman* Army.

GAJOVOMARUS, a King of the *Quadi*.

GAISERIC, a Prince of the *Vandals*, in *Spain*.

GALATIA, a Country of *Aſia Minor*, lying between *Paphlagonia*, *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*.

GALBA (*Servius*) a Predeceſſor of the Emperour *Galba*, in the Time of *Julius Cæſar*.

GALBA (*Sulpitius*) the 7th *Roman* Emperour, who ſucceeded *Nero*, and had the

the Character of a cruel and covetous Prince.

GALERIUS, who, with *Conſtantius*, made the 45th *Roman* Emperour, a great Perſecutor of the *Chriſtians*, v. *Conſtantius*.

GALINDI, an ancient People of *Pruſſia*.

GALLI, anciently the *Gauls*, now the *French*, v. *Gallia*.

GALLIA, anciently *Gaul*, now *France*. The ancient Diviſion of it was into;

GALLIA *Tranſalpina*, or *Comata*, containing all *France*, on this Side the *Alps*: And

GALLIA *Ciſalpina*, *Tonſa* or *Togata*, now *Lombardy*, between the *Alps* and the River *Rubicon*. The former was farther divided into;

GALLIA *Belgica*, now a Part of *Lower Germany*, and the *Netherlands*, with *Picardy*; divided, by *Auguſtus*, into *Belgica* and *Germania*, and the latter into *prima* and *ſecunda*.

GALLIA *Celtica*, divided, by *Auguſtus*, into *Lugdunenſis*, and *Rothomagenſis*, now *France* properly ſo call'd.

GALLIA *Aquitanica*, divided by *Auguſtus* into *prima*, *ſecunda* and *tertia*, now *Gaſcony*: And

GALLIA *Narbonenſis*, or *Braccata*, now *Languedoc*, *Dauphiny* and *Provence*.

GALLICIA, a Province of *Spain*, of a large Extent, once a Kingdom, and comprehending *Old Caſtile*, but now a Part of the Kingdom of *Leon*.

GALLIENUS, (*P. Lic.*) the 34th *Roman* Emperour, who, after he had reigned eight Years, was aſſaſſinated at *Milan*.

GALLUS, who, with *Voluſianus*, his Son, was reckon'd the 31ſt *Roman* Emperour, and were both murder'd by the Army for their Cowardice. He likewiſe adopted *Decius*, the Son of his Predeceſſor.

GAP, a City of *Dauphiny*, in *France*.

GANDARICUS *Magnus*, a King of the *Goths*.

GANNA, a celebrated *German* Sorcereſs.

GARGILIANO, a River of *Italy*, which formerly divided *Latium* from *Campania*.

GARONNE, one of the largeſt Rivers of *France*, which ariſing in the *Pyrenees*, flows through *Guienne*, forms the vaſt Bay of *Garonne*, and falls, by two Mouths, into the *Britiſh* Seas.

GAUL, GAULS } v. *Gallia*.

GEBERIC, a King of the *Oſtro-Goths*.

GELDUBA, a Fortreſs of the *Ubii*, on the *Rhine*, not improbably the preſent Village of *Gelb*, on that River, 11 *German* Miles from *Neus*.

GELONI, an ancient People of *Scythia Europæa*.

GENEVA, a City of *Savoy*, now a free Republick, upon the Borders of *Helvetia*, at the going out of the *Rhone*, from the Lake of *Lemanus*, anciently a City of the *Allobroges*.

GENOBAUDES, a Prince of the *Franks*.

GENOBON, a King of the *Franks*.

GENSERIC, a renowned King of the *Vandals*, firſt in *Spain*, and afterwards in *Africa*, who took *Rome*.

GEPIDÆ, GEPIDI } an ancient *Northern* People, ſuppoſed to have dwelt about the Mouth of the *Viſtula*.

GERARDUS *Noviomagus*, an Hiſtorian in the 16th Century.

GERMANICUS, the Son of *Nero-Druſus*, adopted by *Tiberius*; but ſuſpected to be poiſon'd by him, being deſigned by *Auguſtus* for his Succeſſor.

GERMANS, the Inhabitants of *Germany*.

GERMANY, one of the largeſt Countries of *Europe*, and the Mother of thoſe Nations which, in the Fall of the *Roman* Empire, conquer'd all the Reſt.

GESATÆ, a Kind of *Militia* among the *Ancient Germans*.

GETA, an ancient People of *Scythia*, who inhabited betwixt *Mæſia* and *Dacia*, on each Side the *Danube*. Some think it the preſent *Walachia* or *Moldavia*.

GETULIA, a Province of the Kingdom of *Morocco*, in *Barbary*.
GLYCERIUS, Emperour of *Rome*, in the *West*, who ſucceeded *Olybrius*.
GOAR, a King of the *Alani*.
GODEGISILUS, a King of the *Burgundians*.
GODIGISCLUS, a King of the *Vandals*.
GODWALD, a General of the *Marcomanni*.
GODWALDA, v. *Catualda*.
GOLZIUS (*Hubertus*) a famous Antiquary of *Guelders*, in the 16th Century, particularly knowing in Coins and Mony.
GOMPHI, a Town of *Theſſaly*.
GONDERIC, v. *Gundaric*.
GORDIANUS, the Name of three *Roman* Emperours, Father, Son and Grandſon; but the Reign of the two former was ſo ſhort (the Son being kill'd in Battle, and the Father having hang'd himſelf in Deſpair) that they are not reckon'd in the Series of Emperours: *Gordianus*, the Younger, was the 28th Emperour of *Rome*.
GORDUNI, the ancient Inhabitants of *Gaunt*.
GOTHI, v. *Goths*.
GOTHIA, the *South* Part of the Kingdom of *Sweden*, ſaid to be the Country of that Nation of the *Goths*, which contributed ſo much to the Downfall of the Weſtern *Roman* Empire.
GOTHINI, v. *Goths*.
GOTHONES, v. *Gotini*.
GOTHUNNI, an ancient People of *Sarmatia Europæa*, a Mixture of *Goths* and *Hunns*.
GOTHS, an unciviliz'd but numerous and powerful People, in the *Lower Scythia*, in the *Northern* Part of *Europe*: They were divided into *Oſtro-Goths* and *Wiſi-Goths*.
GOTINI, an ancient People of *Germany*, who were driven out of their Country by *Maraboduus*.
GRÆCI, v. *Greeks*.
GRÆCIA, v. *Greece*.
GRAN, a River in *Upper Hungary*, which falls into the *Danube*, oppoſite to a City of the ſame Name.
GRATIAN, the 52d *Roman* Emperour, the Son of *Valentinian*, who ſucceeded his Father, and his Uncle *Valens*.
GREECE, a large Part of *Europe*, call'd by the *Turks*, *Romelia*, containing many Countries, Provinces and Iſlands, once the Nurſery of Arts, Learning, and Sciences.
GREEKS, the Inhabitants of *Greece*.
GREGORIUS *Turonenſis*, a famous Hiſtorian of *Auvergne*, in the 6th Century, and Archbiſhop of *Tours*.
GREUTHUNGI, a *Gothick* Nation.
GRONINGEN, the Capital of one of the ſeven United Provinces of the ſame Name.
GROTIUS, a famous *Dutch* Writer at the Beginning of the 17th Century.
GRUDII, the ancient Inhabitants about *Louvain*, or, according to ſome, about *Bruges*.
GRUTERUS, a famous Poet and Critick of *Antwerp*, in the 16th Century, who, among other Works, publiſh'd a *Theſaurus Inſcriptionum*.
GRUTINGI, v. *Greuthingi*.
GUELDERS, one of the 17 Provinces of the *Low Countries*, and of the ſeven United Provinces.
GUGERNI, a People of *Ancient Germany*, who dwelt on the Right Banks of the *Rhine*, between the *Ubii* and the *Batavi*.
GUNDARIC, a King of the *Vandals*, in *Spain*.
GUNDEUCUS, a King of the *Burgundians*, the Son of *Gundicarius*.
GUNDICARIUS, a King of the *Burgundians*, who founded that Kingdom in *Gaul*.
GUNDOBALD, a King of the *Burgundians*.
GUNDOMAD, a King of the *Alemanni*.
GUNTHERIC, a General of the *Peuceni*.

GUN-

GUNTHICARIUS, v. *Gundicarius.*
GUTTONES, an ancient People of *Germany*, inhabiting about the *Viſtula.*
GYTHONES, v. *Guttones.*

H

HÆMUS, a Mountain dividing *Moeſia* and *Thrace.*
HAIMBURG, a ſmall Town in *Lower Auſtria*, on the Borders of *Hungary*, remarkable for nothing but its Antiquity.
HAINAULT, an Earldom in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and one of the 17 Provinces.
HALIDEGASTES, a General of the *Franks.*
HANNIBAL, a valiant *Carthaginian* Commander, who warred 16 Years with the *Romans.*
HARIOBAUDUS, a Prince of the *Alemanni.*
HARTOMUNDUS, a General of the *Franks.*
HARUDES } a People of *Gallia Celtica*, ſup-
HARUDI } pos'd to have been originally *Germans*; and by ſome to have inhabited about *Conſtance.*
HASDINGI, v. *Aſdingi.*
HELEN, the Wife of *Conſtantius*, and Mother of *Conſtantine* the *Great.*
HELIOGABALUS, the 24th *Roman* Emperour, the Son of *Caracalla*, a Prodigy of Lewdneſs and Debauchery.
HELLESPONT, the famous Streights by *Conſtantinople*, dividing *Europe* from *Aſia*, between *Propontis*, and the *Ægean Sea.*
HELVETIA, *Swiſſerland*, now divided into 13 *Cantons.*
HELVETII, the *Swiſs*, Inhabitants of that Country.
HELVOETSLUIS, a Village on the *Goree*, in *South Holland.*
HEMONA, v. *Laubach.*
HEMUS, v. *Hæmus.*
HENGIST and *Horſa*, the two firſt *Saxon* Princes, who came to *England.*
HENNEGAU, v. *Hainault.*
HERACLEA, a City of *Thrace*, on the *Pontus Euxinus.*
HERACLIAN, one of the Uſurpers of the Imperial Dignity, in the Reign of *Honorius.*
HERCYNIAN *Foreſt*, the largeſt Foreſt of *Ancient Germany*, being reckoned by *Cæſar* to have been 60 Days Journy in Length, and 9 in Breadth. Many Parts of it have been ſince cut down, and many are yet remaining; of which among others, is that call'd the *Black Foreſt.*
HERMANARIC, a King of the *Suevi*, in *Spain.*
HERMANDURI, v. *Hermunduri.*
HERMIGARIUS, a Prince of the *Suevi*, in *Spain.*
HERMUNDURI, an ancient People of *Germany*, particularly in the Country now call'd *Miſnia*, in *Upper Saxony*; tho' they poſſeſs'd a much larger Tract of Land, according to ſome, all *Bohemia.*
HERNAC, the Son of *Attila*, King of the *Hunns.*
HERODIANUS, an Hiſtorian of *Alexandria*, in the 3d Century.
HERODOTUS, a famous Hiſtorian of *Halicarnaſſus*, in *Aſia Minor*, about 450 Years before the Birth of *Chriſt.*
HERTHA, a Goddeſs of the *Suevi*, the ſame the *Romans* worſhip'd under the Apellation of *Magna Deorum Mater.*
HERTIUS, (*Joh. Nic.*) a noted *German* Writer of the laſt, and the Beginning of this Century, who, among other Works, publiſh'd a *Notitia veteris Germaniæ populorum.*
HERULI, an ancient *Northern* People, who came firſt out of *Scandinavia*, but afterwards inhabited the Country now call'd *Mecklenburg*, in *Lower Saxony*, towards the *Baltick.*
HILDEMUND, a General of the *Franks.*
HILDERIC, a General of the *Goths.*
HIPPON, a City of the Province of *Conſtantine*, in the Kingdom of *Tunis*, in *Africa*, upon the *Mediterranean.*

HISPALIS, the City of *Sevil*, in *Spain*.
HOLSATIA, v. *Holſtein*.
HOLSTEIN, a Duchy in *Germany*, in the Circle of the *Lower Saxony*, formerly a Part of the *Cherſoneſus Cimbrica*, and now bounds the *German* Empire towards *Denmark*; but a good Part of it belongs to that Crown.
HONORIUS, the 55th Emperour of *Rome*, with his Brother *Arcadius*.
HORACE (or *Horatius Quintus Flaccus*) a famous *Latin* Poet, of *Venutium*, in *Apulia*, in the Time of *Auguſtus*.
HORTARIUS, a King of the *Alemanni*.
HOSTILIANUS, the younger Son of *Decius*, who enjoy'd the Imperial Title a ſhort Time; but is not reckon'd in the Series of the *Roman* Emperours.
HULDIN, a Duke of the *Hunns*.
HUNILA, a *Gothick* Princeſs, the Wife of *Bonoſus*.
HUNNIMUND, a Prince of the *Suevi*.
HUNNS, an ancient People, ſuppoſed to have come firſt out of *Scythia*; ſome ſay the ancient Inhabitants of the *Marſhes* of the *Mæotis*; and after having over-run the greateſt Part of *Europe*, ſettled in *Pannonia*, and gave Name to the Country now call'd *Hungary*; tho' ſome ſuppoſe the *Hungarians* to have been another Race of *Scythians*, who expell'd the *Hunns*, in the Reign of *Charlemaign*.
HUNORIC, a King of the *Vandals* and *Alani*, the Son of *Genſeric*.
HYRCANIA, a Country of *Aſia*, bordering on the *Caſpian* Sea.

I J

JANUS, the moſt ancient of the Heathen Gods in *Italy*: His Temple was ſhut up in Time of Peace.
JAZYGÆ, JAZYGES } a People of *Sarmatia Europæa*, inhabiting about the Countries now call'd *Livonia* and *Pruſſia*.
IDATIUS, a *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian, who wrote a Chronicle, from the Time of *Theodoſius*, to the Year 467.
IGILLUS, a General of the *Vandals* and *Burgundians*.
ILERDA, a City of *Catalonia*, in *Spain*, now call'd *Lerida*, on the *Segre*.
ILLYRICUM, formerly the Country between *Pannonia* to the *North*, and the *Adriatick* Sea to the *South*, divided into *Liburnia* and *Dalmatia*. It is now chiefly comprehended under *Dalmatia* and *Sclavonia*, and border'd by *Pannonia*, *Iſtria*, *Macedonia*, and the *Adriatick Gulph*; almoſt wholly under the reſpective Dominions of the *Venetians* and the *Turks*.
INDUCIOMARUS, a Prince of the *Treviri*.
INGUIOMARUS, a Prince of the *Cheruſci*, Kinſman of *Arminius*.
INIS, v. *Inn*.
INN, a River of *Germany*, which runs thro' *Bavaria* and *Tyrol*, and falls into the *Danube*, near *Paſſau*.
INSPRUCK, the Capital of *Tyrol*.
INSUBRES, the Inhabitants of *Inſubria*.
INSUBRIA, a Country of *Gallia Cis-Alpina*, now the Duchies of *Milan*, *Mantua*, &c.
IONIA, a Country of *Aſia Minor*, anciently inhabited by a Colony from *Greece*.
JORNANDES, Author of a Hiſtory of the *Goths*, and a *Goth* by Nation, in the Time of *Juſtinian*, ſuppoſed by ſome to have been Biſhop of *Ravenna*.
JOVIAN, the 49th *Roman* Emperour, who reign'd but ſeven Months.
JOVINUS, a *Gaul*, who aſſumed the Imperial Dignity at *Mentz*, in the Reign of *Honorius*; but was defeated by *Ataulph*, and put to Death.
IPRES, a fine and very ſtrong City, and Caſtle of the *Low Countries*, in the Earldom of *Flanders*.
IRMENSÄUL, a famous Monumental Column in *Germany*, ſuppos'd to have been erected in Honour of *Arminius*, deſtroy'd by *Charlemaign*.

ISELBURG, v. *Aliſo*.
ISIS, an *Egyptian* Goddeſs, likewiſe worſhip'd by the *Suevi*.
ISSEL, v. *Yſſel*.
ISTER, that Part of the *Danube*, which paſs'd by *Illyricum*.
ISTRIA, v. *Iſtropolis*.
ISTRIA, a Country now in *Italy*, under the *Venetians*, boidering on *Illyricum*, ſo call'd from the River *Iſter*.
ISTROPOLIS, a City of *Lower Mæſia*, near the *South* Entrance of the *Danube*.
ITALICUS, a King of the *Suevi*.
ISAURIA, a Province anciently of *Aſia Minor*, now a Part of *Caramania*, and ſubject to the *Turks*.
ISERE, a River of *France*, which ariſes in *Savoy*, and falls into the *Rhone* above *Valence*.
ITALUS, the Son of *Flavius*, a General, and afterwards King of the *Cheruſci*.
ITALY, one of the moſt famous Countries in *Europe*, once the Seat of the *Roman* Empire, now under ſeveral Princes.
JUDÆA, taken extenſively the whole Country of *Paleſtine*, but more ſtrictly that inhabited by the two Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*.
JUGURTHA, a King of *Numidia*, a Kingdom bordering on *Mauritania*.
JULIA, the Daughter of *Auguſtus*, who for her Wantonneſs was baniſh'd *Rome*.
JULIA, the Grand-Daughter of *Auguſtus*, of not much better Fame.
JULIAN, (*Didius*) the 20th *Roman* Emperour, who reign'd but two Months and five Days.
JULIAN, the 48th *Roman* Emperour, ſurnamed the *Apoſtate*.
JULIERS, a Duchy in *Weſtphalia*, ſituate between the *Maeſe*, and the *Rhine*.
JULIUS CÆSAR, the firſt *Roman* Emperour.
JULIUS *Nepos*, Emperour of *Rome*, in the *Weſt*, upon the Reſignation of *Glycerius*.
JULIUS *Paulus*, a Prince of the *Batavi*.
JULIUS *Vindex*, a Nobleman of *Gaul*, famous for attempting to free his Country from the Tyranny of *Nero*.
JUPITER, the ſupream God of the *Heathens*.
JUPITER *Feretrius*, a Name given *Jupiter*, from the Spoils offer'd him by *Romulus* in the *Capitol*.
JURA, a Mountain in *Gallia Belgica*, which ſeparated the *Sequani*, from the *Helvetii*, moſt of which is now call'd *Mont St. Claude*.
JUTÆ, JUTES } the Inhabitants of *Jutiæ*, or *Jutland*.
JUTIÆ, v. *Jutland*.
JUTLAND, the greateſt Part of the *Cherſoneſus Cimbrica*, ſuppos'd to have been the Country of the ancient *Cimbri*, now belonging to *Denmark*.
JUTHUNGI, a Nation of the *Alemanni*.
JUVAVIA, formerly the Capital of *Noricum Mediterraneum*, now *Saltzburg*,

K

KELLEN, v. *Colonia Trajana*.
KESSEL, a Town in *Brabant*, on the River *Neerſe*, not far from the *Maeſe*.
KEYSERSWAERT, a Town and Caſtle on a ſmall Iſland made by the *Rhine*, in the Archbiſhopick of *Cologn*, by ſome ſuppos'd to be the *Colonia Trajana*.

L

LABARUM, the *Roman* Imperial Standard, with a Croſs upon it, from the Time of *Conſtantine* the *Great*, which was carried before the Emperours in their Wars.
LABIENUS, one of *Julius Cæſar*'s Captains, who afterwards revolted to *Pompey*.
LACEDEMON, v. *Sparta*.
LACTANTIUS, a famous Orator at *Nicomedia*, in the Beginning of the 4th Century, who, for his Eloquence, was call'd the Chriſtian *Cicero*.
LACTATIUS *Catulus*, v. *Catulus*.

LACUS *Benacus*, v. *Lago di Guarda.*
LÆLIANUS, (*C. Lælianus,*) caus'd himſelf to be proclaim'd Emperour at *Mentz*, but was ſlain by his own Soldiers.
LAGO *di Guarda*, a Lake now belonging to the *Venetians*, between *Verona*, *Breſcia*, and *Trent.*
LAMPRIDIUS (*Ælius*) a *Roman* Hiſtorian, towards the Concluſion of the 3d Century.
LANGOBARDI, v. *Longobards.*
LANGRES, a large and ancient City of *Champaign*, at the Source of the River *Marne.*
LANGUEDOC, a Province of *France*, the *Weſtern* Part of what the *Romans* call'd *Gallia Narbonenſis.*
LARISSA, the principal City of *Theſſalia*, a Province of *Macedonia*, on the River *Peneo.*
LATINS, the Inhabitants of *Latium*, or an ancient Part of *Italy*, whence the *Latin* Tongue is ſo call'd.
LATOBRIGÆ } a People of *Gallia Belgica*,
LATOBRIGI } between the *Allobroges*, and *Helvetii*, in the Country now call'd *Lauſanne.*
LAUBACH, a City of *Carniola*, on a River of the ſame Name, which falls into the *Save.*
LAUREACUM, *Colonia M. Antonini*, the Capital of *Noricum Ripenſe.*
LAZI, an ancient People of *Sarmatia Europæa*, according to ſome on the Banks of the *Palus Mæotis*, but, according to others, towards the *Caſpiæ Portæ*, near the *Iberi.*
LECK, a new Branch of the *Rhine*, which divides from it in the Province of *Utrecht*, and falls into the *Maeſe* below *Rotterdam*, call'd anciently *Foſſa Corbulonis.*
LEGES *Agrariæ*, Laws for the equal dividing of common Lands among the People.
LEIBNITZ, (*Gotfried William*) a famous and very learned *Polyhiſtorian*, *Mathematician*, and *Philoſopher*, of *Leipzick*, of the foregoing, and the Beginning of the preſent Century, greatly and juſtly eſteem'd by many Princes, and made Baron and Aulick Counſellour by the Emperour.
LEMANUS (*Lacus*) the Lake upon which *Geneva* ſtands, made by the River *Rhone*, between *Swiſſerland* to the *North*, and *Savoy* to the *South*, commonly call'd the *Lake of Geneva.*
LEMNOS, an Iſland in the *Ægean Sea*, now call'd *Stalimane.*
LENTIA, v. *Lintz.*
LENTICENSES, a Nation of the *Alemanni.*
LENTILA, v. *Lintz.*
LEO, a *Roman* Emperour, in the *Eaſt*, who ſucceeded *Marcian.*
LEON, a City of *Spain*, in *Aſturia*, built in the Time of *Nerva*, the Emperour, the Capital of the Kingdom of that Name, at the Source of the River *Eſla.*
LEVACI, a People of *Brabant*, whoſe Town was call'd *Leew*, not far from *Louvain.*
LEUCI, a People of *Gallia Belgica*, where now *Lorrain* is, well skill'd in Darting, their City is now call'd *Toul.*
LEYDEN, an ancient and famous City, and now an Univerſity of *Holland*, on the old Stream of the *Rhine*, near the Lake of *Haerlem.* In the Time of the *Romans*, the *Prætor* for *Belgick Gaul* reſided there.
LICINIUS, admitted a Partner in the Empire with *Conſtantine*, the *Great*, but loſt his Life in raiſing Commotions againſt him.
LIEGE, a City, and likewiſe a Biſhoprick, in the Circle of *Weſtphalia*, in *Germany.*
LIGURIA, a Part of ancient *Italy*, extending from the *Appennines* to the *Tuſcan* Sea.
LILYBÆUM, v. *Capo Boco.*
LIMBURG, a City and Duchy in the *Low Countries*, ſituate betwixt the Duchy of *Juliers*, and the Biſhopriek of *Liege.*

LIMITES, ſo the *Romans* call'd certain Diſtricts on their Confines, inviron'd with Intrenchments and Ditches.
LINGONES, a People of *Gallia Belgica*, inhabiting in and about *Langres*, in *Champaign*.
LINTZ, the Capital of *Upper Auſtria*, a populous and handſom City, with a Bridge over the *Danube*.
LIPARI, there are ſeven Iſlands call'd the *Liparian* Iſlands (*Inſulæ Vulcaniæ*) in the *Tuſcan* Sea, belonging to *Sicily*, of which this is the Chief.
LIPPE, a River of *Germany*, ariſing near *Paderborn*, and falls into the *Rhine*, below *Cologn*.
LISBON, the Capital of *Portugal*, on the *Tagus*.
LITHUANIANS, the Inhabitants of *Lithuania*, formerly a Part of *Sarmatia Europæa*, now a Province and Grand Dukedom, belonging to *Poland*.
LIVIA, the Wife of *Auguſtus*.
LIVY, a *Roman* Hiſtorian in *Padua*, where he died, A. C. 17. many of whoſe Works are loſt.
LOCCENIUS, a famous Hiſtorian of the laſt Century, in *Germany* and *Sweden*.
LOIRE, one of the greateſt and moſt celebrated Rivers in *France*, ſaid to take 112 Rivers in its Courſe: It riſes in *Velay*, and falls into the Bay of *Aquitain*, below *Nantz*.
LOMBARDS, v. *Longobardi*.
LOMBARDY, v. *Longobardia*.
LONGOBARDI, originally a *Suevian* Nation, ſo call'd, as ſome will have it, becauſe they ſuffer'd their Beards to grow long; but others ſay, becauſe originally made up of two Nations, the *Lingones* and the *Bardi*.
LONGOBARDIA, (anciently the greateſt Part of *Gallia Ciſalpina*) a Kingdom of itſelf, 'till *Charlemaign* put an End to it. It is yet call'd *Lombardy*; but now contains ſeveral Dukedoms, States, or Dominions.
LUCAN, a celebrated Poet of *Corduba*, in the Time of *Nero*, famous for an Heroick Poem on the Wars between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*.
LUGDUNUM *Batavorum*, now *Leyden*, in *Holland*.
LUGDUNUM *Celtarum*, now *Lions*, in *France*, formerly the chief City of *Gallia Celtica*.
LUPUDUNUM, now *Ladenburg*, in the Palatinate of the *Rhine*, upon the *Neckar*, near *Heidelburg*.
LUSITANIA, *Portugal*, a Kingdom on the *Weſt* of *Spain*, formerly a Part of it.
LYDIA, an inland Country of *Aſia Minor*, formerly govern'd by the famous *Croeſus*, who was the laſt King of it.
LYGII, an ancient People of *Upper Germany*, who inhabited the Country now call'd *Sileſia*, and on the Borders of *Poland*.
LYONS, an ancient, populous, and rich City of *France*, a *Roman* Colony in the Time of *Auguſtus*: It is the Capital of of a Province call'd *Lionnois*, ſituate at the Foot of a Hill, upon the Confluence of the *Saone* and *Rhone*.

M

MABILLON (F.) a famous *French* Writer of the foregoing Century, of the Order of the *Benedictines*.
MACEDONIA, a large Country, of great Antiquity and Fame, in *Greece*, containing ſeveral Provinces, now under the *Turks*.
MACRIANUS, a King of the *Alemanni*.
MACRINUS, a *Moor* by Birth, who, with his Son *Diadumenus*, is reckoned the 23d *Roman* Emperour; but were both murder'd within 14 Months.
MÆOTICK *Lake*, a vaſt Lake in the *North* Part of *Scythia*, now call'd *Marbianco*, or *Mare della Tana*. It is about 600 Miles in Compaſs, and the River *Tanais* diſembogues itſelf into it.

MÆOTIS, v. *Mæotick.*
MAESE, a large River of *Gallia Belgica*, which falls into the *German* Ocean below the *Briel.*
MAESTRICHT, a City of *Brabant*, on the *Weſtern* Bank of the *Maeſe.*
MAGNENTIUS, a *German*, and Uſurper of the *Roman* Empire, in the Time of *Conſtantius*, the Younger.
MAJORIANUS (*Julius*) a *Roman* Emperor in the *Weſt*, on the Reſignation of *Avitus*, A. 457.
MALCHUS, a *Sophiſt* of *Conſtantinople*, of the 5th Century.
MALLORIX, a Prince of *Frieſland.*
MALOVEND, a General of the *Marſi.*
MANHEIM, a City in the *Lower Palatinate*, at the *Confluence* of the *Rhine* and the *Neckar.*
MANLIUS (*C. Manlius*, or *Manlius Capitolinus*) a *Roman*, famous for defending the *Capitol* againſt the *Gauls.*
MANNUS, the great Anceſtor of the *Germans*, by ſome call'd *Tuiſto.*
MAR, v. *Morau.*
MARABODUUS, a General of the *Marcomanni.*
MARCELLUS, a famous and valiant *Roman*, who was five Times Conſul, and diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in the Wars with the *Syracuſans*, and with *Hannibal.*
MARCIAN, a *Roman* Emperour, in the *Eaſt*, about the Middle of the 5th Century.
MARCIANOPOLIS, a City of ancient *Moeſia*, now in *Bulgaria*, commonly call'd *Preſlaw*, about 20 Miles from the *Euxine Sea.*
MARCOMANNI, a Nation of the *Suevi*, whom *Cluverius* places between the *Rhine*, the *Danube*, and the *Neckar*; who ſettled, however under *Maraboduus*, in *Bohemia* and *Moravia.*
MARCOMER, a Prince of the *Franks.*
MARGUS, a City of *Moeſia*, on the *Danube.*
MARIANA, a learned *Spaniſh* Jeſuit and Hiſtorian, who died *Anno* 1624.
MARIUS, (*C.*) a renown'd *Roman*, who was ſeven Times Conſul, and rais'd himſelf by his Valour.
MARK, v. *Morau.*
MAROS, v. *Morau.*
MARS, the Heathen God of War.
MARSACI, an ancient People, inhabiting, among other Countries along the Sea-Coaſt, an Iſland formed by the Rivers *Maes* and *Rhine*, near *Dort.*
MARSEILLES, a large and flouriſhing City of *Provence*, in *France*, on the *Mediterranean*; ſaid to be very ancient, and, according to ſome, built by the *Phœnicians*; but, as *Juſtin* will have it, by the *Phocians*, in the Time of *Tarquinius*, King of *Rome.*
MARSI, an ancient People of *Lower Germany*, on and about the River *Lippe.*
MARTENA (*Caſtrum Martena*) ſuppos'd by ſome to be the preſent *Marckburg*, in *Stiria.*
MARTIAL, a famous *Epigrammatick* Poet, in the 1ſt Century, and in the Times of eight Emperours, from *Galba* to *Trajan*: He was born at *Bilbilis*, in *Celtiberia*, now *Butiera*, in the Kingdom of *Arragon.*
MARTINACH, a Town in *Swiſſerland*, in the Country of *Valais.*
MASDRAS, a King of the *Suevi*, in *Spain.*
MASYUS, a King of the *Semnones.*
MATTIACI, a People of *Germany*, in the Country now call'd *Heſſen.*
MATTIACUM, a City of *Heſſen*, call'd *Marpurg*, or, according to others, *Baden*, becauſe famous for its Baths.
MATTIUM, the Capital of the *Catti*, v. *Mattiacum.*
MAURITANIA, an ancient large Region of *Africa*, divided into *Cæſarienſis*, *Tingitana* and *Sitofenſis.*
MAXENTIUS, the Son of *Maximian*, who aſſum'd

assumed the Title of *Roman* Emperour; and was a cruel Tyrant; but being overcome by *Constantine*, was drown'd in the *Tyber*.

MAXIMIAN, (surnamed *Hercules*) who, with *Diocletian*, made the 44th *Roman* Emperour, v. *Diocletian*.

MAXIMINUS, who with his Son made the 26th *Roman* Emperour, and succeeded *Al. Severus*, but were both slain in the 3d Year of their Reign.

MAXIMUS, a *Spaniard*, who assum'd the Title of *Roman* Emperour, in the *West*, in the Time of *Theodosius*; but was slain in a Tumult by the Soldiers.

MAXIMUS (*Petronius*) a *Roman* Emperour in the *West*, who succeeded *Valentinian*, III.

MAYN, a famous River of *Germany*, arising from two Springs, which unite in one Stream at *Culembach*, in *Franconia*, and after having divided that Circle, into two Parts, passing by *Franckfort*, falls into the *Rhine*, near *Mentz*.

MEDIOMATRICES } a People of *Lorain*,
MEDIOMATRICI } on the *Mosel*, about the City of *Metz*.

MEDITERRANEAN *Sea*, the first discover'd Sea in the World, still very famous, and much frequented, which breaks in, from the *Atlantick Ocean*, between *Spain* and *Africa*, by the Straights of *Gibraltar*, or *Hercules* Pillars, the *Ne plus ultra* of the Ancients.

MELA (*Pomponius*) a *Spanish* Geographer, who liv'd in the Time of *Claudius Cæsar*.

MELO, a Prince of the *Sicambri*.

MELLOBAUDES, a King of the *Franks*.

MENAPII, an ancient People of *Gallia Belgica*, who inhabited both Sides of the *Rhine*: Some take them for the Inhabitants of *Cleves*, and others of *Antwerp*, *Ghent*, &c.

MENTZ, a City of *Germany*, of great Antiquity, where some say Printing was first invented, about A. 1430, now the Residence of one of the Spiritual Electors, in the Lower Circle of the *Rhine*, on that River, over-against where the *Mayn* falls into it.

MERIDA, a City of *Portugal*, on the River *Guadiana*.

MEROVEUS, a King of the *Franks*.

MEROVINGI, the Kings of the *Franks*, who descended from *Meroveus*.

MERSEBURG, a small City of *Germany*, in the Circle of *Upper Saxony*, and Marquisate of *Misnia*, on the *Saal*.

MESOPOTAMIA, a large Country in the Middle of *Asia*, between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*.

METAURUS, a River of *Umbria*, now call'd *Metoro*, in the Duchy of *Urbino*.

METZ, an ancient City in the Duchy of *Lorain*, on the River *Mosel*.

MILAN, one of the greatest and noblest Cities of *Italy*, built by the *Gauls* call'd *Insubres*, about 50 Years before our Saviour, tho' some pretend above 1000 Years sooner.

MINERVA, the Heathen Goddess of War, and Patroness of Arts and Sciences, Wisdom and Learning.

MISNIA, a Province and Marquisate in *Upper Germany*, subject to the Elector of *Saxony*: Also the Capital of that Province, on the *Elb*, three *German* Miles from *Dresden*.

MISNIANS, the Inhabitants of that Country.

MODENA, a City of *Lombardy*, the Capital of a Duchy of the same Name, situate on the River *Secchia*.

MOESIA, a Country of *Europe*, and a Province of the *Ancient Illyricum*, bordering on *Pannonia*, divided into the *Upper*, containing *Bosnia* and *Servia*, and the *Lower* call'd *Bulagria*.

MOESII, the People of that Country.

MOGUNTIA, v. *Mentz*.

MOLDAVIA, a Part of *Moesia Inferior*, formerly belonging to the Kingdom of *Hungary*; but more anciently a Part of *Dacia*, now under a Prince of its own,

call'd a *Hoſpodar*, who is a Vaſſal to the Port.

MORAU } a large River, ariſing in the
MORAVA } Confines of *Bohemia*, which divides *Moravia* into two Parts, and falls into the *Danube*, not far from *Vienna*.

MORAVIA, a Province in the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, formerly, for ſome Time, a Kingdom of itſelf, afterwards a Duchy, and then a Marquiſate.

MOREA, a famous large and fruitful *Peninſula* of *Greece*, anciently call'd *Peloponneſus*, now belonging to the *Venetians*.

MORINI, an ancient People of the *Low Countries*, who probably inhabited on the preſent Coaſt of *Bologne*, on the Confines of *Picardy* and *Artois*, becauſe *Cæſar* obſerves, that, from their Country was the neareſt Paſſage to *Britain*.

MORINORUM *Comites*, ſo the ancient Counts of *Flanders* were ſometimes call'd.

MOSCHI, a People who dwelt, in ancient Times, at *Colchis*, and afterwards form'd a Kingdom on the Borders of *Aſia* and *Europe*.

MOSEL, a River which, running thro' *Lorain*, paſſes by *Triers*, and falls into the *Rhine*, at *Coblentz*, famous for the Vines growing in the Neighbourhood of it.

MUNIMENTUM *Corbulonis*, v. *Groningen*.

MURSA, a Town and Caſtle, in *Sclavonia*, at the Conflux of the *Draw* and *Danube*, now call'd *Eſſeck*, famous for a Bridge three Miles over.

MYOPARONES, a Sort of Ships, or ſmall Veſſels, made Uſe of by the *Saxons*.

MYSIA, a Country of *Aſia Minor*, not far from the *Helleſpont*.

MYSII, the Inhabitants of that Country.

N

NAB, a River of *Nortgow*, which ariſes near the *Source* of the *Mayn*, and falls into the *Danube*, above *Ratisbon*.

NARISSUS, a City of the *Upper Moeſia*.

NAMUR, a large and ſtrong City of the *Low Countries*, on the *Maeſe*.

NANTUATES, an ancient People of the *North* Part of *Savoy*, whoſe Country is now call'd *Le Chablais*.

NARBONNE, an ancient *Roman* City, in *Languedoc*, in *France*, ſaid to be built 138 Years before the Birth of *Chriſt*.

NARISCI, the ancient People of the Country now call'd *Nortgow*, in *Germany*, the Capital of which is the famous City of *Nuremburg*.

NASUA, a General of the *Suevi*, the Brother of *Cimberius*.

NAULOBATUS, a General of the *Heruli*.

NECKAR, a River of *Swabia* in *Germany*, which riſes in the *Black Foreſt*, not far diſtant from the *Danube*, but taking a quite different Courſe falls into the *Rhine*.

NEMESIANUS, a *Latin* Poet of *Carthage*, towards the End of the 3d Century.

NEMETES, a People of ancient *Germany*, about the City of *Spire*, on the *Rhine*.

NEOCÆSAREA, the Capital of *Pontus*, on the River *Lycus*, now call'd *Tocat*.

NEPOTIANUS, a Nephew of *Conſtantine*, the *Great*, who aſſum'd the Imperial Dignity, at *Rome*; but was murder'd by *Magnentius*.

NERO, the 6th Emperour of *Rome*, the moſt cruel and wicked of them all.

NERVA, the 13th *Roman* Emperour, a good and worthy Prince.

NERVII, an ancient People of *Belgica*, thought to have dwelt in the now Dioceſe of *Cambray*.

NESSUS, a River in *Thrace*.

NEUS, a ſmall City in the Archbiſhoprick of *Cologn*, on the *Rhine*, at the Conflux of the River *Erpt*, with that River.

NICE } a City of *Bithynia*, famous for
NICÆA } the firſt General Council, *An.* 324, againſt Arianiſm, *&c.*

NICOMEDIA, a City in *Bithynia*, where *Conſtantine*, the *Great*, died.

NICOPOLIS, a City of *Achaia*; likewiſe a City of *Bulgaria*, at the Confluence of the *Iſacar*, and the *Danube*, commonly call'd *Nigeboli*.
NIEPER, (or *Boryſthenes*) a River of *Sarmatia Europæa*, the greateſt in *Europe*, except the *Danube*, which riſes in *Muſcovy*, and, after having taken ſeveral vaſt Rivers in its Courſe, falls into the *Euxine* Sea, near *Bialagorod*.
NIESTER (or *Tyrus*) a River of *Sarmatia Europæa*, which falls into the *Euxine* Sea, between the *Danube* and the *Nieper*.
NIMES (or *Niſmes*) an ancient and yet flouriſhing City of *France*, in the *Lower Languedoc*.
NIZZA, v. *Nice*.
NOLA, a City and *Roman* Colony of *Campania Felix*, noted for the Death of *Auguſtus*.
NORDHAUSEN, a free Imperial City of *Germany*, in *Thuringia*, upon the River *Zorge*.
NOREJA, a City on the Borders of *Illyricum*, about nine *German* Miles from *Aquileja*.
NORIC *Alps*, that Part of thoſe Mountains, which were in, or bordering upon *Noricum*.
NORICI, the Inhabitants of *Noricum*.
NORICUM, anciently a large Country, now containing ſeveral, as a great Part of *Auſtria*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, Part of *Tyrol*, *Bavaria*, &c. and divided into,
NORICUM *Mediterraneum*,
NORICUM *Ripenſe*.
NORTHERN *Sea*, or the *German Ocean*.
NOVEM POPULI, a Province of *France*, now call'd *Gaſcony*.
NOVI, a Town in *Lower Moeſia*.
NOVIOMAGUS, v. *Spire*.
NUMANTIA, a celebrated City of ancient *Spain*, famous for a gallant Reſiſtance againſt the *Romans*, in a Siege of fourteen Years.
NUMERIANUS, the 42d *Roman* Emperour, and youngeſt Son of *Carus*, murder'd by his Father-in-law *Aper*.
NUMIDIA, a Country of *Africa*, bordering on *Mauritania*.

O

OCTAVIANUS, v. *Auguſtus*.
OCTODURUS (*Vicus Veragrorum*) v. *Martinac*.
ODENATUS, an Heroick Prince of the *Saracens*, about *Palmyra*, whoſe Wife was the famous *Zenobia*. *Gallienus* admitted him to a Share in the *Roman* Empire; but he was murder'd by one of his own Relations.
ODINUS, a *Northern Hero*, rever'd as a God.
ODOACER, a Prince of the *Rugii*.
ODOTHEUS, a General of the *Greuthingi*.
OENUS, v. *Inis*.
OLYBRIUS, a *Roman* Emperour in the *Weſt*, who ſucceeded *Anthemius*.
OLYMPIODORUS, a Heathen Hiſtorian of *Thebes*, in *Egypt*, at the Beginning of the 5th Century.
OMERS (St.) a handſom, large and ſtrong City, in *Artois*, upon the River *Aa*, famous for a College of *Engliſh* Jeſuits.
OPORTO, a large City of *Portugal*, at the Mouth of the *Douro*, which with *Cale*, a Village near it, gave Name to the whole Kingdom.
ORANGE, a City of *Provence*, Capital of a ſmall Principality of that Name.
ORBEGO, a River in the Kingdom of *Leon*, which ariſes in the Mountains of *Aſturia*, and falls into the *Eſla*.
ORESTES, the Son of *Agamemnon*, and Friend of *Pylades*.
ORLEANS, a pleaſant and noble City of *France*, in a Province of the ſame Name, on the *Loire*, ſaid to have been built by the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, A. 163, and from him to have taken the Name of *Aurelia*; tho' others will have it *Aurelian*:

reliana (from *Ore Ligeriana*) being ſituate near the Mouth of the *Loire* (or *Ligeris.*)
OSRHOENE, a Country of *Syria*, on the Borders of *Meſopotamia.*
OSRHOENI, the People of that Country.
OSTROGOTHA, a King of the *Goths.*
OSTRO-GOTHS, the *Eaſt-Goths*, v. *Goths.*
OTHO, v. *Otto.*
OTTO, the 8th *Roman* Emperour, who ſucceeded *Galba*, but reigned only 95 Days.
OTTO *Friſingenſis*, a learned Biſhop and Hiſtorian of *Freiſingen*, in the 12th Century.
OVID (*Ovidius Naſo*) an excellent *Roman* Poet, in the Time of *Auguſtus.*
OVIEDO, a City in the Kingdom of *Leon*, in *Spain*, five *Spaniſh* Leagues from the Sea.
OVILIA, a *Roman* Colony, eſtabliſh'd by *M. Antoninus*, in *Noricum Ripenſe.*

P

PALENZA, a City of the Kingdom of *Leon*, in *Spain.*
PÆMANI, an ancient People of *Gallia Belgica.*
PAGI, } a famous *French* Chronologiſt
PAGIUS } and Hiſtorian, in the 17th Century.
PALERMO, a large and rich City of *Sicily*, built by the *Phœnicians*, and Capital of the Iſland.
PALMYRA, an ancient City of *Syria*, of which very fine Ruins are yet remaining, near the Deſarts of *Arabia.*
PAMPELONA, the Capital of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, once the Seat of its Kings, now ſubject to *Spain.*
PANNONES, v. *Pannonii.*
PANNONIA, a very large Country, in the ancient Diviſion of *Europe*, divided into the *Upper* and *Lower*, and comprehended betwixt *Illyricum*, the *Danube*, and the Mountains *Cethi.*
PANNONII, the Inhabitants of that Country, ſuppoſed to be a Nation of the *Celtick Gauls.*
PAPYRIUS *Carbo*, a renowned *Roman*, ſaid to be born with Teeth in his Head.
PARIS, an ancient and famous City, the Capital of all *France*, on the River *Seine.*
PARMA, a Duchy of *Italy*, which makes a Part of *Lombardy.*
PARTHIA, a Country in *Aſia*, lying between *Media*, *Caramania*, and the *Hircanian* Sea.
PARTHI, the Inhabitants of that Country.
PASSAU, a Colony of *Septimius Severus*, and a free Imperial City of *Germany*, now of *Lower Bavaria*, at the Confluence of the *Inn* and the *Danube.*
PATERCULUS, v. *Vellejus.*
PATRICIUS, a Title of great Honour among the *Romans*, at firſt only the Deſcendants of the Senators who were created in the Times of the Kings.
PAVIA, a City in *Lombardy*, of great Antiquity, ſuppoſed to be built by the *Ligurians*, on the River *Texino*, now in the Duchy of *Milan.*
PELOPONNESUS, v. *Morea.*
PERINTHUS, a City of *Thrace*, about a Day's Journy *Weſt* of *Conſtantinople*, now in a decaying Condition, and call'd *Heraclea.*
PERSIA, one of the largeſt, moſt ancient, and celebrated Kingdoms of *Aſia.* It anciently contained many Countries, and now many Provinces.
PERTINAX (*Helvetius*) the 19th *Roman* Emperour, the Succeſſor of *Commodus*, a valiant, diſcreet and modeſt Prince.
PESCENNIUS *Niger*, proclaimed *Roman* Emperour, by the Army in the *Eaſt*, at the ſame Time that *Julian Didius* was by the Senat, and *Septimius Severus* in *Pannonia*; but could not maintain that Dignity.
PETTAU, an ancient *Roman* Colony of *Pan-*

Pannonia, on the *Draw*, now made a Part of *Stiria*, in the Borders of *Sclavonia*.

PEUCE, an Iſland in one of the Mouths of the *Danube*.

PEUCINI, the Inhabitants of that Iſland.

PHARAMOND, a King of the *Franks*, ſuppoſed to have reign'd about the Beginning of the 5th Century; tho' ſome queſtion the Truth of the Accounts we have of him.

PHALANX, a Body of Men form'd compactly into a ſquare Battalion or Squadron.

PHARSALIA, a Part of *Theſſaly*, famous for a Battle between *Pompey* and *Cæſar*.

PHASIS, a large River in *Colchis*, now call'd *Faſſo*, which flows into the *Euxine* Sea.

PHILIPPIS (or *Philippi*) a City of *Macedonia*, on the Confines of *Thrace*.

PHILIPPOPOLIS, a City of *Thrace*, near the River *Hebrus*.

PHILIP, with his Son, made the 29th *Roman* Emperour; but were both aſſaſſinated after a Reign of about five Years.

PHILOSTORGIUS, an *Arian* of *Cappadocia*, who wrote an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, from the Beginning of that Sect to the Year 425.

PHRYGIA, two Countries in *Aſia Minor*, one call'd *Major*, the other *Minor*.

PIACENZA, an ancient City of *Lombardy*, near the *Po*, now the Metropolis of a Duchy of that Name.

PICENUM, an ancient Diſtrict of *Italy*, lying Eaſtward of *Umbria*.

PICTS, an ancient barbarous *Northern* People, who by Intermarriages became, in a Courſe of Time, one Nation with the *Scots*; but are originally ſuppoſed to have come out of *Denmark*, or *Scythia*, to the Iſles of *Orkney*, and from thence into *Scotland*.

PIGHIUS, an Antiquary of *Campen*, in *Over-Yſſel*, in the 16th Century.

PIPA, Daughter of a King of the *Marcomanni*, a Favourite of Emperour *Claudius* II.

PIPARA, v. *Pipa*.

PITHYUS, a City on the Borders of *Colchis*.

PLACENTIA, PLACENZA } v. *Piacenza*.

PLEUMATII, an ancient People ſubject to the *Nervii*.

PLINY, there were two Brothers of this Name, both celebrated Writers, the eldeſt call'd *Plinius Secundus* (*Cajus*) of *Verona*; and the youngeſt *Plinius Secundus* (*C. Cæcilius*) of *Como*, towards the Concluſion of the firſt, and the Beginning of the 2d Century; the former famous for his Natural Hiſtory; and the latter for his Epiſtles.

PLUTARCH, a noted Philoſopher, Hiſtorian and Orator, under *Trajan* and *Adrian*, whoſe Works are a ſufficient Teſtimony of his Learning.

Po, the largeſt River in *Italy*, which ariſes in *Piedmont*, and dividing *Lombardy* into two Parts, falls into the *Adriatick Sea*, by many Mouths.

PODOLIA, a Province of *Poland*, comprehended under *Red Ruſſia*, but which extends Eaſtwards as far as the *Euxine Sea*.

POLLENTIA, an ancient City near the *Alps*, tho' the Learned diſagree as to the particular Situation of it.

POLLIO (*Aſinius*) a famous *Roman* Orator, who was Conſul, A. U. 714.

POLYBIUS, an ancient *Greek* Hiſtorian of *Arcadia*, who came to *Rome*, and wrote the *Roman* Hiſtory in 40 Books, of which five are yet preſerv'd. He is ſuppoſed to have died above 100 Years before the Birth of Chriſt.

POMPEY, the *Great*, *Julius Cæſar*'s Son-in-law.

PONTANUS (Jo. Js.) a *Daniſh* Hiſtoriographer, in the 17th Century.

PONTUS, an ancient Kingdom of *Aſia Minor*,

Minor, between *Bithynia* and *Paphlagonia*, upon the *Euxine Sea*.
PONTUS EUXINUS, the *Euxine*, or *Black Sea*, from the *Ægean*, along the *Helleſpont*, to the *Mæotick* Lake, between *Europe* and *Aſia*.
POSTHUMUS, a Native of *Gaul*, who aſſum'd the Title of *Roman* Emperour, in that Country, and maintain'd it for a Time, till he was ſlain by his own Soldiers.
PRÆTOR URBANUS, a Magiſtrate in ancient *Rome*, who had Power to judge Matters of Law between Citizen and Citizen.
PREDENECENTRI, v. *Abotrites*.
PRIMIPILARIS, among the *Romans*, an Officer who had ſerv'd as eldeſt Captain.
PRISCILLIANISTS, ancient Hereticks, Followers of *Priſcillian*, a *Spaniard*.
PRISCUS (L.) ſuppos'd to be a Brother of Emperour *Philip*, and himſelf Lieutenant of *Macedonia*, where he aſſumed the Imperial Dignity.
PRISEUS, a *Sophiſt*, in the 5th Century, who wrote a Hiſtory of the *Goths*.
PROBUS, the 40th *Roman* Emperor, who, after he had reign'd above ſix Years, was ſlain by the Soldiers at *Sirmium*.
PROCONSUL, the late *Conſul*, alſo the Conſuls Deputy, or Lieutenant-Governour of a Province, v. *Conſul*.
PROCONSULARIS, a Province of *Africa*.
PROCOPIUS, an Hiſtorian of *Cæſarea*, in the Time of *Juſtinian*.
PROCULUS, a Governour of *Gaul*, who aſſuming the Title of *Roman* Emperour, in that Country, in the Reign of *Probus*, was by him defeated, taken Priſoner and hang'd.
PROVENCE, one of the *Southern* Provinces of *France*, the firſt the *Romans* conquer'd, and brought into the Form of a *Roman* Province, whence it was call'd *Provincia Romana*.
PRUDENTIUS, a Chriſtian Poet, in the 4th Century.
PRUSA, a City of *Bithynia*, at the Foot of *Olympus*, built by *Hannibal*.
PRUTH, a River in *Moldavia*, which ariſing in *Red Ruſſia*, flows thro' *Walachia*, and falls into the *Danube*.
PRUTHINGI, v. *Greuthingi*.
PTOLEMY, a famous Aſtronomer and Geographer of *Alexandria*, in the 2d Century.
PUPIENUS, (*Maximus*) with *Clodius Balbinus*, is accounted the 27th *Roman* Emperour; but they were both murder'd by the Soldiers, after they had reign'd but nine or ten Months.
PYRENEES, (or *Pyrenean Mountains*) one of the largeſt Chain of Mountains, in *Europe*, which divide *Spain* from *France*, running from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, 85 Leagues in Length.

Q

QUADI, a Nation of the *Suevi*, in *Moravia*, and the *North* of *Auſtria*, as far as the *Danube*.
Q. CICERO, v. *Cicero*.
Q. SERVILIUS CEPIO, v. *Cepio*.
Q. VARUS, v. *Varus*.
QUINTILLUS (*M. Aurelius*) the 36th *Roman* Emperour, who was kill'd by the Soldiers, when he had reign'd but fifteen Days.

R

RADAGAISUS, v. *Rhadagaiſus*
RÆTI, v. *Rætii*.
RÆTIA, the Country of the *Griſons*, on the *Alps*; near the *Hercynian Foreſt*: It was anciently call'd by ſome the *Weſtern Illyricum*, and was of a larger Extent towards *Swabia*, *Bavaria*, and *Auſtria*, of which it comprehended a Part; and was divided into *Rætia prima*, (or proper) and *Rætia ſecunda*.
RÆTII, the People of that Country,
RATISBON, an ancient City of *Germany*, (firſt built by *Tiberius*) in the Circle of *Bavaria*, now famous for the Diet of the Empire being held there.

RAVENNA, a very ancient City of *Italy*, near the Coaſt of the *Adriatick Gulph*, ſaid to be built, A. M. 1766. In the Decline of the *Roman* Empire, it was ſome Time the Seat of the Emperours of the *Weſt*, as it was likewiſe of the *Wiſi-Gothick* Kingdom.

RAURACI, RAURIACI, RAURICI } a People of ancient *Germany*, near the *Helvetii*, who inhabited near where *Baſil* in *Swiſſerland* now is.

RAUSIMODUS, a King of the *Sarmatæ*.

RECHIARIUS, a King of the *Suevi*, in *Spain*, the Son of *Rechila*.

RECHILA, a King of the *Suevi*, in *Spain*.

REGEN, a River of *Germany*, which ariſes in *Nortgow*, on the Borders of *Bohemia*, and falls into the *Danube* at *Ratisbon*, thence call'd *Regensburg*.

REGARIUS, a King of the *Wiſi-Goths*.

REGGIO, a City in the Duchy of *Modena*, in *Italy*.

REGILLIANUS, a Native of *Dacia*, who aſſum'd the Title of *Roman* Emperour, in *Illyricum*.

REGINA CASTRA, v. *Ratisbon*.

REMI, v. *Rheims*,

REMISMUNDUS, a King of the *Suevi*, in *Spain*.

REOTINUS, a Leader of thoſe *Britons* who retir'd into *Gaul*.

RESPA, a General of the *Goths*.

RESPENDIAL, a King of the *Alani*.

RHADAGAISUS, a *Northern* Prince, who invaded *Italy*, at the Beginning of the 5th Century, by ſome ſuppoſed a King of the *Goths*, by others of the *Vandals*.

RHÆTIA, v. *Rætia*.

RHÆTII, v. *Rætii*.

RHÆUS, a General of the *Aſtingi*.

RHAMIS, a Princeſs of the *Cheruſci*, and the Wife of *Seſithacus*.

RHAPTUS, a General of the *Aſtingi*.

RHEMI, the ancient Inhabitants about *Rheims*.

RHEIMS, a very ancient, fine and populous City of *France*, in the Province of *Champaign*, on the River *Veſle*.

RHENANUS (*Beatus*) a learned *German Writer*, towards the Concluſion of the 15th, and in the Beginning of the 16th Century; who publiſh'd ſeveral Things of the *German* Antiquities, as likewiſe Annotations on ſeveral of the *Roman Writers*.

RHINE, a great and famous River in *Germany*, which formerly divided it from *Gaul*: It ſprings out of the *Rhætian Alps*, in the *Weſtern* Borders of *Swiſſerland*, and the *Northern* of the *Griſons*, from two Springs which unite near *Coire* or *Chur*, and it falls into the *Maeſe* and the *German Ocean*, by two Mouths, whence *Virg.* calls it *Rhenus Bicornis*, or *Bicorniger*: Tho' now it has no Paſſage into the *Ocean*, but with the *Maeſe*, below the *Briel*, unleſs that Branch of one Part of it call'd the *Yſſel*, which empties itſelf into the *Zuyder-Zee*, may be ſaid to do it.

RHODES, a celebrated Iſland in the *Mediterranean*, upon the Coaſt of *Aſia Minor*, over-againſt *Caria*.

RHODOPE, a famous Mountain of *Thrace*, now call'd *Valiza*.

RHONE, one of the moſt celebrated Rivers of *France*, which ariſes from a double Spring in *Mont de la Fourche*, a Part of the *Alps*, on the Borders of *Swiſſerland*, near the Springs of the *Rhine*, and after a vaſt Circuit thro' *France*, falls into the *Mediterranean*, by five Mouths.

RHYNDACUS, a River of *Myſia*, in *Aſia*, which falls into *Propontis*.

RIALTO, one of the principal Iſlands, on which *Venice* is built.

RICHIMER, a General of the *Vandals*.

RICHOMER, a King of the *Franks*.

RIEZ, a little, but populous, City of *France*, in *Provence*.

RIGODULUM, v. *Rigol*.

RIGOL } a Town on the *Moſel*, ſome-
RIGOLA } thing below *Triers*.
RIGOMAGUS, an ancient City of *Germany*, near the Conflux of the *Moſel* and *Rhine*.
RIMINI, an ancient City in *Romandiola*, at the Mouth of the River *Marcochia*, (or *Arminius*) on the Shoars of the *Adriatick Sea*, where there are yet many Remains of *Roman* Antiquities.
ROAN, the Capital of *Normandy*, by *Cæſar* call'd *Urbs Velocaſſium*, and by ſome ſaid to be built by him, now a rich and populous City, one of the beſt of *France*, on the *Seine*, below *Paris*, having a noble Harbour, and a great Trade.
ROER, a River of *Germany*, which ariſes in the Duchy of *Juliers*, and falls into the *Maeſe*, at *Roermond*.
ROMAN *Miles*, containing 1000 *Roman* Paces, each of four Foot, ten Inches, and a fifth of an Inch.
ROMANS, the Inhabitants or Subjects of *Rome*, born at or free of that famous City, v. *Rome*.
ROME, once the Seat of the *Roman* Empire, and the Capital of the then known World, now the immediate Capital of *Campagna di Roma* only, on the River *Tyber*, and the Papal Seat; generally ſuppos'd to have been built by *Romulus*, in the firſt Year of the 7th *Olympiad*.
ROMULUS, the ſuppos'd Son of *Mars* by *Ilia*, the Niece of *Numitor*, and Twin-Brother of *Rhemus*, the firſt King of *Rome*.
ROMULUS, a *Roman* Emperour for a ſhort Time, in the *Weſt*, during the Time of *Julius Nepos*, but dethron'd by *Odoacer*.
ROSCIUS (L.) a Tribune of *Rome*.
ROTHOMAGUS, v. *Roan*.
ROXOLANI, a People of *Scythia Europæa*, bordering upon the *Alani*: Their Country, anciently call'd *Roxolania*, is now *Red Ruſſia*, belonging to the Crown of *Poland*.
RUA, a King of the *Hunns*, *Attila*'s Predeceſſor.
RUFINUS, one of the Guardians of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*.
RUGI, an ancient People of *Germany*, on the left Banks of the *Danube*, about where the *Morau* falls into that River.
RUGIA } an Iſland in the *Baltick*, on the
RUGEN } Coaſt of *Pomerania*.
RUGII, the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Rugen*, (or *Rugia*,) in *Pomerania*.

S

SAAL, a River in *Germany*, ariſing in *Franconia*, which flows thro' *Thuringia*, and entring *Miſnia*, falls into the *Elb*, below *Bernburg*, in *Upper Saxony*.
SABIS, v. *Sambre*.
SACI, an ancient People of *Aſia*, from whom ſome, tho' erroneouſly, pretend to derive the *Saxons*.
SACHS, a Sort of Knives, or ſhort Swords, made uſe of by the ancient *Saxons*, from which they took their Name.
SACROVIR (*Julius*) a Perſon of Diſtinction among the *Ædui*.
SAGUNTUM, a noble City of ancient *Spain*, the Memory of which is recorded with Honour, for the Fidelity ſhewn to its Allies the *Romans*.
SALASSII, an ancient People of *Piedmont*, whoſe chief Town was where now *Aoſta* is ſituate.
SALI, a City of *Sarmatia Europæa*.
SALII, an ancient People of *Germany*, by ſome ſaid to be the Progenitors, by others a Nation of the *Franks*. An ancient People of *Provence*, in *France*, who according to *Strabo*, *Mela*, &c. extended from about *Aix* to *Nice*. Another Nation, in the Tract now call'd *Saillant*, in *Overyſſel*.

SALII,

SALII *Gallicani*, a Body ſo call'd among the *Auxilia Palatina*.
SALLUST, a *Latin* Hiſtorian, of *Amiterno*, in *Italy*, who died A. U. R. 723.
SALLUVII, v. *Sallyes*.
SALLYES, a People of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, about where *Aix* now is.
SALONA, an ancient City of *Dalmatia*, and a *Roman* Colony; the Place were *Diocletian* was born, and whither he retreated, after he had reſign'd the Imperial Dignity.
SALVIANUS, a famous Prieſt of *Marſeilles*, in the 5th Century.
SAMAROBRIGA } v. *Amiens*.
SAMAROBRIVA }
SAMBIDA, v. *Sangibanus*.
SAMBRE, a River of the *Low Countries*, which ariſes in *Picardy*, and falls into the *Maeſe* at *Namur*.
SANGIBANUS, a King of the *Alani*.
SANTEN, a ſmall Town of great Antiquity, formerly a *Roman* Colony, not far from the *Rhine*, now in the Duchy of *Cleves*, two *German* Miles from *Weſel*.
SANTONÆ } the ancient Inhabitants of
SANTONES } *Guienne*, or *Xantoigne*.
SAONE, a great River of *France*, ariſing out of Mount *Vauge*, in *Lorain*, not far from the *Source* of the *Moſel*, and, dividing the City of *Lions*, falls ſoon after into the *Rhone*.
SAPOR, a King of *Perſia*.
SARACENS, People of *Arabia Felix*, by ſome ſaid to be the *Iſmaelites*, the Deſcendants of *Abraham* by *Hagar*; Robbers, as their Name originally ſignifies, who attain'd to ſo univerſal a Power, that they over-run *Syria*, *Perſia*, *Paleſtine*, *Egypt*, and even Part of *Sicily*, *Italy*, *France*, and moſt of the Iſlands of the *Mediterranean*, under their own Kings, and withſtood the united Force of *Chriſtendom*, in the 11th and 12th Centuries, till the *Turks*, *Egyptians* and *Perſians*, at length, aboliſh'd their very Name.
SARDICA, a City of *Thrace*, famous for a Council, in 347. It is now call'd *Sophia*, and, by the *Turks*, *Triadizza*.
SARDINIA, a great Iſland in the *Mediterranean*, which in the Time of the *Romans* had 42 Cities, now belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, with the Title of King.
SARMATÆ, the Inhabitants of *Sarmatia*.
SARMATÆ *Limigantes*, a Body of *Sarmatian* Bondſmen, who rebelling againſt their Maſters, drove them out of their Country; but were themſelves ſubdued by the *Romans*
SARMATIA, a very large *Northern* Country, divided into,
SARMATIA *Aſiatica*, containing *Tartary*, *Petigora*, *Circaſſia*, and the Country of the *Morduitæ*: And
SARMATIA *Europæa*, containing *Ruſſia*, Part of *Poland*, *Pruſſia*, and *Lithuania*.
SARUS, a General of the *Goths*.
SATURN, the Heathen God of Time, called the Son of *Cœlus* and *Terra*.
SATURNALIA, certain Days of Rejoycing and Hoſpitality, with the *Romans*, which took this Name from the Golden Age of *Saturn*, when all Things were common.
SAU, v. *Save*.
SAVE, a large River, which ariſes in *Upper Carniola*, and falls into the *Danube* at *Belgrade*.
SAUL, a *Gothick* General.
SAUROMATES, a King of *Boſphorus*.
SAXONS, a powerful People of *Ancient Germany*, who formerly inhabited a great Part of it, and of which two Circles yet bear their Name.
SAXONY, formerly a larger Part of *Germany*, than at preſent, which, at Times, has had very different Bounds: What remains under that Denomination is now divided into the *Upper* and the *Lower*; but is ſubject to many Princes.
SCALIGER (*Julius Cæſar*) a Philoſopher, Poet, Phyſician, and excellent Critick,

of *Agen*, in *France*, but born at *Ripa*, in *Italy*, in 1484.

SCALIGER (*Joseph*) the Son of the former; likewise an excellent Critick.

SCANDINAVIA, anciently a vast *Northern Peninsula*, containing what is yet call'd *Schonen*, anciently *Scania*, belonging to *Denmark*, and Part of *Sweden*, *Norway* and *Lapland*.

SCAURUS (*M. Aurelius*) a noble *Roman*.

SCHATENIUS (Nic.) a *Westphalian* Jesuit, of the last Century, who wrote a History of that Country.

SCHELD, a noted River in the *Low Countries*, which arises in *Picardy*, and washing several of the principal Cities of *Flanders* and *Brabant*, in its Course, falls into the *German* Ocean in two Mouths, one retaining its own Name, and the other call'd the *Honte*.

SCYRUS, an Island in the *Ægean* Sea, one of the *Cyclades*, over-against *Magnesia*.

SCYTHÆ, v. *Scyths*.

SCYTHIA, a large Country, properly *Crim-Tartary*; but, in History and Geography, greatly extended, and particularly divided into,

SCYTHIA *Asiatica*, on either Side of Mount *Imaus*: And

SCYTHIA *Europæa*, about the *Euxine Sea*, and the *Mæotick* Lake.

SCYTHS, the ancient Inhabitants of these Countries, who extended their Dominion far and near, not only in the *North*, and other Parts of *Asia*; but possessed themselves of the greatest Part of *Europe*, insomuch that the *Ancient Germans*, *Gauls*, *Illyrians*, *Spaniards* and *Britons*, are reckon'd *Celto Scythæ*.

SEDUNI, an ancient People of *Switzerland*.

SEDUSII, an ancient People of *Germany*, on the Borders of *Swabia*.

SEGESTA, a City of *Upper Pannonia*.

SEGESTES, a Prince of the *Cherusci*.

SEGIMER, a General of the *Cherusci*.

SEGIMUND, a Prince of the *Cherusci*.

SEGNI, an ancient *German Nation*, Neighbours of the *Condrusi*.

SEGUSIANI, a People of *Gallia Celtica*, about where now *Lionois Forêt* is situate.

SEINE, one of the principal Rivers of *France*, arising in the Duchy of *Burgundy*, not far from a Town of the same Name, and running thro' *Paris*, and by *Roan*, forms at *Caudebec* a great Arm of the Sea.

SEISSEG, an ancient *Roman* Town in *Pannonia*, on the *Save*, now a Village in *Croatia*, on the Borders of *Sclavonia*.

SEMNO, a Prince and General of the *Lygii*.

SEMNONES, an ancient Nation of the *Celtæ*, who inhabited about the *Lionois*, in *Gaul*.

SENONES, SENNONES } v. *Semnones*.

SENS, a very ancient City of *France* (said to be built before *Rome*) on the River *Yonne*, in the Prefecture of *Champaign*.

SEQUANA, v. *Seine*.

SEQUANI, an ancient People of *Gallia Belgica*, inhabiting the Country now call'd the *Franche Comte*, or the *Upper Burgundy*.

SERTIMIUS (*Severus*) the 21st *Roman* Emperour, who died in *England*, at *York*.

SERAPIO, SERAPIS } a Prince of the *Alemanni*, who, with that Name, borrowed the *Egyptian* Superstition.

SEPTORIUS, a noble *Roman* of *Marius*'s Party.

SERVIA, a Province of the *Turkish* Empire, of great Extent, in the Time of the *Roman* Empire, called *Mœsia Superior*.

SERVIUS GALBA, v. *Galba*.

SESITHACUS, a Prince of the *Cherusci*, the Son of *Segimer*.

SESTERTIUS, a *Roman* Coin, of the Value of 2 ½ lb. of Brass.

SEVERUS (*Libius*) a *Roman* Emperour in

in the *Weſt*, who ſucceeded *Majorianus*.
SICAMBRI, an ancient People of *Lower Germany*, between the *Maeſe* and the *Rhine*, where now *Guelderland* is; tho' by ſome placed on the Banks of the *Mayn*.
SICILIA, v. *Sicily*.
SICILY, a large Iſland in the *Tyrhene* Sea, at the *South-weſt* Point of *Italy*, formerly call'd the Store-houſe of the *Roman* Empire, and the firſt Province the *Romans* poſſeſſed out of *Italy*, having conquer'd it A. U. C. 495, being 256 Years before *Chriſt*. Some of the ancients thought it to have been originally join'd to *Italy*.
SIDO, a King of the *Suevi*, who had follow'd *Maraboduus*, Nephew of *Vannius*.
SIDONIUS *Apollinaris*, a famous Philoſopher and Poet, of *Lyons*, in the 5th Century, who took the Poſt of General againſt the *Goths*, and was afterwards Biſhop of *Clermont*.
SIEGE, a River of *Germany*, which ariſes in the Country of *Naſſau*, and falls into the *Rhine* above *Bonn*.
SIGISMUND, a Prince of the *Cheruſci*, who was *Sacerdos ad aram Ubiorum*.
SIGOVESUS, a *Celtick* Prince, Nephew of *Ambigatus*.
SILINGI, a Nation of the *Vandals*.
SILVANUS, a *Frank*, the Son of *Bonitus*.
SINGERIC, a King of the *Goths*, whoſe Reign was of ſhort Duration.
SINGIDUNUM, v. *Belgrade*.
SINUESSA, a City of *Campania*, not far from the *Save*, an ancient *Roman* Colony, now in a ruinous Condition.
SINUS *Codanus*, v. *Baltick*.
SIRMISCH, a City in *Lower Hungary*, anciently in *Pannonia*, the *Lower*, now reduc'd by the *Turks* to a meer Village; but famous for two *Arian* Councils, held under *Conſtantius*, in 351 and 357, and for being the Birth-place of *Probus*.
SIRMIUM, v. *Sirmiſch*.
SLESVICK, a City in the *Cherſoneſus Cimbrica*, the Capital of a Duchy of that Name, formerly call'd *South Jutland*, on the River *Slei*, (which falls into the *Baltick*,) four *German* Miles from the Mouth of it, now ſubject to *Denmark*.
SOANE, a River of *Sarmatia Aſiatica*.
SOMME, a River of *Picardy* in *France*, which falls into the *Britiſh* Sea at St. *Valery*.
SOZOMENUS, an Hiſtorian of *Cyprus*, in the 5th Century.
SPAIN, one of the moſt conſiderable Kingdoms of *Europe*, anciently a Part of *Heſperia*, and likewiſe, at leaſt a Part of it, call'd *Iberia*, divided by the Ancients into *Terraconenſis*, *Bætica* and *Luſitania*, now into 15 Kingdoms or Provinces, which however are reduced under three Crowns, or Governments, *Caſtile*, *Portugal* and *Arragon*.
SPANHEIM (Baron *Ezekiel von*) a learned Nobleman of *Brandenburg*, who being ſent as *Pruſſian* Envoy to the Court of *Great Britain*, died at *London*, in 1710.
SPARTA, a City of *Peloponneſus*, now call'd *Miſithra*, ſaid to be ſo ancient as the Days of the Patriarch *Jacob*.
SPARTIANUS (*Ælius*) a *Latin* Hiſtorian, towards the Concluſion of the 3d Century.
SPESHARD, a Foreſt, in *Franconia*, between *Francfort* and *Fulda*
SPIRE, an ancient City of *Germany*, in the now Upper Circle of the *Rhine*, and on that River; a free Imperial City, but taken and burnt by the *French*, in 1689.
SPOLETO, a City of great Antiquity, of *Umbria*, in *Italy*, the Capital of a Duchy of the ſame Name, on the River *Teſino*, where are yet ſome ſtately Ruins of ancient *Roman* and *Gothick* Edifices.
SPOLETUM, v. *Spoleto*.
STATIUS, an eminent *Roman* Poet under *Domitian*.

STILICO, the Father-in-law of *Honorius*, firſt appointed one of his Guardians.
STRABO, a *Stoick* Philoſopher, who wrote 17 Books of Geography, dedicated to *Tiberius*, in the Reign of whom, and of his Predeceſſor *Auguſtus*, he lived.
STRASBURG, a City of *Germany*, anciently the Capital of the *Tribocci*, on the *Rhine*, now the chief City of *Alſace*, belonging to the *French*; ſome pretend it is ſo ancient as to have been built 33 Years before the Birth of *Abraham*, of which, however, they give no Proof.
SUERIDUS. a General of the *Goths*.
SUETONIUS (*C. Tranquillus*) a *Roman* Writer, Secretary to the Emperour *Adrian*, who, among other Works, wrote the Lives of the 12 *Cæſars*.
SUEVIA, v. *Swabia*.
SUEVI, an ancient, great and warlike People of *Germany*, who poſſeſſed the greateſt Part of it, from the *Rhine* to the *Elb*, but afterwards removed from the *Northern* Parts, and ſettled about the *Danube*, and ſome march'd into *Spain*, where they eſtabliſh'd a Kingdom.
SUEVI *Deditii*, the *Suevi*, who were carried by *Tiberius* over the *Rhine*.
SUNICI, an ancient People of the Duchy of *Limburg*, where there is yet a Place call'd *Sunich*, a Name probably borrow'd from them.
SUNNO, a General of the *Franks*.
SUOMARIUS, a King of the *Alemanni*.
SWABIA, one of the ten Circles of *Germany*, ſituate between *Bavaria*, *Alſatia*, *Swiſſerland*, and *Franconia*, which had formerly its own Dukes; but is now divided, and ſubject to many Princes.
SYLVANUS, v. *Silvanus*.
SYNESIUS, a learned Biſhop of *Ptolemais*, in the 5th Century.
SYRACUSA, once one of the nobleſt Cities of *Sicily*, ſaid to be built by *Archias*, a *Corinthian*, above 700 Years before *Chriſt*; where *Archimedes* was kill'd at the taking of it by the *Romans*, 210 Years before our Saviour. It has been ſo often entirely deſtroy'd, that it has no Remains to ſhew of its Antiquity.
SYRIA, a large Country of *Aſia*, containing ſeveral Provinces.
SYRTES, two dangerous ſandy Gulphs, in the *Mediterranean*, upon the Coaſt of *Barbary*, in *Africa*.

T

TACITUS (*M. Claudius*) the 38th *Roman* Emperour, who was 70 Years of Age when elected, and reign'd but 6 *Months*.
TACITUS (*Pub. Cornelius*) an excellent *Roman* Orator and Hiſtorian, who liv'd in the Reigns of ten Emperours, from *Nero* to *Adrian*, both incluſive.
TAIFALI, v. *Thaifali*.
TANAIS, a very large River in *Scythia*, dividing *Aſia* from *Europe*: It riſes in the Province of *Reſan*, in *Muſcovy*, and flowing thro' the *Crim Tartary*, runs into the *Mæotick Lake*, near a City of the ſame Name, now in Ruins, and in the Hands of the *Turks*.
TANFANA, a famous Temple in *Ancient Germany*, in the Dominions of the *Marſi*.
TARQUINIUS *Priſcus*, the 5th King of *Rome*.
TARRACONA } a City of *Spain*, which,
TARRAGONA } in ancient Time, gave Name to that Part of it call'd *Terraconenſis*; by ſome ſaid to be built by the *Scipio*'s, tho' others ſay before the *Roman* Conqueſt, and that they only enlarged it. It ſtands on the Mouth of the River *Tulcis* (now *el Fracoli*) with a ſmall Haven on the *Mediterranean*.
TARSOS, the Metropolis of *Cilicia*, famous for being the Birth-Place of St. *Paul*.
TAURINA *Sylva*, the Foreſt of *Turin*.
TAURUS (Mount) the greateſt Mountain in all *Aſia*, extending from the *Indian* to the *Ægean* Sea, call'd by different Names

Names in different Countries; viz. *Imaus*, *Caucaſus*, *Caſpius*, by the *Greeks*, *Ceraunius*, and, in Scripture, *Ararat*. *Herbert* ſays it is 50 *Engliſh* Miles over, and 1500 long.

TECK, a ſmall River, in the County of *Rouſſillon*, which ſprings out of the *Pyrenean* Mountains, and falls into the *Mediterranean*.

TECTOSAGÆ } v. *Volcæ*.
TECTOSAGES }

TENCTERI, a People of *Ancient Germany*, bordering on the *Rhine*.

TERENTIA, the Wife of *Mæcenas*, beloved by *Auguſtus*.

TERNI, an ancient *Roman* Colony, on the River *Nare*, 12 Miles from *Spoleto*.

TEROUANNE, a City of *Artois*, in the *Low Countries*, on the River *Leye*.

TETRICUS, who aſſumed the Title of *Roman* Emperour, in *Gaul*, but, after a very ſhort Reign, reſign'd to *Aurelianus*.

TEUTENBURG, a noted Place in the Biſhoprick of *Paderborn*, in *Weſtphalia*, where *Arminius* overthrew a ſelect Army of the *Romans*, under *Q. Varus*.

TEUTOBOCCHUS, a King of the *Teutones*.

TEUTOBURGUM, v. *Doesburg*.

TEUTOBORGIUM, v. *Teutenburg*.

TEUTONES } an ancient People bordering
TEUTONI } on the *Cimbri*, the common ancient Name for all the *Germans*, whence they yet call themſelves *Teutſche*, and their Country *Teutſchland*.

TEUTONICK, of or belonging to the *Ancient Germans*.

TEUTSCHE, v. *Germans*.

THAIFALI, an ancient Nation of *Gothick* Extraction.

THEBES, a City of *Bœotia*, in *Greece*, ſaid to have been built, A. M. 2620, by *Cadmus*, deſtroy'd by *Alexander*, the *Great*, but rebuilt.

THEIS, a River of the *Upper Hungary*, which, ariſing in the *Carpathian* Mountains, flows thro' *Tranſylvania*, and here falls into the *Danube*, a little below *Peterwaradin*.

THEMISTIUS, a famous *Greek* Orator, who lived about the Middle of the 4th Century.

THEODOMIR, a King of the *Franks*.

THEODIMIR, a Prince of the *Oſtro-Goths*.

THEODORIC, I, a King of the *Wiſi-Goths*.

THEODORIC, II, a King of the *Wiſi-Goths*.

THEODORIC, the Son of *Theodomir*.

THEODORIC, a *Gothick* Prince, the Son of *Triareus*.

THEODORIX, the Son of *Baitoritus*, a Prince of the *Sicambri*.

THEODOSIUS, the *Great*, the 53d *Roman* Emperour, a good, virtuous, ſucceſsful and generous Prince.

THEODOSIUS, the Younger, the Son of *Arcadius*, Emperour of the *Eaſt*.

THERMOPYLE, a famous Paſs on the great Mountain *Oeta*, leading into *Phocis*, in *Achaia*, now call'd *Bocca di Lupo*.

THERUINGI, a Nation of the *Wiſi-Goths*.

THESSALY, a Country of *Greece*, formerly a great Part of *Macedonia*, now call'd *Janna*.

THESSALONIA, the chief City of *Macedonia*, now call'd *Salonichi*.

THEUDORIX, a Prince of the *Sicambri*.

THOLOUSE, a City of *Aquitain*, of great Antiquity, the Capital of *Languedoc*, (call'd anciently *Toloſe Tectoſagum*) on the *Garonne*.

THORISMOND, a King of the *Wiſi-Goths*.

THRACE, a large Country of *Europe*, *Eaſtward* from *Macedonia*, commonly call'd *Romania*, bounded with the *Euxine* and *Ægean* Seas.

THUMELICUS, the Son of *Arminius*.

THUROVARUS, a General of the *Goths*.

THURINGI, the Inhabitants of *Thuringia*.

THURINGIA, a Country of *Germany*, in the Upper Circle of *Saxony*, between *Miſnia*, *Brunſwick*, *Heſſe* and *Franconia*. It had formerly its own Kings, but is now divided among many Princes.

THUS-

THUSNELDA, the Daughter of *Segeſtes*, and Wife of *Arminius*.
TIBERIUS, the 3d *Roman* Emperour, a cruel and debauch'd Prince.
TIBER, v. *Tyber*.
TIGURINI, a Nation of the *Helvetii*, the ancient Inhabitants of the *Canton* of *Zurich*, in *Swiſſerland*.
TILLEMONT (*Seb. le Nain de*) a famous *French* Hiſtorian in the 17th Century.
TOMI, a City of *Pontus*, famous for being the Place of *Ovid*'s Baniſhment.
TOMOS, TOMUS } v. *Tomi*.
TONGRES, an ancient and formerly a very large City of the *Low Couniries*, now a ſmall Town in that Part belonging to the Biſhop of *Liege*.
TOSCANA, v. *Tuſcia*.
TOUL, a City of *Lorain*, upon the *Moſel*.
TOURNAY, a City anciently in *Gallia Celtica*, now in *Flanders*, upon the *Scheld*.
TOXANDRI, an ancient People of the *Low Countries*, about *Breda* and *Gertruydenburg*; but according to ſome of the Diocele of *Liege*.
TOXANDRIA, the Diſtrict they inhabited.
TRAJAN, the 14th *Roman* Emperour, generally call'd the *Good*, tho' a Perſecutor of the *Chriſtians*.
TRAJANA *Colonia*, v. *Colonia Trajana*.
TRANSYLVANIA, a large Province of *Europe*, ſituate between *Upper Hungary*, *Wallachia*, *Moldavia*, and *Poliſh Ruſſia*, ſubject to its own Prince, who is a Vaſſal of the Kingdom of *Hungary*.
TRAPEZUNT, the Capital of *Natolia*, on the *Euxine* Sea.
TRAPEZUS, v. *Trapezunt*.
TREBONIUS, the 3d Conſpirator, who, with *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, ſlew *Julius Cæſar*.
TREB. *Pollio*, v. *Pollio*.
TRENT, a City in the *North* Part of *Italy*, on the Borders of *Tyrol*, famous for a Council begun A. 1545.
TREVES, v. *Triers*.
TREVIRI, a People of *Gallia Belgica*, from whom the City of *Triers* was ſo named.
TREVIRIS, v. *Triers*.
TRIBIGILD, a *Gothick* General.
TRIBOCCI, an ancient People of *Germany*, about *Straſsburg*.
TRIBOCES, v. *Tribocci*.
TRIDENTUM, v. *Trent*.
TRIERS, a very ancient City of *Lower Germany*, on the *Moſel*, ſaid to have been built by *Trebetas*, the Brother of *Ninus*, 1496 Years before *Chriſt*; made a *Roman* Colony in the Time of *Auguſtus*, and afterwards the moſt famous City of *Gallia Belgica*. It was for ſome Time the Seat of the *Weſtern* Empire, now only the Seat of the Eccleſiaſtical Elector of that Name.
TRIPOLI, a large City of *Barbary*, on the *Mediterranean*, the Capital of a Kingdom of the ſame Name.
TRISTAN *de St. Amant* (J.) an Antiquary of *Paris*, of the 17th Century.
TROY, a City of *Phrygia*, in *Aſia Minor*, near Mount *Ida*, razed by the *Greeks*, after a ten Years Siege, 432 Years before the Building of *Rome*.
TRUDUS, a King of the *Marcomanni*.
TRUTINGI, v. *Gruthingi*.
TUBANTES, an ancient People of *Germany*, about *Weſtphalia*.
TUGEINI, the People of *Tugium*, in *Helvetia*.
TUGIUM, a City and Canton of *Helvetia*, or *Swiſſerland*, now call'd *Zug*.
TUISTO, the great Anceſtor of the *Germans*.
TULINGI, an ancient People of *Germany*, who inhabited about where now *Stulingen*, in *Swiſſerland* is.
TULL, v. *Toul*.
TUNGRI, an ancient People inhabiting about where *Tongres*, in *Liege*, now is.
TUSCANY, v. *Tuſcia*.
TUSCIA, *Tuſcany*, anciently call'd *Tyrrhenia*, and *Etruria*.
TUSCII, the Inhabitants of *Tuſcany*.

TY-

TYBER, one of the most noted, tho' not largest Rivers of *Italy*, which arises in one of the *Appennines*, and, among other Places, passing thro' *Rome*, falls into the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, at *Ostia*.
TYGRIS, a rapid River of *Asia*, which, in its Course, unites with the *Euphrates*.

U, V.

VADA, v. *Wagening*.
VADOMAR, a Prince of the *Alemanni*.
VAGUS, a large River in *Upper Hungary*.
VAILLANT (*J. Foy*) an Antiquary of *Beauvais* in the 17th Century.
VALAMIR, a Prince of the *Ostro-Goths*.
VALA *Numonius*, a *Roman* Officer, under *Quintilius Varus*.
VALENCE, a City of *Gallia Narbonensis*, now in the *Dauphiny*, on the Rivers *Rhone* and *Isere*.
VALENCIA, a City of *Spain*, which gives Name to a whole Kingdom, about a Mile from the *Mediterranean*, suppos'd to be built by *Junius Brutus*.
VALENS, the 51st Emperour of *Rome*, who falling into the Hands of his Enemies, was burnt in a Cottage.
VALENTINIAN, I, the 50th Emperour of *Rome*, a virtuous Prince, and a strict Observer of Justice.
VALENTINIAN, II, the Son of *Valentinian*, I, Emperour of *Rome*, replaced upon the Throne by *Theodosius*, after the Death of *Gratian*.
VALENTINIAN, III, a *Roman* Emperour in the *West*, after the Death of *Honorius*.
VALERIA, a Country in *Upper Pannonia*.
VALERIAN, the 33d *Roman* Emperour, a Persecutor of the *Christians*, otherwise possessed of many good Qualities, but unfortunate.
VALERIUS *Maximus*, an Historian, who dedicated his Works to *Tiberius*.
VALERIUS *Procellus*, a renowned *Gaul*, *Cæsar*'s Ambassador to *Ariovistus*.
VALESIUS, a *French* Historiographer, about the Middle of the foregoing Century.
VANDALS, an ancient People of the *Northern* Parts of *Germany*, about *Mecklenburg*, and on the Coasts of the *Baltick*, who, in the 5th Century, together with the *Alani*, and others, made Incursions into *Gaul* and *Spain*, and, in the latter, gave the Name of *Vandalitia*, to Part of it, now call'd *Andalusia*; who, likewise, from thence, went into *Africa*, and establish'd a Kingdom there.
VANGIO, a Nephew of *Vannius*, and King of the *Suevi*, who had followed *Maraboduus*.
VANGIONES, an ancient People of *Germany*, about the City of *Worms*.
VANGIONUM *Civitas*, v. *Worms*.
VANNIUS, a King of the *Quadi*.
VARUS (*Quintilius*) made, by *Augustus*, *Præfectus Galliæ Cisalpinæ*.
UBII, an ancient People of *Lower Germany*, who inhabited about where *Cologn* and the Duchy of *Juliers* now are; but in the Reign of *Claudius Cæsar* inhabited the other Side of the *Rhine*.
UBIORUM *Oppidum*, v. *Cologn*.
VECHT, a River in *Lower Germany*, which arises not far from *Munster*, and falls into the *Zuyder Zee*.
VEDUCUS, a *Gothick* Duke.
VELLEDA, a famous *German* Sorceress.
VELLEJUS *Paterculus*, an industrious Historian, who lived in the Times of the three first Emperours; and, being a Soldier also, was in most of the Actions, in the Reign of *Tiberius*, which he relates.
VELOCASSES, an ancient People of *Normandy*, about *Rouan*.
VELSERUS (*Marcus*) a learned Antiquary and Senator of *Augsburg*, in the 16th Century.

VE-

VENETI, this Name was anciently given as well to the *Venetians*, as to the People of *Vannes*, in *Little Britain*, in *France*, but there was another ancient People ſo call'd, whom our Author ſuppoſes to be included under the Name of *Sarmatæ*, and to have extended to the *Eaſt-Sea*, by *Ptolemy* call'd *Sinus Venedicus*.
VENETIÆ, v. *Venice*.
VENICE, a noble City of *Italy*, built upon 60 Iſlands, joined together by 500 Bridges, at the Top of the *Adriatick Gulph*, the Capital of a powerful Commonwealth.
VERAGRI, a People of *Gallia Lugdunenſis*, whoſe chief Town was *Aguanum*, now *St. Maurice*.
VERCELLI *(the Plains of)* famous for a Victory the *Romans* obtained there over the *Cimbri*. The City of that Name is in *Piedmont*, on the River *Seſia*, on the Borders of the Duchy of *Milan*.
VEROMANDUI, a People of *Gallia Belgica*, whoſe Country, now a Part of *Picardy*, is ſtill call'd *Vermandois*.
VERONA, a City of *Lombardy*, the Capital of a Province of the ſame Name, on the River *Adige*, ſaid to be built by the *Gauls*, 282 Years before *Chriſt*. It has yet ſeveral Remains of Antiquity.
VERRITUS, a Prince of the *Friſii*.
VERUS (L.) who, with *M. Aurelius*, made together the 17th *Roman* Emperour.
VESONTIO, v. *Beſancon*.
VESPASIAN, (*Titus Flav.*) the 10th *Roman* Emperour, the Father of *Titus*; a valiant, but withal a mild Prince.
VESTALPUS, a King of the *Alemanni*.
VETERA *Caſtra*, v. *Caſtra Vetera*.
VETERANIO, an Uſurper of the Imperial Dignity in *Pannonia*, in the Time of *Conſtantius* the Younger.
VETUS (L.) a *Roman* Lieutenant in *Germany*.
VICTOR, a Biſhop of *Worms*.
VICTORIA, the Mother of *Victorinus*, to whom the Title of *Mater Caſtrorum* was given.
VICTORINUS, aſſum'd and maintain'd, for ſome Time, the Imperial Dignity in *Gaul*, but was murder'd by his own Soldiers, near *Cologn*.
VIDERIC. a King of the *Greuthingi*.
VIDIMIR, a Prince of the *Oſtro-Goths*.
VIDRUS, v. *Vecht*.
VIENNA, formerly an inconſiderable Place in *Pannonia*, now the Metropolis of *Auſtria*, and the Reſidence of the Emperour.
VILOCASSES, a People of *Gallia Belgica*.
VINDELICIA, otherwiſe call'd *Rætia Secunda*.
VINDELICI, an ancient People of *Germany*, Inhabitants of that Country.
VINDONISSA, v. *Windiſch*,
VIRDOMARUS, v. *Viridomarus*.
VIRGIL, (*Virgilius Maro*) a famous *Latin* Poet of *Mantua*, born in the Conſulat of *Pompey* and *Craſſus*.
VIRIDOMARUS, a Commander of the ancient *Gauls*, ſlain by *Claudius Marcellus*.
VIRTHUNGI, v. *Juthungi*.
VISTULA, v. *Weichſel*.
VISUMAR, a King of the *Vandals*.
VISURGIS, v. *Weſer*.
VITELLIUS, the 9th *Roman* Emperour, for his vicious Life put to Death in the eighth Month of his Reign.
VITHERIUS, v. *Videric*.
VITHICABIUS, a Prince of the *Alemanni*.
VITHIMER, a King of the *Greuthingi*.
VITHUNGI, v. *Juthungi*.
VITODURUM, v. *Winterthur*.
VITRODURUS, a King of the *Quadi*.
UIDES, a Prince of the *Hunns*.
ULPIA *Caſtra*, v. *Cleves*.
ULPIA TRAJANA, v. *Zarmigeſothuſa*.
ULPHILA, a *Gothick* Biſhop, famous for inventing their Letters, and tranſlating the

the Bible, or at leaſt a Part of it, into the *Gothick* Tongue.
ULPHILA, a *Goth* by Birth, but a General in the *Roman* Service.
UMBRIA, a large Country of *Italy*, on both Sides of the *Appennines*.
VOCCIO, a King of *Noricum*.
VOCION, a King of *Noricum*.
VOLCÆ *Tectoſages*, a Colony of *Gauls*, in *Germania Magna*, originally of *Gallia Narbonenſis*; but making an Incurſion into *Germany*, eſtabliſh'd themſelves near the *Hyrcinian* Foreſt.
VOLTORNO, a River in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which falls into the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, *North* of that City.
VOPISCUS (*Flavius*) an Hiſtorian of *Syracuſa*, in the Times of *Dioclefian* and *Conſtantius Chlorus*.
USATES, a King of the *Sarmatæ*.
USIPITES, an ancient People of *Germany*, who frequently changed their Habitation.
USSULDUN, a Town of *Guienne*, in *France*.
UTRICOLI, a little City in *Italy*, in the Duchy of *Spoleto*.

W

WAHL (or *Waal*) the middle Branch of the *Rhine*, which, paſſing by *Nimeguen*, falls into the *Maeſe*, above *Gorcum*.
WALLIA, a King of the *Wiſi-Goths*.
WALACHIA, a Part of ancient *Dacia*.
WACHTER, a modern *Saxon* Author, yet living, who has lately publiſh'd a *Gloſſarium Germanicum*, in two Vol. in *Folio*.
WAGE, v. *Vagus*.
WAGENING, a little Town of *Guelderland*, on the Right of the *Rhine*, by ſome ſuppoſed to be the ancient *Vada*.
WESER, a River of *Lower Germany*, which ariſes in *Franconia*, and, among other Places of Note, paſſing by *Bremen*, falls into the *German* Ocean, not far from the Mouth of the *Elb*, between that and the *Ems*.
WEICHSEL, a famous River of *Poland*, which ariſes in the *Carpathian* Mountains, in *Upper Sileſia*, formerly parted *Germany* from *Sarmatia Europæa*, and falls into the *Baltick*, not far from *Dantzick*, in three Mouths.
WESTPHALIA, one of the ten Circles of *Germany*.
WETTERAU, a Province in the Upper Circle of the *Rhine*.
WINDISCH, a City of *Bern*, in *Swiſſerland*, anciently call'd *Vindoniſſa*.
WISI-GOTHS (or *Weſt-Goths*) v. *Goths*.
WITTEKIND, a famous *Saxon* Hiſtorian, of the 10th Century.
WORMS, a City of *Germany*, within the Bounds of the *Palatinate*, free and Imperial, on the *Weſtern* Bank of the *Rhine*.
WINTERTHUR, a pretty Town, in the Canton of *Zurich*, in *Swiſſerland*.

Y

YSSEL (*Old Yſſel*) a River, ariſing near *Heyden*, in the Duchy of *Cleves*, which, at *Doesburg*, unites with the *Foſſa Druſiana*.

Z

ZABERN, a City of the *Lower Alſace*, on the River *Sorr*, four *German* Miles from *Straſsburg*. This is likewiſe call'd *Alſace-Zabern*; but there are two other Places of this Name; viz. *Berg-Zabern*, a little Town in the Duchy of *Deux Ponts*; and *Rhine-Zabern*, in the Biſhoprick of *Spires*.
ZANTICUS, a King of the *Jazygi*.
ZARMIGESOTHUSA, the Capital of the ancient *Dacia*, in the Reign of *Decebalus*; but by *Trajan*, after his Conqueſt of that Country, cali'd *Ulpia Trajana*.
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ZENO, a Philoſopher of *Cyprus*, the Father of the *Stoicks*.
ZENO, Emperour in the *Eaſt*, who ſucceeded *Leo*.
ZENOBIA, a famous *Virago*, a Queen of *Palmyra*, Wife of *Odenatus*.
ZINGITANA, a Part of ancient *Africa*, now included in the Kingdom of *Algiers*.
ZOSIMUS, a *Greek* Hiſtorian, in the Time of *Theodoſius*, the Younger.
ZÜLCH, a little Town, in the Duchy of *Juliers*.
ZUYDER-ZEE (or *South-Sea*) a great Bay between *Frieſland*, *Guelders* and *Holland*, ſeparated from the *North-Sea*, by the Iſlands on the Coaſt of *Holland*: There goes out of it a Creek up to *Amſterdam*; and the Mouth or Entrance into this Bay, from the *North* Sea, is by the Iſland of *Texel*.

AN

AN

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OF THE

Moſt REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES

Of the Firſt VOLUME.

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PAGE 57, in the Margin, for *Poilcy*, r. *Polity*.
68, l. 8. for *German*, r. *Roman*.
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105, for § I. read § IV.
148, l. 8. for 1. r. 18th.
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166, n. 2. ad fin. for *M. Anthony*, r. *M. Antoninus*.
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